



VIA 2 d 30





TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTVOVS LADIE,  
DIE, THE LADIE

HARINGTON.

**M**ADAME, the late pestilence in Couentrie, which occasioned my translation &c. of this Historie, moved me also, in part, to addresse the same unto your Honour.

For being altogether restrained then, from free practise of my profession abroad, & no lesse impatient of idleness at home, I could not readily thinke of a better course to spend that vacation, than in an Argument having a reference to mine old Grammaticall Muses, and according, in some sort, with my latter studies in Physick. What howres therefore, either the doubtful or diseased estate of my neighbours, together with the meditations of mine owne mortalitie would afford, I employed gladly in the said Subiect.

Againe, for as much as the selfe same cause debarred me from accessse unto your house at Combe (a dutie that otherwise the vicinity of our aboad did require) I fully resolved at the finishing of those my Sedentary labours, to present the same to your view: therby to sheild my selfe (whom it pleased you beforetime to grace with kind entertainmēt) from the iust imputation of rude negligence in that behalfe. But now, since the same citie so dangerous the yeare before, is become a retyring place of safety for your Household, & hath to mee already yeelded fit opportunitie to excuse my former absence personally by word of mouth, I have presumed nevertheles to dedicate the same unto your Honour, as a token of my thankfulness, for your bounteous favour, farre above the proportion of my  
deserts,



## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

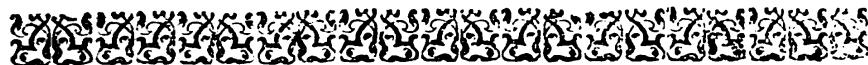
deserts, and an earnest penny of that propense minde, which I carie to honour your name, in the best maner I could deuise.

And verily calling to my remembrance how courteously you have vouchsafed heretofore to accept even at second hand my trauailes in this kinde, and with good words testified oftentimes the contentment you received therein, I had no reason to doubt the like acceptance of that which out of a loving and devote heart I offer first unto your selfe.

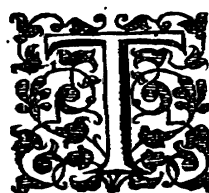
Lastly, when I consider, how together with sincere pietie, rare wisdom, and other eminent vertues, there is seated in your person a singular affection to advance good literature, with an extraordinarie respect of learned men, I knew no means out of my small fortunes to do you greater honour, than by entituling you as Patronesse of that, which may benefit young Scholers, my countrimen, that would be learned: to give knowledge unto the world, that all the profit or pleasure whatsoever, which shall grow unto them, from these endeavours of mine, are derived immediatly from you and for your sake bestowed upon them.

These motives, right Honorable, as well of my first enterprise, as of abusing your Patronage, if it please you to approue, (the onely thing that I humbly crave at your hand for this present) I shall not only thinke my pains well taken and choise as well made: prising your acceptance to the worth of a competent guerdon: but also continue my hearty prayers unto the Almighty for your perfect health, proceeding in a vertuous course of life, with increase of true Honour here upon earth, and after the revolution of many new yeares, for eternall happineffe in the highest Heaven.

Your Honours most readie at command,  
Philémon Holland.



## To the Readers.



HAT yee may with better contentment reade these Historiall reports of the twelve first CÆSARS, which SVETONIUS hath delivered most truly, compiled as compendiously, and digested right methodically, I have thought it good with some few advertisements præmised, to commend the same unto you.

First therefore, whereas by the iudgement of the best learned, and the Analogie of other Histories, hee seemeth to affect nothing so much as uncorrupt & plaine truth, (the principall vertue of an Historiographer) forbearing to meddle with those \* Emperours in whose daies he flourished; because he would not thrust himselfe into danger by revealing, nor betray the libertie of a writer in concealing the faults; much lesse incurre the note of Flatterie, extolling above measure the good parts of Princes then living; and to that purpose penned their lives, who were lately deceased, as one said very well, *eadem libertate quæ ipsi vixerunt*: if happlie in prosecuting of this point, he hath recorded ought that may be offensive to chaste and modest mindes, yee shal do well to glaunce over with your eye such places lightly, as I with my pen touched v. willingly.

Secondly, forasmuch as he continueth in generall the Narrations of the said Princes, from before their Nativitie unto their Death & Funerals: and in the severall discourses, of their ages, affaires, vertues, vices, feature & lineaments of bodie, first, after an uniform maner, proposeth throughout certain heads summarily, and then exemplifieth the same in due order by perticulers (a most lightsome method and way of teaching, keeping him selfe still to the Subiect matter, without any digressions at all: my advise is, that for your more expedite course in reading the whole, yee direct your minde thereunto. Now, for that his IULIUS CÆSAR forteth not with the rest, but appeareth *dispariter*, as whose auncestours, birth, childhoode, &c. be not set downe; (which maine I impute rather to the iniurie of time, than unto the purpose or oversight of the Authour) I have in some sort supplied that defect, with the labours of LEVVIS VIVES, TORRENTIVS and others, which I finde præfixed in the last and best Editions.

Thirdly, considering that brevitie is many times the mother of Obscuritie, may it please those among you, who are not so conuersant in such concise writings, as admit not one word superfluous, to have recourse, for the clearing of some doubts unto the margin, as also to those briefe Annotations, which for their sakes, out of mine owne readings, together with the select observations of BEROALDVS, SABELLICVS, TORRENTIVS, and CASAVBONVS I have collected. Which also will ease them of many difficulties that his succinct style and termes, nor elswhere obvious, interlaced, may otherwise breed.

Finally, if there happen to occur some Errata, that might escape either my pen in writing, or the ordinarie diligence of meane Correctors in the printing ye will of your iudicious candour, I hope, either passe them over with connivency, if they be literall, or else taxe with some easie censure in case they bee materiall: So long as for your full satisfaction, ye may with small paines before yee begin either to read or iudge, correct what is amisse, according to the Examen and Review annexed to the end of all.

Farewell.

\*Nerva, Traianus, and Hadrianus whose secretarie he was.

# A SUPPLEMENT TO THE BEGINNING OF C. IULIUS CEASAR DICTATOR.



THE IULIAN lineage, as most men are persuaded, is descended from Afcanius Iulus, the sonne of Aeneas by Creusa: which Iulus, after he had left Lavinium, built long Alba: wherein also he reigned. Others, grounding upon a more assured evidence, have thought it good to derive the same rather from Iulus the son of Alcanius. For when after the death of (this) Alcanius, the Kingdoms of the Latines was devolved againe upon Sylvius the sonne of Aeneas and Lavinia, the charge of Religion & sacred ceremonies of the Latin and Trojan Nation both, remained yet still in the race and progenie of Iulus: out of which are sprung the Iulij. These (Iulij) with certaine other most noble families of Latium, Tullus Hostilius King of the Romans, after he had raised Alba, translated to Rome, and ranged among the Nobilitie. Late it was, ere they rose and mounted to high place of Magistracie; but were reckoned almost in the last ranke of the Patricians of ancient Nobilitie: & of them, the Iulij bare the principall name. For C. Iulus, (sonne of Lucius) surnamed also Iulus, was Consull together with P. Pinarius Mamercinus Rufus, in the yeare after the foundation of Rome citie \* 264. And \* seaven yeeres after, \* his sonne, with Q. Fabius Vibulanus (Consull) the second time. Againe, some space of time comming betwene, Vopiscus Iulius, sonne of Caius and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulshippe with L. Aemilius \* Mamercinus third time Consull, in the yeere \* 280. I finde likewise, that in the yeere \* 302. Caius Iulius, sonne of Caius, and nephew of Lucius, was a decessor for the enacting and penning of Lawes; and that in the former Election of that Magistracie: as also, that Caius Iulius sonne of Caius and Nephew of Caius, became Consull with Marcus Geganius Macerinus, in the yeere \* 306. and the selfe same man a second time, with Lucius Verginius Triostus in the yeere \* 318: and immediately in the \* yeere next following, a third time, with the same Verginius now twice Consull. And thus much for the Iulij. For to rehearse and collect all them of that familie, together with the honorable places of everie one, which were many in number, and of sundry kindes; is not our purpose: and besides, the thing it selfe is apparent and upon record in the publick Registers.

Moreover, I have observed in the Iulian line, a certaine house also of the Mentones: and among them, one Caius Iulius, colleague in the Consulshippe with T. Quintus Pennus Cincinnatus, in the 222. yeere after the foundation of the citie. I finde likewise, Caius Iulius Dentor to be master of the Horsemen, when Caius Claudius Crassus Sabinus Regillensis was Dictator, for to hold their solemne assembly of Election, in the yeere 403. There were besides these Iulij, others going under the name of Libones: and of the same race one triumphed; to wit, Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius and nephew of Lucius; companion in the Consulate which Marcus Attilius Regulus, in the yeere \* 486. But as touching Caius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and surnamed Cæsar Strabo, whom Suetonius also ment in the 55. chapter of Iulius Cæsar, and Cicero praiseth in his Brutus, and in the second booke of his Oratour, I doubt, whether this addition (Strabo,) should not be taken as a by-name. For otherwise there is in our hands a peece of silver coine, with the inscription of Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius, and surnamed Strabo. The Epigramme of the former is extant among the Antiquities of Rome citie, in this manner,

C. Iulius L. F. Cæsar Strabo, AEd. Cur. Q. Trib. Mil. Bis  
XVIR. AGR. Dand. AD TR. IVD. Pontif.

To conclude, I have met with writers, who reckoned also among the Iulij, certaine \* Annales: which, for mine owne part verily, I could never yet light upon, in searching the Records & Chronicles. But in the eight booke of the Familiar Epistles (of Cicero) and namely in the seventh letter there, of M. Cælius unto Cicero, there is mention made among others, of one L. Iulius, sonne of Lucius, Pomp. Annalis: where the writing (as I suppose) is not very certaine and

## A Supplement &c:

cleerely acknowledge. For besides that the better corrected Copies call him Villius, (for Iulius) Livie also hath expressly & plainly written in his fortieth booke, that one Lucius Villius a Tribune of the Commons, made a Law which provided and ordained, in what yeere of ~~their~~ age they might sue for everie kinde of Magistracie, and be capable thereof. Whereupon, unto that familie was given this surname, to be called Annales. Thus farre Livius. Hereunto may be added this moreover; that the Kinred Iulia, is reckoned in the Tribe Fabia (and not Pomptina), as we have noted in the fortieth chapter of Augustus. I am of opinion therefore, that safer it is to account the Annales among the Villii, and not the Iulii. But thus much hereof, by the way, and as it were passing by; Now proceede we to the rest.

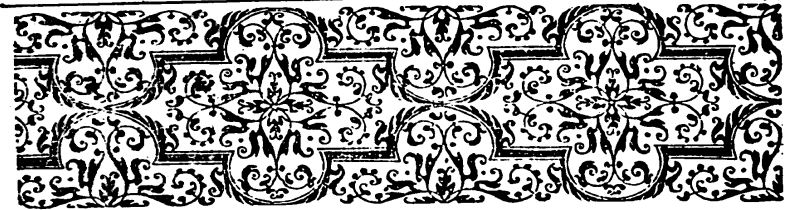
In the lineage Iulia then, there was a familie also of the Cæsars. But what the reason should be of that surname, it is not certainly knowne; no more, than who he was, that first bare the saide surname. For before Cæsar the Dictator, and his father and grandfather, there were Iulii named Cæsares. As for example; He, who (as Livie witnesseth in his 27. booke) was in the second Purick warre sent from the Senate to Crispinus the Consul, about the nomination of a Dictator. As for the terme Cæsares, those usually the Romane tongue surnamed so, who were borne, either by ripping their mothers wombes, or with a \* bush of haire growing on their heads, or else grey-eyed. Some adde moreover the tale of an Elephant slaine in Africk, which the inhabitants there call Cæsar: and upon that verie cause, this surname first befell unto Cæsar the Dictatour.

Grandfire. But Spartianus and Servius, the Authors hereof, are of the meanest credit and authority. For not his progeny alone, of all the Iulii, had this surname, but many others besides of his kinse and kindred, both long before and also together with him.

(Consuls before Iulius Cæsar the Dictator, there were, Sext. Iulius, sonne of Caius, nephew of Lucius, together with Lucius Aurelius Orestes, in the yeere after the foundation of Rome \* 596: Also Sext. Iulius sonne of Caius, nephew of Sext, was colleague with L. Marcus Philippus in the beginning of the Sociall warre in the yeere after the cities foundation \* 662. and in the next yeere after, Lucius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulate with Pub. Rutilius Lupus. Neither before these, were any of the Cæsars renowned or advanced to the highest Office \* of State. Many yeeres after, out of the same familie, Lucius Cæsar, son of Sextus and \* cosin Germane to that C. Iulius Cæsar, who begat the Dictatour, and attained only to the Preturship, who also died at Pilz without any evident sickness, even as he did his shoes on in a morning, that L. Cæsar I say, came to be Consul.

Well, Cæsar the Dictator was borne at Rome (when Caius Marcius and Lucius Valerius Flaccus were Consuls) upon the fourth day before the Ides of Quintilis, which moneth after his death, was by vertue of the Law Antonia called for that cause, Iulie. His bringing up hee had with his mother Aurelia, daughter of Caius Cotta, and his aunt by the fathers side Iulia, the wife of Marius. Whereupon grew the love that he tooke (a Patritian though he were) to the Plebeian Faction, and the hatred he bare to Sulla. The Greeke and Latine tongue, the precepts also and rules of Oratorie, he learned of M. Antonius Gniphio, a French man borne. Who being of an excellent wit and singular memorie, courteous besides in his behaviour, and of a kinde & gentle nature, taught the Greek and Latine, Grammer, & Rhetorick withal first in the house of Caius Cæsar his father; after wards in his owne; and got much thereby; such was the bountie of his scholars; considering that hee never compounded with them for any wages or reward. Now, was this Cæsar wonderful doeble and apt to learne, yea and framed naturally for eloquence.

His Latine speech was trimly garnished, (tho' & nigh Domesticall acquaintance) by his mother Aurelia, a woman that spake the Romane tongue purely and elegantly like as the Muciz, Læliz, Corneliz, and other right honorable Dames did, in whose families there arose Oratours of great name.



# THE HISTORIE OF Caius Iulius Cesar Dictator,

written by Caius Suetonius Tranquil-  
lus.



**C**ÆSAR in the sixteenth yeere of his age, lost his (a) Father: and in the \* yeare following, being elected (b) *Flamen Dialis*, he cast off COSSUTIA (a Gentlewoman borne but very wealthy) affianced unto him during his childhood; and espoused CORNELIA the daughter of CINNA foure times Consul: who bare vnto him soone after, his daughter IVLIA: neither could he by any meanes be forced by SVLLA the Dictatour, to (c) put her away: Whereupon, deprived of his sacerdotall dignitie, loosing the dowrie in the right of his wife, and forfeiting all his heritages (d) descended unto him from his linage and name, hee was reputed one of the \* contrarie Faction: In so much as he was constrain'd to \* hide his head; and (albeit the quartaine Ague hung fore upon him) to change almost every night his starting holes wherein hee lurked; yea, and to redeeme himselfe with a (e) peece of money out of the Inquisitours hands that made search for him: untill such time, as by the mediation of the re-

B

ligious

*CHAP. I.*  
A.V.C. 670.  
\* *Sequentibus*  
Coss. For at  
Rome they reckoned the  
yeares according to their  
Consuls; whose  
office ordinarily continued  
one yeare, and  
began with the  
yeare, upon the  
first day of Ianu-  
arie.  
\* Or Diuorſe.  
\* Of Marius.  
\* To ſite into  
the Sabines  
Countrie.

\* For *Aurelia* was his mother.

ligious (f) vestall virgines, by the meanes also of *MAMERCUS ARMILIUS* and *AVRELIVS COTTA*, his neere \* kinsfolke and allied vnto him, hee obtained pardon. Certaine it is, that *SULLA*, when he had denied a good while the request of those right worshipfull persons, and his singular good friends intreating in his behalfe, and yet they persisted earnest suiters still for him, being thus importuned and at length overcome, brake forth aloud into these words, either in a Diuine prescience, or some pregnant coniecture, Go to (quoth hee) my M<sup>rs</sup>: Take him to you, since yee will needes have it so: but know this withall, that he whose life and safety yee so much desire, will one day be the overthrow of the Nobles, whose side yee have maintained with mee: For in this *CÆSAR* there be many *MARII*.

2. THE first time that *CÆSAR* served in the Warres, was in *Asia*, and that in the (a) domesticall retinue of \* *M. THERMVS* the Pretour: By whom being sent into *Bithynia* for to leuie a Fleet, he made his abode with *K. NICOMEDES*: not without a foule rumour raised, that he prostituted his bodie to be abused by the King: which rumour he augmented himselfe, by comming againe into *Bithynia* within fewe dayes, vnder a colour of calling for certaine money, which should be due to a (b) Libertine and (c) Client of his. The rest of his souldierie he caried with better fame and reputation: and at the winning of *MITYLENE*, *THERMVS* honored him with a (d) Ciuike guirland.

3. HE was a Souldiour also, vnder *SERVILIUS ISAVRICVS* in *Cilicia*, but it was not long: For vpon certaine intelligence given of *SULLA* his death, and the hope withall of the new dissention that was stirred & set on foote by *M. (a) LEPIDVS*, he returned in all hast to *Rome*. And notwithstanding hee was mightily solicited by many large offers and faire promises, yet forbare he to ioyne in societie with *LEPIDVS*, partly distrusting his \* nature, and in part doubting the present oportunitie, which he found nothing answerable to his expectation.

4. HOWEVERT when that ciuill discord and sedition was (a) appeased, hee judicially accused for \* extortion *CORNELIVS DOLOBELLA*, a man who had bene Consull, and triumphed. But seeing that the Defendant was found vnguiltie and acquit, hee determined to retire himselfe vnto the Citie of *Rhodes*, as well to decline the \* hatred of the world, as by occasion of that leaseure and repose to learne the Art of Oratorie vnder *APOLLONIUS* \* *MOLO* a most renowned Rhetorician in those daies. As he crossed the Seas thitherward \* (being now Winter time) his fortune was about the Isle *Pharmacusa* to be taken by Rovers, and with them he remained in custodie (not without \* exceeding indignation) for the space well neere of xl. dayes, accompanied with one \* Physician and two Groomes of his chamber. For, \* his \* companions and the rest of his servants belonging to his traine, he had sent \* away immediatly at the very first, to procure him money with all speed for his ranfome. After this, vpon the payment vnto them of L. talents being set a shoare, he delayed no time, but presently put his Fleet to Sea againe, embarked, and neuer gave over pursuing the said Pirates, vntill he had over-taken them: and no sooner were they within his power, but as hee often times had threatned in mirth, hee put them all to death. Now whiles *MITHRIDATES* wasted the Countries next adioyning, because he would not be thought to sit still & doo nothing in this dangerous & doubtful state of confederate Nations and Allies to the Romaines, he left *Rhodes* whether he

A.V.C. 676.  
\* Surnamed so of the people in Cilicia named *Iauri*, whom he subdued.  
\* So variable and indiscreet.

\* Whis hee gouerned his Prouince.  
\* For calling into question so honorable a person.  
\* *Moloni*, not *Molonis*, as *Plutarch* taketh it, that is, the son of *Molon*.  
\* *Hiberni mensibus*, that is, in the Winter moneths which were Decemb; Iannar. Febr.  
\* Some reade *dignatione* in a diuers sense.  
\* *Medicos*, vel *amico*, that is, a friend.  
\* Or the rest of his companions & seruants.  
\* To the Citie of Asia, a Prouince adioyning.

he had directly bent his course, gathered a power of Auxiliarie Souldiers, expelled the Governour under the King out of the Prouince, and so kept the Cities and States in their allegiance, which were wavering and at the point to reuolt.

IN his Militarie (a) tribuneship, which was the first dignitie after his returne to *Rome*, that befell vnto him by the voyces and election of the people, hee assisted with all his might \* those Patrones of the Commons, who stood out for the restitution of their Tribunes authoritie; the force and strength whereof *SULLA* had abated. Hee effected moreover thus much, by vertue of an Act proposed by \* *PLATIVS*, that *L. CINNA* his wifes brother, that they, who together with him in the time of the ciuill discord aboute-laide, tooke part with *LEPIDVS*, and after the \* Consuls death, fled vnto *Sertorius*, might returne safely into the Citie, and enjoy their freedome. As touching which matter, himselfe made an Oration before the body of the people.

BEING \* Questour hee made as the auncient manner was Funerall Orations out of the publike Pulpit called *Rostra*, in the praise of *IVLIA* his Aunt by the Fathers side, and of his wife *CORNELIA*, both late deceased. And in the commendation verily of his said Aunt, speaking of the pedigree and descent by both sides, namely of her selfe, and also of her Father, hee maketh report in these termes: Mine Aunt *IVLIA* (quoth he) by her Mother is lineally descended from Kings, and by her Father united with the race of the immortall Gods: For, from *Ancus Marcius* are deriued the *Marcij* surnamed Reges, id est. Kings, which name my Mother was siled with: and from *VANVS* the *IVLI* draw their originall, of which house and name is our familie. So then, in this flock there concur and meete together, as well the sanctitie and sacred Maiestie of Kings, who among men are most powerfull, as the religious Ceremonies and seruice of the Gods, in whose power Kings themselves are. In the place of *CORNELIA* departed, hee wedded *POMPEIA*, daughter of *Q. POMPEIVS*, and Neece to *L. SULLA*. But her afterward hee divorced, suspecting that she had bene naught with *P. CLODIVS*, of whom there went so constant a report abroad, how at the celebration of certaine publike Divine ceremonies, he being disguised in womans aparel had accessse secretly vnto her, that the Senate by Decree directed a Commission to Iustices Inquisitours, for to sit vpon the pollution of those sacred Rites and \* Misteries.

DURING his Questureship, it fell vnto him by lot to execute his Office in the \* farther Prouince of *Spain*: where, when as by the commaundment of the \* Lord Prerour, he rode his circuit to keepe the \* Assises, and came to *Gades*, beholding aduisedly the Image or pourtraicture of *K. ALEXANDER* the Great in the Temple of *HERCVLES* there: at the sight thereof hee fetched a deepe sigh, yea, and as one displeased and yrked with his owne sloathfulness, in that hee had performed yet no memorabile Act at those \* yeeres, wherein *ALEXANDER* had conquered the whole world, hee presently made earnest suite for his discharge and licence to depart, thereby to take the first oportunitie of all occasions to compasse greater enterprizes at home within the Citie: and being moreover much disquieted and dismayed with a dreame the night before (for he imagined in his sleepe that he had carnall company with his owne Mother) the Divinours and Wizards incited him to the hopes of most glorious achievements, making this exposition of his dreame, that thereby was portended vnto him the Sovereignie

5.  
\* *C. Coilla*, *M. Crassus*, & *C. Pompeius*: who were the chiefe.  
\* A Tribune of the Commons.  
\* *Lepidus*.

6.  
\* Treasures.

\* Of the Goddess *Bona*, which were celebrated in *Cæsars* house, being the Pontific.

7.  
A.V.C. 689.  
\* Called *Betina*.  
\* *Arifinus* *Petrus*.  
\* In head shire Townes which were called *Cœnensis*. *Plinius*.  
\* That is, 33.  
C. Philip. 9.

raignie of the whole world, considering that his Mother whom hee saw under him betokened nought else but the subjection of the earth, which is counted the Mother of all things.

8. DEPARTING therefore thence before his time was fully expired, hee went unto the (a) Latine Colonies, which were now devising and in counsell to sue for the freedome of the Citie of *Rome*, and no doubt had solicited and excited them to attempt some tumult and trouble in the State, but that the Consuls for the avoiding of this very danger, kept back the Legions for a while which were enrolled for to be sent into *Cilicia*.

9. AND yet for all that, soone after he projected greater designs within the Citie. For, not many daies before he entred upon his Aedileship, suspected he was to have conspired with M. CRASSVS (\* a man of Consular degree) with P. SVLLA likewise and \* P. ANTONIVS, (who after they were Consuls elect stode condemned for suing indirectly and by corruption for that place) to set upon the body of the Senate in the beginning of their yeare; and that after they had massacred whom it pleased them, M. CRASSVS should usurpe the Dictatourship, himselfe be chosen by him Maister of the Horsemen: and so when they had settled the State at their pleasure, SVLLA and ANTONIVS should be restored againe unto their Consulship. Of this conspiracie, TANSIVS GEMINVS maketh mention in his Storie, M. BIVLVS in his Edicts and C. CVRIO the Father in his Orations. CICERO likewise seemeth to signifie as much in a certaine Epistle unto AXIVS wherein hee reporteth that CÆSAR established in his Consulship that Kingdome and roiall government, which he plotted and thought upon when hee was Aedile. TANSIVS writeth farther, that CRASSVS either repenting himselfe, or else upon feare, was not present nor kept the day appointed for the said massacre and therefore CÆSAR neither gave that signall which by agreement hee should have given. Now agreed it was as CVRIO saith, that he should let his gowne fall from his shoulders. The same CVRIO yea and M. ANTONIVS NASO doo write, that he conspired also with CN. PISO another young Gentleman, who being in suspition for a conspiracie within the Citie, had the Province of *Spain* extraordinarily and without his owne suite bestowed upon him: and complotted it was, that both hee in forraigne parts abroade and himselfe also at *Rome* should at once make an insurrection for to alter the State; and that, by the occasion and meanes of the \* Lambranes and inhabitants beyond the Po. That is, But the designement both of the one and the other was defeated and frustrate by reason of PISO his death.

WHEN he was Aedile, besides the (a) Comitium, the Market-place, and state-lie Halls of Iustice, hee beautified the Capitoll also with faire open Galleries built for the present occasion to stand onely during the publique shewes and plaies: wherein if the number of Images, Statues, and painted Tables fell out to be greater than was needefull, part of that furniture and provision might be set forth to the view of all men. As for the chasing and baiting of wilde beasts, the Stage plaies & solemne fights, he exhibited the both jointly with his copanion in Office, and also severally by himselfe. Whereby it came to passe, that howsoever the charges of these Solemnities were borne in commune by them both, yet he alone went away with all the honour and thanke thereof: Neither did M. BIVLVS his Colleague dissimule the matter, but utter as much, when

he

he said that the same befell unto him which unto POLLVX: For like as (quoth he) the Temple erected in the Common Market place of *Rome* unto \* both the Twin-brethren, beareth the name of CASTOR alone: even so my munificence in expence and CÆSARS together in setting out these games and plaies, goeth under the name of CÆSAR onely. CÆSAR over and above, did exhibite another shew of Sword-fight even at the sharpe: but hee brought into the place \* fewer couples of champions by a good many than he purposed: For, buying up (as he did) such a sort of Fencers from all parts out of every Schoole, and putting his adversaries of the other faction in great affright thereby, hee gave occasion unto the State to provide by a speciall Act in that behalfe, For a certaine set number of Sworde-plaies, above which no man might retaine anie at *Rome*.

11 THUS when he had gained the harts & favour of the people, he gave the attempt by some of the \* Tribunes, and sued to have the Province of *Egypt* by an Act of the Commons conferred upon him: taking occasion to make suite for this extraordinarie Government, For that the *Alexandrianes* had driven their \* King out of his Roialme, whom the Senate had stiled with the title of Allie and Friend, An Act of theirs generally disliked. Howbeit hee could not carie it, by reason that the faction of the Nobles crossed him. Whose authoritie because hee would by way of quittance infringe and impair by all meanes possible; the Tropæes and victorious Monuments of C. MARIVS for subduing K. IVGVRTHA, the *Cimbrian* and the *Teutons*, which before time had bene demolished \* and cast downe by SVLLA, he erected and set up againe: \* Also in fitting upon a Commission for the examination of \* murderers, hee reckoned those in the number of them, who in the time of the Proscription, had received money out of the publique Treasurie for bringing in (a) the heads of Romaine Citizens, notwithstanding they were excepted by vertue of the Lawes \* CORNELIE.

12 MOREOVER, he suborned one (a) and set him on, to endite C. RABIRIVS of high treason, by whose helpe especially some yeares before the Senate had repressed and restrained the seditious Tribuneship of L. SATVRNINVS: and being by lot chosen a \* Iudge Delegate to passe sentence of the prisoner, so willing he was to condemne him, that when RABIRIVS appealed unto the people, nothing did him so much good as the rigour of the \* Iudge.

13 HAVING laied a side all hope of the foresaid \* Province, he stood to be the Highest Priest, not without excessive and most lavish largesse. Wherein, considering how deeply hee engaged himselfe in debt, the same morning that hee was to goe unto the assemblie for the Election, when his Mother \* kissed him he told her (by report) afore-hand, that he would never returne home but *Pontiffe*. And so farre overweighed he (a) two most mightie Competitours, who otherwise for age and dignitie much outwent him, that in their owne Tribes hee alone caried more voices, than both of them in all \* throughout.

BEING \* created Pretour, when as the Conspiracie of CATILINE WAS detected, and all the Senate generally awarded no lighter punishment than \* death, for as many as were parties and accessarie in that Action; hee onely gave his sentence, That their goods should be confiscate, and themselves put into se-

B 3

verall plicum.

\* Geminis fratribus, that is, Castor and Pollux, who commonly be called Geminus fratres

\* And yet hee exhibited 320. paire, as Plutarch writeth. \* That hee might governe it and place the King againe in his roiall Seate.

\* Ptolemæus Anletes the Father of Cleopatra, who many yeares after by Gabinus was restored to his Kingdome. A.V.C. 690.

\* As Torrensius saith.

\* This is by the figure Prolepsis to be understood of Caesar when hee was Pretour of the Citie: as who favoured the Faction of Marius both then and before, howsoever it may seem that

Suetonius speaketh this of him being Aedile, or presently after his Aedileship: which by Torrensius leave, may well stand with the truth. \* In place of the Pretor.

\* Caesar. A.V.C. 691.

\* That is, Equus and the restoring of the king afore said.

\* Which were

35.

14

\* But not entered yet into the Office. \* Plutimus super

A.V.C. 688.

\* That had been Consul,

\* Or L. rather,

\* So called of a river, neere into which they dwelt beyond the Po.

\* Who was slain: by Spanish Horsemen, of whom hee had the conduct.

10

A.V.C. 689.

verall free Cities and Burrowghes under the people of *Rome*, and there to be kept in ward: and furthermore hee put them in so great a fright that gave sharper censure (intimating est-soones and setting before their eyes the exceeding great hatred of the *Romaine* Communitie, which in time to come they should incur) that *DECIMVS SILANVS* Consul elect was not abashed nor unwilling to mollifie his owne \*award, with a gentle exposition (because it had been a shame to alter it and eate his owne words) as if it had bene taken and construed in an harder sence, than hee meant it. And verily prevailed hee had, and gone cleare away with it (for many there were already drawne to his side, and among the rest, \**CICERO* the Consuls brother) but that a speech made by *M. CATO* emboldened the whole house, and confirmed all the Senatours in their former sentence, who now were at the point to yeeld unto him. And yet for all this, he ceased not to hinder their proceedings, untill such time as a troupe of *Romaine* Knights, who stood round about the place in Armes for \*guard and defence, threatened to dispatch him out of the way, in case hee continued still in his obstinate contumacie, holding and shaking their drawne Swords so neere unto him, as that his next fellows forooke him as he fate with them, and very few taking him in their armes and putting their \*Gownes betweene, hardly and with much a doo saved him from violence. Then was hee scared in deede, in so much as hee not onely condiscended unto them, but also for the rest of that \*year forebare to come into the Senate house.

THE very first day of his Pretourship, he consented *Q. CATVLVS* before the body of the people to receive their order upon (a) a matter to be diseussed by them, as touching reedification of the Capitoll, having withall promulgged a Lawe, by vertue whereof hee transferred the charge of that worke unto \*another. But not able to match the Nobles and better fort, nor to make his part good with them drawing in one line, as they did, whom hee sawe in great frequencie to runne by heapes together, so fully bent to make resistance, that presently they left their officious attendance upon the new Consuls, hee gave over this action.

BUT, whereas *CECILIVS METELLVS* \*a Tribune of the Commons, proposed most turbulent and seditious Lawes, malgre his Colleagues with all their opposition, he shewed himselfe a stout abbetter and maintainer of him: most slyly bearing him out in the cause, so long untill both of them were by an injunction and decree of the Senatours remooved from the administration of the Common-wealth. Howbeit presuming neverthelesse to continue in his magistracie, and to execute his jurisdiction, when he understood once that some were ready to prohibite him by force and Armes, hee sent away his Serjeants, cast off his (e) embrodered purple Robe, and retired privily to his owne house, minding there to keepe himselfe quiet in regard of the troublesome time. And when two daies after, the multitude flocked unto him willingly and of their owne accord, promising after a very tumultuous manner their helpe and assistance in the recoverie of his former place and dignitie, he repressed them. Which thing happening thus beyond all expectation, The Senate which was hastily met together about that riot and uprore, gave him harte thanks; and that by the principall and noblest personages among them, sent for him into the (f) *Curia*, and after

\* As if he ment by *ulimum supplicium*, imprisonment or some lesse punishment then death.

\* *Quintus Cicero*

\* *M. Cicero*.

\* Of Consul and Senate.

\* *Plutarch* nameth *Curio* for one of them.

\* Of *M. T. Cicero* the Consul his yeere which now drew to an end.

15  
A.V.C. 692.

\* That is, to *Ca. Pompeius*.

16  
\* Surnamed *Nepos* (as *Valerius* witnesseth) for his riotous life and behaviour.

after they had in most honourable termes commended him; they restored him fully to his Office, and reversed their former Decree.

HE fell againe into another newe trouble and danger, being called into question as one of *CATILINES* conspiracie, both before the Questor *NOVIVS NIGER* in his house, and that by *L. VETTIVS* \* who appeached him; and also in the Senate, by *P. CVRIVS*: unto whom for that he detected first, the plots & designments of the Conspiratours, were rewards appointed by the State. *CVRIVS* depoled that he knew so much by *CATILINE*: and *VETTIVS* promised to bring forth even his owne hand-writing which he gave unto *CATILINE*: But this was such an indignitie as *CÆSAR* in no wise thought tollerable; whereupon, craving the testimonie of *CICERO* by which he proved, that himselfe merely of his owne accord had given some information unto him of the said Conspiracie, he prevailed so much that *CVRIVS* went without those rewards. As for *VETTIVS*, after his goods were arrested and stresses taken, his household-stuffe rifled, himselfe evill entreated, beaten, and in the open assemblie of the multitude even before the *ROSTRA* wel neere pulled in peeces, him he clapt up in prison. After the same sort he served *NOVIVS* the Questour, because hee suffered him, (g) a superiour Magistrate of State, to be accused and defamed in his house.

\* AFTER this Pretourship of his, having the Government of the farther Province in *Spainne* allotted unto him, hee tooke order with his Creditours (that were in hand to stay him) by the meanes of certaine (a) *sureties* who came in and undertooke for him: and before the Governours of the Provinces were disposed of by the State, with Commissions sealed for their jurisdiction and other affaires, with allowance and furniture also set out for them accordingly, he contrarie to all right and custome put himselfe in his journey: were it for feare of some judicial proceeding intended against him whiles he was a private person, or because he might more speedily succour the Allies of the *Romaines*, who craved helpe, it is uncertaine. Well, when he had settled the Province in peace, he made as great hast to be gone: and not expecting a Successour hee departed, as well to ride in Triumph as to take upon him the Consulship. But after the Writs and Proclamations were out for the great Assemblie to Election (of Consuls) when he might not be pricked nor propounded (Consull) unlesse hee entred the Citie in qualitie of a private Citizen, and \* many withstoode him labouring as he did to be dispensed-with for the Lawes, forced he was for feare of being put by the Consulship to forgoe (b) his triumph.

OF the two Competitours with him for the Consulship, to wit, *L. LVCEIVS* and *M. BIBVLVS*, hee made choise of *LVCEIVS* to be his Companion in Office; vpon this compact and condition, That since hee was a man not so gracious, but better monied than himselfe, he should of his owne purse pronounce in the name of both, & promise to deale monies among the Centuries. Which devite being known, the \* Nobles and great men who were afraide, that being once a foueraigne \* Magistrate, & hauing a colleague ready at his beck to agree & consent with him, he would both dare & do any thing; perswaded with *BIBVLVS* to make promise of as great a Donation as the other did: and the most part of them contributed their monies thereunto: Yea, *CATO* himselfe verily was not against it, but saide, This *Largeesse* stood with the good of the weale publique.

17.

\* *Indice*, some reade *Indice*, that is, as if *Indice* were his surname.

18.

A.V.C. 697.  
\* *Expretura* whereby it appeared he was *Prætor Urbainus*.

A.V.C. 697.  
\* *Cato*, and his followers.

19

\* *Optimates*,  
\* *Consull*.



publique. Heereupon created Consul hee was with BIBVLVS. For the same cause, the saide Nobles and principall persons of the Citie gaue order, that the Consuls for this yeere following, should haue (b) the Prouinces and Commissions of least affaire and importance, to wit, the looking vnto Forrests & Woods, vnto Lanes and Pathes. CÆSAR taking this wrong and disgrace most to the heart, made court all that euer he could vnto Cn. POMPEIVS, who had taken offence against the Senatours, for that hauing vanquished K. MITHRIDATES, his Acts and Decrees were no sooner ratified and confirmed. He reconciled also vnto POMPEIVS, M. CRASSVS, an oldeemie ever since that Consulship, which they bare together with exceeding much jarring and disagreement: Hee entred likewise into a Societie with them both, vpon this contract, That nothing should bedone or passe in the administration of the Common-weale, that displeased any of them three.

20  
A.V.C. 695.

WHEN he was entred into this Honourable place of Consulship; hee (first of all that ever were) ordained, That all Acts, as well of Senate as People should day by day as they (a) were concluded, bee recorded also and published. Hee brought in likewise the ancient custome againe, that in what (b) moneth hee had not the Knitches of rods with Axes borne before him, a publique Officer called ACCENSVS should huiſher him before, and the Serjeants or Licetours follow after behinde. Hauing promulged the Lawe *Agraria*, as touching the diuision of Lands among the Commons, when his fellowe Consull withstoode and resisted his proceedings, hee drave him out of the Common-place, by violence and force of Armes. The morrow after, when the saide BIBVLVS had made his complaint in the Senate of this outrage, and there would not one be found that durst move the house about so great a garboile and hurliburly as that was, nor give his censure thereof (as often times in lighter \*tumults and stirres there had passed many Decrees) hee drave him to such a desperate feare, that untill hee went quite out of his magistracie, hee kept close within house and never prohibited \*any proceedings else, but by way of \*Edict. From that time forward, CÆSAR alone managed all the affaires of State, even as hee would himselfe: in so much as diuers Citizens pleasantly conceited, when so euer they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand vpon record, would merily put it downe thus, *Such a thing was done, not when CÆSAR and BIBVLVS, but when IVLIVS and CÆSAR were Consuls*: setting downe one and the same man twice, by his name and surname: yea, and soone after, these verses were commonly currant abroad,

*Non Bibulo, quidquam nuper, sed Cesare, factum est:  
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule, nil memini.*

CÆSAR of late did many things, but BIBVLVS not one:  
For nought by Consul BIBVLVS, can I remember done.

\*At the discretion of xx. men deputed Commissioners for that purpose.  
The Stellar champion fields held consecrated & religious by our Aunccestors, together with the Campanie territorie, reserved to yeeld rent and pay tribute for a Subsidie to the Common-weale, hee divided without casting \*lots, among  
twentie

twentie thousand Citizens who could shew three children or more. The Publicanes making request for some \* easement hee relieued, by striking of a third part of their rents, and warned them openly, that in the setting and letting of the new commodities and reuenues of the Citie, they should not bid and offer too much. All other things likewise he gaue and graunted, according as euery mans mind and desire stood thereto, and no man gaine said him: but, went any about to thwart him, he was soone frighted away. M. CATO, when hee seemed to interrupt and stop his proceedings, hee caused to be haied violently out of the Senate house by an Officer, and committed to prison: As L. LVCILLVS stoutly withstood his doings, he put him into so great a feare of sundry Actions and criminations, that hee was glad to come and iall downe before him at his knees. When CICERO pleading vpon a time in Court, had lamented the wooll state of those times: the very same day, at the \* ninth houre thereof, hee brought P. CLODIVS hisemie to be adopted into the house and name of a Commoner; one who long before had laboured in vaine to goe from the Nobles, and be incorporate among the Commons. Last of all, it is credibly reported, that hee induced by rewards, against all those in generall of the contrary faction; \* an appeacher, to professe that he was solicited by some for to murder POMPEIVS; who being produced forth by him before the body of the people, nominated (as hee had instructions, and as it was agreed betweene them afore) those that set him a worke: but when one or two of them were named to no purpose, nor without pregnant suspicion of some fraudulent practise; he despairing the good successe of so rash and inconsiderate a project, poisoned the \* partie whom hee had thus suborned, and made him away for telling any more tales.

ABOUT the same time, hee tooke to wife CALPURNIA the daughter of L. PISO, who was to succcede him in the Consulate; and affianced his owne daughter IVLIA vnto Cn. POMPEIVS, rejecting and casting off her former spouse \*SERVILIUS CÆPIO, by whose helpe especially a little before, hee had impugned BIBVLVS. After this new contracted affinitie, hee began (in Counsell) to aske (a) POMPEIVS opinion first; whereas before, hee was wont to begin with CRASSVS: notwithstanding also the custome was, that the Consul should observe that order all the yeere following; in asking the Senatours sentences, which he began with, the first day of Ianuarie.

BRING backed therefore by the fauour and assistance of his wives \* Father and \* Sonne in Law, out of all that choice of Provinces hee chose especially the \* Pisto- Gaules, the wealth and commoditie whereof might fit his hand, and minister matter sufficient of (a) triumphs. And verily at the first by vertue of the Law (b) VATINIA he tooke vpon him the gouernment of (c) GALLIA CISALPINA together with ILLYRICVM. Soone after by the meanes of the Senate, that also which was called (d) COMATA: For, the nobilitie feared, least if they had denied him it, the people would have bestowed the same also vpon him. With joy whereof he grew so haughtie and proud, that he could not hold and temper himselfe, but after some fewe daies make his boast in a frequent Senate house, that he had gotten now what he desired in despite of his aduersaries, and full sore against their wills; and therefore from that time forward, would (e) insult vpon all their heads: whereupon, when one by way of reproach denied that and said, That it was no easie matter for a woman so to doo: he answered againe, as

\* For that they had take things at too high a rate.

\* Three a clock in the after-noon.

\* Indict, others read Indictum id est Vetus Indict.

\* E. Vettinac-cording to Dio and spian.

\* Id est Vettina Index afore-said: For, dead hee was found in prison by night.

21.

\* Whom hee promised in marriage the daughter of Cn. Pompeius.

22.

\* Pisto- \* Cn. Pompeius.

it

it were alluding merily to another sence, That, euen in *Assyria* there some time raigned Queene *Semiramis*: and that the women named (*Amazones*) held in times past a great part of *Asia* in subjection.

23  
A.V.C. 696.  
\*Whether they should be repealed or stand in force.  
\*When he was Consul.  
\*For that hee was extraordinarily absent, longer than the Law *Sempronia* did permit.

WHEN hee had borne his Consulship, C. MEMMIUS and L. DOMITIUS Pretours for the time being\*, put to question his A&S passed the former yeere: whereupon hee referred the examination and censure thereof unto the body of the Senate but seeing they would not undertake the thing, after three daies spent to no purpose in vaine brables and altercations, he departed into his Province. And immediatly his \*Questour (a) for to prejudice him; was drawne into trouble & indited upon certaine crimes. Within a while himselfe also was brought judicially to his triall, and accused by L. ANTISTIVS a Tribune of the Commons: but by appealing unto the Colledge of the Tribunes, hee prevailed through their favour thus much (in regard of his absence about the affaires of Common-weale) that he should not be liable to the accusation. For his better securitie therefore against future times, he travailed much to oblique and make beholden unto him the Magistrates every yeare: and of those Competitours who sued for any honourable Office, to helpe or suffer none other to come unto the place, but such as covenanted with him, and undertooke to defend & maintaine \*him in his absence. For assurance of which their covenant, he stuck not to require of some an oath, yea, and a bill of their owne hands.

24.  
A.V.C. 698.  
\*The bird *Galerita* or *Cassida*, so called of a crest upon the head. This Legion it should seeme were Plumes of feathers in their crests of Helmetts, whereupon it tooke that name.  
\*Namely *Cato*, *Plutarch*.

BUT when L. DOMITIUS a (a) Candidate for the Consulship threatned openly, that were he once Consul, he would effect that which he could not while he was Pretour, yea, and rake from him his Armies, hee made meanes to draw CRASSVS and POMPEIUS unto *Luca* a Citie within his Province: with whom hee dealt effectually, that for to give DOMITIUS the repulse, they should both sue for themselves to be Consuls the second time, and also labour that his government might be prorogued or continued for five yeares longer; and he effected both. Vpon this confidence hee presumed to assume unto those Legions which hee had received from the State, others beside, maintained partly at the Cities charges, and in part with his owne private purse. And one Legion about the rest, enrolled from out of the Countries beyond the Alpes, hee termed by a French word, For named it was \**Alauda*. Which, being trained in militarie discipline, armed also and set out after the Romaine fashion, hee afterwards enfranchized throughout and made free of *Rome*. Neither from this time forward forbore he any occasion of warre, were it never so unjust or dangerous: picking quarrels as well with confederate Nations, as those that were enemies, savage and barbarous; whom he provoked to take Armes: in so much, as the Senate one time decreed, to send certaine Embassadours for to survey & visite the state of the Gaules: yea, and some \*were of opinion, that he should be delivered unto the enemies hands. But by reason that his affaires sped well and had good successe, hee obtained in regard thereof solemne Supplications both ofner, and to hold more daies than ever any man did (before himselfe.)

25.  
DURING the time of his (provinciall) gouernment, which continued nine yeares space, these, in manner, were the A&S which hee performed. All that part of *Gaule*, which from the Forrest and Mountaine *Pyreneus*, the Alpes, and the hill *Gebena*, is enclosed within the Rivers *Rhene* and *Rhofne*, containing in circuit 3200. miles, not accounting the associate Cities and States who

well of the people of *Rome*, hee reduced into the forme of a Province, and imposed upon them a payment of tribute yeerely. The Germanes inhabiting beyond the *Rhene*, he of all the Romaines first assailed by meanes of a bridge which he built over the said River, and those he grievously plagued and gave them manie great overthrowes. He set upon the Brittaines also, a people before time unknowne, whom hee vanquished and compelled both to pay money, and also to deliver hostages. In so many prosperous battailes and fortunate exploits, he tasted of aduerse fortune thrice onely & no more: once in *Britaine*, when his Fleete had like to have beene lost and cast away in a violent tempest: a second time in *Gaule*, where a Legion of his was discomfited and put to flight, neare unto *Gerogvia*: and last of all, in the marches of *Germanie*, when TITVRIVS and AVRVCVLEIVS his Lieutenants were forlayed by an ambush and put to the sword.

26  
A.V.C. 700.  
\*That is, a hundred millions of Sesterces, and 20, as *Pome* writeth, lib 36 Cap. 15. if *Giarenus* readeth truly, *Atillies* ducenties.  
\*Domestica tim.  
\*Mother, then his daughter (IVLIA): and not long after his \*Necce by the said daughter. And in this meane while, the Common-wealth being much troubled and astonished at the murder of CLODIVS, \*when the Senate thought good there should be but one Consul created, namely C.N. POMPEIUS, hee dealt with the Tribunes of the Commons (who intended that hee should be the Colleague in Office with POMPEIUS) to propose this rather unto the People, That they would grant leave unto him in his absence, whensoever the terme of his government drew toward an end, to sue for his second Consulship: because he might not be constrained upon that occasion, and whiles the warre was yet unfinished, to depart out of his Province. Which when he had once obtained at their hands, reaching now at higher matters, and full of hopes, there was no kind of largesse, no manner of dutifull Office either in publique to the whole Citie, or privately unto any person that he omitted and left undone. His FORVM or stately Hall he began to build with the money raised of the spoiles gotten in warres: the very plot of ground whereon it should stand, cost him \**Atillies* ftertium and above. He pronounced also a solemne Sword-fight and Feast unto the people, in the honour and memoriall of his Daughter, a thing that never any man did before him. And to cause an expectation of these solemnities in the highest degree, the viands & whatsoever pertained unto the feast, albeit he had agreed with Butchers and Victualers for the same at a certaine price, he provided neverthelesse by his \*household-servants. All the notable and well knowne sword players, when and wheresoever they fought so, as upon the mislike and displeasure of the beholders they were in danger to be killed in the place at their commandement, he tooke order and charged they should be had away by force and reserved for himselfe. As for new-Fencers and young beginners, hee trained them neither in any publique Schoole, nor under professed M<sup>rs</sup>: of that Facultie, but at home in private houses, by Gentlemen of *Rome*, yea, and Senatours also, such as were skillful in their weapon and in feates of Armes praying and beseeching them earnestly (as appeareth in his Epistles unto them) to take the charge of every one severally, and to have a speciall care to instruct each one, and giue them rules in their exercises. The legionarie Souldiours pay in money he doubled for ever. And so often as there was plenty of corne, hee gave them their allowance of it without stint and measure and other-while he bestowed upon every one a slave or bond-servant, yea and possessions by the poll.



27. *\*So, Lee was great Vnkle unto her, like as he was to Octavia, the Emperour*

MOREOVER, to retaine still the bond of acquaintance, affinitie, and good will of POMPEIVS, OCTAVIA his sisters \*Necce wedded unto C. MARCELLVS. hee affianced and made sure unto him: but withall, he craved his daughter to wife, promised in marriage before unto FAUSTVS SULLA. Having thus obligued and brought to his devotion all those about him, yea, & the greater number of Senatours, by crediting out his money unto them, either *gratis*, or vpon a slight consideration: those also of other sorts & degrees, either invited kindly by him selfe, or resorting unto him of their owne accord, hee gratified with a most magnificent and bounteous (4) congiarie. The freed men besides, yea, and the Servants and Pages belonging to every one, according as any of them were in favour with their \* Lord and Maister, tasted of his liberality. Moreover, there was not a man sued in Court judicially and in danger of the Law; there was not any deeply engaged and ended unto their Creditours; there were no prodigall young spend thrifts, but he was their onely supporter, and most readie at all affaires to helpe them: unlesse they were those that either had committed such grievous crimes, or were so low brought, or had been so excessive in riot, as that they could not possibly be relieved by him. *For such as these, hee would say in plaine termes and openly, there was no other remedie but civil warre.*

\*Or Patron.

28

No lesse carefull and studious was he to allure unto him the hearts of Kings, yea, and whole Provinces throughout the world: unto some, offering in free gift the deliverie of Captives and prisoners by thousands at a time: unto others, sending aide secretly and under-hand without authoritie or commission of Senate and people, whether and as often as they would: and more than this, adorning with goodly building and excellent peeces of work the mightiest Cities of *Italie, Gaule, Spaine*, yea, and of *Asia* and *Greece*. This he did so long, untill all men now were assionied therat: and when they cast with themselves whereto this might tend, at last M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS the Consul after a preface and preamble made to his Edict, namely, That he would speake as touching the maine point of the Common-weale, proposed unto the Senate, That for as much as the warre was now ended, and peace abroad established, there might be one sent to succcede him, before his time was fully expired; also, That the victorious Armie ought of right to bee dismissed and have their discharge from warfare: Item, that in the High Court and assembly for the Consuls election his name should not bee propounded, considering POMPEIVS afterward had anuiled \* that Act of the people (by vertue whereof it was graunted that he might be chosen Consul in his absence.) Now it had fallen out so, that hee making a Law as touching the right of Magistrates, in that Chapter and branch thereof, wherein he disabled those who were absent for being capable of honours and dignities, forgot to except CÆSAR: and soone after, when the said Law was once engrosfed and engraven in brasse, & so laid up in the Treasurie, corrected his error and oversight. Neither was MARCELLVS content to deprive CÆSAR of his Provinces, and to put him by the priviledge of a former Act passed in especiall favour of him, but he made a motion moreover, that those inhabitants, whom by the Law *Vatinia* CÆSAR had planted in the Colonie of *Novocomum*, should leese the freedome which they had, as Citizens of *Rome*. For that this prerogative of theirs had been graunted by ambitious meanes, and beyond that prescript number which was appointed and warranted by the Decree in that behalfe.

CÆSAR

29

CÆSAR highly displeased and troubled at these proceedings, and judging it, (as he was heard by report many times to give out) an harder matter for him a principall man of the Citie, to be deposed and thrust downe from the highest and first place of degree into the second, than from the second into the lowest and last of all) withstood him with all his might and power, partly by the opposition and negative voice of the Tribunes, and in part by SERVIVS SULLPITIUS the other Consull. Also in the yeare following when C. MARCELLVS who succeeded his cousin GERMAIN by the fathers side MARCUS, in the cōsulship, assaied to bring the same about, he bribed & made sure vnto him, with a mightie summe of mony, AEMILIUS, PAULVS companion with him in office, and C. CURIO a most violent Tribune, to sticke unto him, & defend his honor. But seeing all things carried still against him more obstinately than before, & the new Consuls elect take the contrarie side & bent another way, he wrote unto the Senate, and by his letters humbly besought them, not to suffer the benefit granted unto him by the people to be taken from him: or if they did, yet to give order that other Generals likewise as well as hee, might leave their Armies: presuming confidently, as men thinke, vpon this, himselfe should be able whicloeuer he pleased to assemble together his souldiers more easily than POMPEIVS to levy new. But with his aduerfaries he would haue treated by way of Capitulation in these termes, that after he had discharged and sent away 8. Legions, and giuen over the province of *Gaule* beyond the Alpes, he might be allowed 2. legions with the province on this side the Alpes: or if not so, yet at least wife one, together with ILLYRICUM, vntil such time as he were created cōsul.

A.V.C. 904

But perceiuing that the Senate came not betweene nor interposed their authoritie to stop the course intended against him, & his aduerfaries denied starly to admit all manner of capitulating & composition concerning the commonwealth, he passed into the hither part of *Gaule*, & having kept the Assizes there and executed his provinciall iurisdiction stayed at *Ravenna*, with full resolution to be reuenged by open warre, in case there had passed from the Senat, any sharp and cruell decree, touching the Tribunes of the Commons opposing themselves in his behalfe, & quarrell: And verily this was the colour and occasion which he pretended of ciuill warre: yet men thinke there were some other causes & motives thereto. Cn. POMPEIVS was wont to give out that for as much as CÆSAR was not able of himselfe and with his owne priuate wealth, either to consummate and finish those stately workes & edifices which he had begun, or to satisfie the expectation of the people which he had raised & wrought of his comming, therefore he intended to trouble the state and set all on a garboyle. Others say, that he feared least he should be compelled to giue an account of those things which in his first Consulship he had done against the sacred Auspices, the lawes, and prohibitions of the Tribunes (in the name of the people) considering that M. CATO had threatned and professed estoones, & not without an oath, that no sooner should he and his armie be parted, but he would judicially call his name in question & bring him to his answer: Also for that it was commonly spoken abroad that if he returned ones in qualitie of a priuate person, he should after the example of M. ILLIO plead before the iudges, with a guard of armed men about the Court and Tribunall. And this seemeth to bee more probable by that which A. S. IULIUS POLLIOWriteth, who reporteth, that in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, when he beheld his aduerfaries before his face, slaine and

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and put to flight, he vttered this speech word for word. *Loe, this was their own doing: this would they needes haue.* And I CAIUS CEASAR after so many worthie exploitcs achieved should haue beene a condemned man had I not craved helpe of mine armie. Some are of opinion, that being so long inured & acquainted with soweraigne command, & weighing his owne puillance & the power of his enemies, in ballace one against the other, took the occasion & opportunitie to usurpe that absolute dominion, which in the uerie prime of his years he aspired unto; and of this mind, it seemeth CICERO was, who in his 3. booke of duties writeth, that CEASAR had alwaies in his mouth, these verses of EURIPIDES

*Εὐρυπιδῆς, ἀδ' αὖτις ἤδη, τυραννίδος κείνης  
Καὶ ἐς σὺν ἄλγεα, τάλαντα δ' ἰσοκρίν ἤματα.*

Which CICERO himselfe translated thus.

*Nam si violandum est ius, imperij gratia  
Violandum est, alijs rebus pietatem colas.  
For if thou must do wrong by breach,  
Of lawes, of right and equitie,  
Tis best thereby a Crowne to reach,  
In all things els keepe pietie.*

31  
A.V.C. 705.

When word therefore was brought unto him, that the Tribunes inhibiti- on & negatiue voice was put down, and themselues departed out of the Citie: hauing immediatly sent before certaine Cohorts priuily, because no suspition might arise, he dissimuled the matter, & was present in person to behold a publike Game, viewed, and considered the plot forme according to which he was about to build a Schoole of swordfencers, and according to his usuall manner gaue himselfe to feast & banquet often. After this presently vpon the Sun-setting, he took vp certaine Mules from the next Bakersmil-house; set the in their geires to his wagon, and as closely as possibly he could with a small retinewe and companie about him put himselfe in his Iournie: and when by reason that the lights were gone out, he had lost his way, after he had wandred a long time, at the length meeting with a guide by that time it was day, he passed on foote through most narrow crosse lanes and by-pathes untill he recovered the right way againe. Now when he had ones ouertaken his Cohorts, at the riuer *Rubicon*, which was the utmost bound of his province, he rested & stoode still a little while: the casting in his mind, how great an enterprife he went in hand with, he turned vnto them that were next unto him and said. As yet my maisters wee may well returne backe; but passe we once ouer this little bridge, there will be no dealing but by force of armes and dint of sword.

As he thus staied, and stood doubtfull what to doe, a strang sight he chanced to see in this manner. All of a suddaine their appeared vnto him a certaine man of an extraordinary stature & shape withall, sitting hard by, & piping with a reed. Now when besides the shepheards & herdmen many soldiours also from their standing wards ran for to heare him, & among them the Trumpeters likewise, he caught from on of the a Trumpet, leapt forth to the riuer, & begining with a mightie blast to sound the battaile, kept on his pace to the very bancke, on the other side. Then CEASAR, Let vs march on quoth he & goe whether the tokes of the Gods & the iniurious dealings of our enemies call vs. The dice be throwne: I haue set vp my rest. Come what will of it.

32 And thus hauing conueyed his armie ouer the riuer, he ioyned with the Tribunes of the commons, who vpō their expulsion out of the Citie were come vnto him, & in a full & frequent assemblie, with shedding teares & reting his garmēt down the brest, besought the faithfull helpe & assistance of his soldiers. It is supposed also that he promised unto every on of the a knights liuing: which happened upō a vain & false persuasio, for whe in his speech & exhortatio unto the, he shewed euer & a non the (ring) finger of his left hand, & therewith auouched & promised for the satisfaction & contentmēt of al those by whose meanes he should maintaine his honour & dignitie, that he would willingly (6) plucke the ring from off his owne finger: those that stood him most in the assembly,

bly, who might better see than heare him speak, took that for spoken which they imagined by bare sight, and so the speech went for currant, That hee promised them the dignity of wearing the ring (of gold) together with 400000 (sesterces.)

34 THE order, proceeding a final complement of those Acts, which from thence forth he atchieved, summarily goeth in this maner. He seized into his hands and held PICENUM, VMBRIA, & HETRURIA. L. DOMITIIVS, who in a factious tumult was nominated to be his successor, & kept CORFINIVM with a garison, he subdued & forced to yeeld: and when he had dismissed him, hee marched along the coast of the *Adriatick* sea, to *Brundis*, whether the Consuls & POMPEIVS were fled, intending with all speed to crosse the narrow Seas: whose passage after he had assaid by all manner of lets to hinder & stop (but in vaine) he turned his journey and took the way directly to *Rome*. And when he had curteously moved the Senatours to give him meeting in the Senate house, there to treat & consult as touching the State of the Common-weale, he set upon the most puissant forces of POMPEIVS, which were in *Spain* under the conduct of three Lieutenants, M. PETREIVS L. AFFRANIVS & M. VARRO: having given out before among his friends and openly professed, that he was going to an Armie without a (a) Captaine; and would returne from thence to a (b) Captaine without an Armie. And albeit the besieging of *Massilia*, which Citie in his journey forward, had shut the gates against him, & exceeding scarcity of corn & victuals was some impeachment & stay unto him, yet within a short time he overcame & subdued all.

35 FROM hence having returned to the City (of *Rome*) againe, & passed over into *Macedonie*, after he had held POMPEIVS besieged for the space wel-neare of 4. moneths, & that within most mighty trenches & strong rampiers, he discomfited at the last in the *Pharsalian* battel & put him to flight: and following him hotly in chase as he fled to *Alexandria*, so soone as he understood that he was slaine, and perceived likewise that King PTOLOMEVS laid wait for his owne person a fo, he warred upon him which, to say a truth, was a most difficult & dangerous peece of worke, by reason that he managed it, neither in place indifferent, nor time convenient, but in the very Winter season, and within the walls of a most wealthy & politick enemy, being himselfe in distresse & want of all things, and unprovided besides to fight. Having atchieved the victory, he graunted the king- dome of *Egypt* unto CLEOPATRA & her younger brother, fearing to reduce it into the forme of a Province, least at any time, beeing governed under some L. President of a more stirring spirit & violent nature than others, it might give occasion & yeeld matter of rebellion. From *Alexandria* he went over into *Syria*, & so from thence into *Pontus*, upon the urgent newes as touching PHARNACES; Whom, notwithstanding he was the sonne of that great MITHRIDATES, & taking the opportunitie of the troubles & civill warre among the Romans, made warre, yea, and now bare himselfe presumptuous and overbold for his manifold victories & great successe, yet within 5. dayes after his arrivall thither, & 4. houres after he came into sight of the enemy, he vanquished and subdued in one onely battaile: est soones & oftentimes recounting the felicity of POMPEIVS, whose hap it was, to win his principall name for warfare, of so cowardly a kinde of enemies. After this, he defeated SEPIO and IUBA, repairing the reliques of that side in *Africk*, and the children of POMPEIVS in *Spain*.

IN all the civill warres, hee sustained no losse or overthrow but by his owne Lieutenants: of whom, C. CVRIO was slaine in *Africk*: C. ANTONIVS yeeld- ed

36

ded himfelfe into the hands of his enemies in *Illyricum*: P. DOLABELLA in the fame *Illyricum* loft his fleet, and C. N. DOMITIUS his armie in *Pontus*. Himfelfe fought his battailes alwaies moft fortunatly, and never was fo much as in any hazard, fave only twice: once before *Dyrrachium*, where being difcomfited and put to flight, when he faw that POMPRIUS followed not on in chafe, he faid of him, *That hee knew not how to ufe a victorie*. A fecond time, in *Spaine*, at the laft battaile that ever he fought, what time, being in great defpaire, hee was of mind even to have killed himfelfe.

37  
A.V.C. 708.  
709.  
\* A Streete in Rome.  
\* Sicut ceteri.  
HAVING finished all his warres, he rode in 5. triumphs: to wit, when he had vanquished SCIPIO, 4. times in one and the fame moneth, but certaine daies betweene: and once againe, after hee had overcome the children of POMPRIUS. The firft and moft excellent triumph that hee folemnized, was that over Gaule: then followed the *Alexandrine*; after it the *Pontick*; next thereunto the *Affrican*: and laft of all the *Spanifh*: every one fet out diversly, with variety of Ordinance, provifion and furniture. On the day of his Gaules triumph, as he rode along the \* *Velabrum*, he had like to have bene shaken out of his Chariot, by reafon that the Axel-tree brake. Hee mounted up into the Capitoll by torch-light, having xl. Elephants on his right hand & left, bearing (a) branches and candlesticks. In his Pontick triumph, among the Pageants and shewes of that pomp, hee caufed to be carried before him the title & fuperscription of thefe three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I faw, I conquered: fignifying, not the acts atchieved by warre, as other Conquerours, but noting his expedition in difpatching the warre.

38  
\* Or rather  
\* cetera, that is,  
20000.  
\* Rather quæ-  
aragen, that is  
40000.  
\* By which  
reckoning the  
proportion to  
horifemen was  
double.  
\* That is, for  
bearing fo  
long.  
\* Pifcerationi:  
which as fome  
thinke Perfus,  
callefth æpimachus  
and is ex-  
pounded  
\* Supplicia where-  
upon the Geni-  
es of fuch mer-  
riments, is na-  
med Eogedus.  
A.V.C. 708.  
\* To gratifie  
all ftrangers  
that conflowed  
to Rome.  
THROUGHOUT the Legions of old Souldiers, he gave in the name of pillage, unto every footman (over and above the (a) 2000. *sestertij*, which he had paid at the beginning of the civill tumult) (b) \* 4000. *sestertij*: and to the horfe-men (c) \* 24000. a peece. He affigned lands alfo unto the, but not lying all together, becaufe none of the owners fhould be thruft out (of their livings.) Among the people (of Rome) befide x. modij of corne, & as many pints of oyle, hee diftributed & dealt 300 *Sesterces* alfo by the poll, which hee had in times paff promised, with an over-deale of 100. a peece to boote, \* for time. Hee remitted moreover one yeeres houfe rent, unto all tenants in Rome, if it amounted to 2000. *Sestertij* and not above: but to thofe in *Italie*, if the faid rent exceeded not 500. Furthermore, hee made them a generall great feaft, & diftributed a dole of raw flefh: yea, and after his victorie in *Spaine* he gave them 2. dinners: For, deeping the former of them to have bene made niggardly and not befeeming his liberality, hee beftowed upon them 5. daies after, another, and in moft large and plenteous manner.

39 He exhibited shewes of fundry forts (as namely) a fword-fight of Fencers at sharpe: hee fet forth Stage Plaies likewife in fevall quarters and (a) Regions of the Citie throughout, and thofe verily acted by \* Plaiers in all languages: Semblably, the folemne games (b) *Circenfes*, hee shewed; and brought forth Champions alfo to performe their devoir, and represented a naval fight. At the faide folemnnity of fword-plaies, there fought to the uttrance in the Market place of Rome, FVRIUS LEPIDIVS, descended from the race of Pretours, and A. CALPENVIS, one who had bene sometime a Senatour, and a pleader of caufes at the barre. There daunced the (c) *Pyrhuck* warlike daunce, the children of the Princes and Potentates of *Asia* and *Bithynia*. During the Stage plaies aforefaid (d) D. L. ABERIVS a Gentleman of Rome acted his owne Poem or Enterlude: For which, being rewarded with 500. thoufand *Sesterces*, and a ring

of gold, he paffed directly fro the Stage by the (e) *Orchestra*, to take up his place among the Knights in the 14. foremoft feates. At the Games *Circenfes*, againft which the Cirque was enlarged on both fides and moied round about, there drave the Steedes drawing Chariots foure and two together, yea and mounted the vaunting Horfes from one to another, the greateft gallants & bravest young Gentlemen of the Nobilitie. The (f) warlike Trojan Game was performed by a two-fold troupe of greater boyes and leffe. The hunting or baiting of wilde beafts was prefented five daies together. And the laft day of all, there was a fight betweene two battailes of 500. footmen, 20. Elephants, and 30. horfemen on a fide, put to skirmish one againft the other. For, to the end that they might have more fcope to bicker together, the (g) goales were taken up and removed: but in fteed of them were pitched two \* *Campes* confronting one another. As for the (h) Champions above-faid, they having a place for to exercife their feats of Activitie fet out and built for the prefent time, ftove for the prize or beft Game three daies together in the Region of *Mars* field. To fet out the *Naumachie* or naval battaile, there was a place digged for a great poole, in the leffe (i) *Codeta*; wherein certaine gallies as well with two ranks of Oares as with three; the fhips of *Tyros* alfo & of *Egypt* encountred, being manned with a great number of fighting men. To behold thefe fights and shewes, fuch a number of people reforted from all parts, as moft of the ftrangers either within the ftreetes of the Citie or in the high waies without, were faine to abide within booths pitched of purpofe: yea, and often-times very many were in the preffe crowded and crufted to death; among whom were two Senatours.

TURNING after this to fet the State of the Common-weale in good order, he reformed the Kalender, which long fince through the Prelates default, by their liberty of interlacing (moneths and daies) at their pleasure, was fo confufed, that neither the feaftivall holidais of harveft fell out in Sommer, nor thofe of the vintage in Autumne. And he framed the whole yeare juft unto the courfe of the Sunne, that it fhould containe 365. daies; and by abolifhing the leape moneth, one (a) day every fourth yeare might be inferted betweene.

Now to the end that the computation of the times to come, might from the \* new Kalends of Ianvarie agree the better, betweene November and December, he put two other moneths. So as, that yeare wherein all this was ordained, had 15. moneths, reckoning the ordinarie interlaced moneth, which by courfe and cuftome fell juft upon the faid yeare.

He made up the full (a) number of the Senatours, and chofe unto that place \* new (b) *Patritij*. The number of Pretours, *Ædiles*, *Queftors*, and of other (c) \* inferior Magiftrates hee augmented. Such as were difplaced and put downe by vertue of the Cenfors Office, or otherwife by fentence of the Iudges condemned for unlawfull briberie, and fuing indirectly for any Office, hee reftored to their former roomes. In the election of Magiftrates he parted with the people thus farre forth; as (excepting the Competitours of the Confufhip) for all the number befides of Candidates, the one halfe fhould be declared thofe whom the People were difpofed to propound, the other halfe, fuch as himfelfe would nominate. Which nomination paffed by certaine bills fent about unto the Tribes, in a brieft kind of Vrit, after this manner: CÆSAR DICTATOR unto this or that Tribe (greeting) I commend unto yov, fuch an one

\* Or Tentis

40

\* Calen'is Ian-  
narij nouis.41  
\* According  
to the Law  
Cassia.

and such an one, that by vertue of your voices and suffrages they may have and hold the dignitie they sue for. He admitted unto honorable places the children \* of those who had been proscrip and outlawed. He reduced all Iudgements unto two sorts of Iudges, namely of the Knights degree and the Senatours: As for the Tribunes of the Tresurie or chamber of the Citie, which had been the third, he utterly \* abolished. The generall survey and numbering of the people he held, neither after the accustomed (d) manner, nor in the usuall place, but streete by streete, and that by the \* Land-lords & owners of mefluages and tenements standing together: and whereas 3020000 Citizens (e) received allowance of corne from the State, he brought and reduced them to the number of one hundred & fiftie thousand. And to the end that no new conventicles & riots at any time might arise about this review, he ordained, That every yeare, in the place of those that were deceased, the Pretour should make a new supply and choise by catting lots, out of such as had not bene reckoned and enrolled in the former survey.

42 MOREOVER, when as to the number of 80000. (Romaine) Citizens were bestowed in sundry Colonies beyond the Sea; hee made a Law for the more frequent inhabiting of the Citie (of Rome) thus exhausted and dispeopled; That no Citizen above 20. yeares of age, and under 40. (unlesse he were a sworne (f) souldiour to the State, and so bound by his oath) should remaine out of *Italie* above 3. yeares together: Item, That no Senatours sonne, except hee lodged within the house or Pavilion, or belonged to the (g) familiar triall of a chiefe Magistrate, should travaile (forth of *Italie*.) Item, That no Grafiars should keep and retaine fewer than a third part of free borne young men, among the keepers of their cattell. All professours of physick at Rome, and teachers of the liberall Arts, he enfranchized Citizens: that both they themselves might more willingly dwell in the Citie, & others beside desire there to inhabite. As touching money lent out; when he had quite put down the expectation of (h) cancelling debts, (a thing that was often \* moved) hee decreed at length; That all debtours should satisfie their Creditours in this manner: Namely by an estimate made of their possessions, according to the worth and value as they purchased them before the civill warre, deducting out of the principall whatsoever had bene paid or set downe in the Obligations for the use: by which condition, the third part well-near of the money credited forth, was lost. All the Societies and Colledges, saving those that were of auncient foundation, he dissolved. The penalties of heinous crimes he augmented: And whereas the rich & wealthier sort fell to wickednes so much the sooner, because they went \* into banishment, and saved their whole patrimonies and estates: (i) parricides there fore and wilfull murderers (as C Y C E R O writeth) hee deprived of all their goods; other manslaughterers besides he fined with the losse of one halfe.

43 HE ministred Iustice and decided matters in Law, most painfully and with passing great severitie. Such as were attaint and convict of (a) extortion, hee removed even from their Senatours place and degree. He brake the mariage of a man that had bene Pretour, marrying a wife presently after two daies that she was divorced and went from a former husband, albeit there was no suspicion at all of adulterie and naughtinesse. Hee ordained customes and imposts of forraigne merchandize. The use of Liçters, likewise the wearing of purple \* clothes and of pearle he tooke away, saving onely in certaine persons and ages, and upon special daies. The Law *Sumptuaria*, (b) to repress excessive cost in fare, he executed most of any other: And for this purpose, he set certaine Watchmen and Warders in sundry places about the shambles and markets where victuals were sold, to lay hold upon all cares and viands contrarie to the prescript rule of the Law in that behalfe, and to bring the same unto him. Otherwhiles also, he sent secretly his owne Officers & Souldiours, to fetch away such meates out of the very dining Parlors and banquetting roomes, even when they were set upon the bord, if happily they had any way escaped the hands of the foresaid warders.

44 FOR, as concerning his purpose to adorne and beautifie the Citie of Rome with gallant works, as also to maintaine & amplifie the Empire, hee had more matters in his head and greater every day than other. Principally his intent and meaning was, to build so statelie a temple in the honour of *Mars*, as the like was no where to be seene; having filled up and laid levell that huge pit, wherein he had exhibited the shew of a Naval battel: & also to erect

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an exceeding great Theater, fast adjoyning to the Mount *Tarpeius*. Itē, to reduce the whole corps of the civill Law to a certaine meane and mediocrity: and out of that huge and diffused number of Lawes, to choose out the best and necessarie points, and those to bring into as few volumes as possibly might be. Item, to erect publiquely the greatest Libraries that he could, as wel of Greeke as Latine Authors: committing unto (a) M. V A R R O the charge, both to provide the said books, and also to digest & place them in order. Item to lay the Meeres & Fennie Plashes P O M P T I N E drie: to draw & let forth the lake *Fucinus*: to make a cawlic or high-way, from the Adriatick Sea, by the ridge or side of the Apennine hill, as farre as to the river *Tibris*, & to digge through the (b) *Isthmus*. Moreover, to bridle the Dakes who had invaded *Pontus* and *Thracia*: and soone after, to make warre upon the Parthians by the way of *Armenia* the lesse: but not to give them battell before he had made (c) triall of them. Amid these purposes and designs, death prevented him. Concerning which, before I enter into speech, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite & apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civil and also his martiall affaires.

O F stature he is reported to have bene tall; of complexion white & cleare; 45 with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eies black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and swoone sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midt of his martiall \* affaires, he was surprized with the (d) falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was \* over-curious: so as he would not onely be notted & snaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some cast it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slanderers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrel guirland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted \* for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or frindge at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon, arose (for certaine) that saying of S V L L A. who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, *To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.*

HE dwelt at first in the \* *Suburra*; but after he was high priest, in the streete *Sacra*, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, & with great charges finished in the territorie *Aemerensis*, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deeply endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, That in his expeditions he caried about with him \* pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut, so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together.

HE made a voyage (as they say) into *Brutaine*, in hope of pearles: and

C 4

other.

\* Contrary to the Law *Cornelia*.

\* Disabled the for being Iudges.

\* As who beft knew the number of their tennants and inhabitants in their houses.

\* Either by the Tribunes of the Comons, or the debtors themselves.

\* In the free State before the Emperors, Citizens of Rome might depart before sentence pronounced, & so avoid with condemnation and losse of goods.

\* Or scarlet in grain.

\* *Interrogandus vel agendus*, that is, *conciem optinaret*, *Plutarch*. Whiles he was setting his Arme in, battaille ray.

\* *Orfantasticall*.

\* His attire different from others, or of a new fashion which the Greekes call *ισθμιος* *isthmus*.

\* A Streete in Rome much frequented.

\* The paving tiles of marble &c, whereof such floors are made.

otherwiles, in comparing their bignesse, would with his owne hand peise them to finde their weight. For to get and buy up pretious stones, engraved and chafed peeces, Images, and painted Tables of antique worke, he was ever most eager and sharp set. Slaves likewise, if they were any thing fresh and new come, trimly set out with all, and fine, he procured at an exceeding price, such as himselfe also was ashamed of: so as he forbad expressly the same should be brought in any of his reckonings and accountps.

48 It is reported of him, that in all the Provinces which he governed, hee feasted continually, and furnished two Halls or dining chambers ordinarily; the one, wherein either \* Gaules in their warlike habite, or Greeks in their cloakes; the other, in which the gown'd Romaines, together with the more noble and honourable personages of the Provinces sat. The domesticall Discipline of his house hee kept so duly, so precisely, and with such severity, in small matters as well as greater; that hee bound with fetters and yrons his Baker for serving up secretly unto his guests other bread than to himselfe: And a freed man of his owne (whom otherwise he did set very great store by) he put to death, for dishonouring by adulterie a Romaine Gentlemans wife, albeit no man made complaint thereof.

His good name for continencie and cleane life, nothing verily blemished, save onely the aboade and inward familiaritie with N I C O M E D E S: but a foule stain that was, which followed him with shame for ever; yea, and ministred taunting and reproachfull matter unto every man. I omit the notorious verses of CALVVS LICINIVS.

*Bithynia quicquid,*

*Et \*padiator Cesaris, unquam habuit,*

Looke what it was that *Bithyne* Land had ever more or lesse;

And he that CÆSAR did abuse, in filthie wantonnesse.

I let passe the invectives and accusatorie actions of D O L A B E L L A and C V R I O the Father: In which, D O L A B E L L A for his part, termeth him *the Kings Concubine in the Queens place*, and the inner roome of his Licters: and C V R I O nameth him N I C O M E D E S his \* *filth and harlot*, yea and the *Bithynian Brothel house*. I overpasse likewise those Edicts of B I E V L V S, wherein he published his colleague, and made him knowne, by the name of the *Bithynian Queene*: saying moreover, *That before, he had loved the King, and now cast a fansie to the Kingdom* At which verie time, as M. B R V T V S makes report, there was one O C T A V I V S also, a man upon distemperature of his braine given to jest and scoffe over broadly, who in a most frequent assembly, after he had called P O M P E I V S, King, saluted him by the name of Queene: C. M E M M I V S likewise layd in his dish, that he stood with the rest of the stalle Catamites as Cup bearer, to serve N I C O M E D E S with wine at a full feast, where sate at the Table divers Merchants and Occupiers, Citizens of *Rome*, whose names he putteth downe. But C I C E R O not contented herewith, that in certaine Epistles he had written, how by the Guard or Pensioners of the said King being \* conveyed into his bed-chamber, hee lay downe upon a bed of gold, arrayed in purple: and so the flower of youth and maidenhead of him, who was descended from (a) *Venus*, became defiled and destind in *Bithynia*. One time also, as CÆSAR in the Senate house pleaded to the cause and in the behalfe of N Y S A, N I C O M E D E S his daughter, and therewith rehear-

ted

fed up the gracious favours that the King had done unto him, *Let be* (quoth he) *these matters I pray you, and away with them, since it is well knowne, both what hee bestowed upon you, and also what you gave to him.* Finally, in the Triumph over *Gauls*, his Souldiers among other Sonnets (such as they use to chaunt merily when they followe the (triumphant) Chariot) pronounced also these verses so commonly divulged.

*Gallias Cesar subegit, Nicomedes Casarem,*

*Ecce Cesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;*

*Nicomedes non triumphat, qui (b) subegit Casarem.*

CÆSAR did subdue the Gaules, and him hath N I C O M E D E S.

Behold, now CÆSAR doth triumph, who did the Gaules subdue:

But N I C O M E D E S triumpheth not who CÆSAR hath subdu'd.

AN opinion there is constantly received; That he was given to carnall pleasures, and that way spent much: also, that he dishonoured many Dames, and those of noble houses: by name among others, P O S T U M I A the wife of S E R V I V S S V L P I T I V S; L O L L I A, wife to A. G A B I N I V S; T E R T V L L A, M. C R A S S V S his wife, and M V T I A the wife of C N. P O M P E I V S. For, certaine it is, that not onely the *Curiones*, both Father and Sonne, but many others also reproached P O M P E I V S; That for whose cause, he had put away his owne wife after she had borne him three children, and whom hee was wont with a deepe sigh and groane to call \* *ÆGISTHVS*; his daughter (I say) afterwards, hee espoused; upon a desire of power and greatnes by that marriage. But above the rest, he cast affection to S E R V I L I A the mother of M. B R V T V S; for whom both in his \* last Consulship he had bought a pearle that cost him \* sixe millions of Sesterces: and also unto whom during the civill warre, over and above other free gifts, hee sold in open port sale, faire Lands and most goodly Manors at a very low price: what time verily, when most men marvelled that they went so cheape, C I C E R O most pleasantly and conceitedly, *That yee may know* (quoth hee) *shee hath the better penny-worth in the purchase, (a) Tertia deducta est.* For it was thought that S E R V I L I A was bawd also to her owne daughter T E R T I A, and brought her to CÆSAR his bed.

N E I T H E R forbare he so much as mens wives in the Provinces where he was governour, as appeareth even by this his *Disfiction*, taken up likewise by his Souldiours at the *Gauls* Triumph. (a)

*Vrbani, servate uxores; machum calvum ad ducimus,*

*Auro in Gallia stuprum emisti, hic sumptus mutuum.*

H E was enamoured also upon Queenes, and among them he loved E V N O N, the Moore, wife of B O G U D E S (King of *Mauritania*) upon who, as also upon her husband, he bestowed very many gifts and of infinite value, as N A S O hath left in writing: but most especially hee fancied C L E O P A T R A: For, with her, hee both sate up many times and feasted all night long even untill the breake of day; and also in the same Barge or Galley called *Thalamagos*, had passed into *Egypt*, almost as farre as to *Æthiopia*, but that his Armie refused to followe: and in the end having trained her into the Citie of *Rome*, he sent her back againe, not without exceeding great honours, and enriched with many rewards: yea, and suffered her to call the sonne she bare, after his owne \* name. Whom verily, some Greek writers have recorded, to have been very like unto CÆSAR both in shape and

\* Thus Turnebus expoundeth it: But it may be meant of the meaner sort of his Ceteri, pretoria, who were S. i. i. or p. i. i. to put a difference between them & the persons of better quality, who were T. g. i. i.

\* That is, K. Nicomedes.

\* Stabulum.

\* Deductum, or Fictum, that is, brought out of his owne bed chamber into the Kings.

\* That is, A. adulterer: For that Ægyptus committed adultery with Cleopatra the wife of Agamemnon. \* Proximo, alij legunt primo, that is, first, cum Bibulo. \* 46875. pound sterling, or 190000. French crowns, according to Budau.

51.

52.

\* Of which the Egyptians Kings had alwaies ready rigged 800 as Appian writeth.

\* That is, Ptolemaeus Casaria.



\* Incess, in his  
gang or man-  
ner of going.

\* Quasi quot,  
ducere videri,  
even an Alien.  
\* For other  
wife, *quasi* was  
unlawfull.  
And *Antonia*  
was the first  
Romaine that  
had two wives  
at once.

53.

\* Cond. tum o-  
lenm pult. cor-  
or condit in  
product. id est  
inguentum, an  
ointment.  
\* Or friend.

54

\* Tubero.

\* That is, in  
Portugale.  
\* *Plagi deorū*,  
or templag;  
*deorum*, &c.  
the term les.  
ful of rich gifts  
and oblations  
to the Gods.  
\* *Divanderet*,  
some read *di-*  
\* *deret*, hee di-  
stributed and  
dealt away.  
\* *Auletes*,  
Set of silver af-  
ter 8 pound  
weight the ta-  
lent.  
\* *Nummum*  
\* *Eloquentia*,  
militarie re,  
after *Lufus*.

55

and also in \* gate: And M. ANTONIVS avouched unto the Senate, that by the same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. M. ANTONIVS, CAIVS OPPIVS & the rest of CÆSARS friends knew as much. Of who, C. OPPIVS (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie & defence) put forth a book entituled thus: TAAT HE WAS NOT CÆSARS SONNE, WHOM CLEOPATRA FATHERED Vpon HIM. HELVIUS CINNA, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law drawne out in writing & in readines, which CÆSAR being absent himselfe commaunded him to propose, to this effect, *That it might be lawfull for him to marrie what wives and as many as he would for to get children upon.* And that no man need at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for (b) uncleannesse of body against kinde, and also for adulteries, CVRIO the Father in a certaine Oration calleth him *a woman for all men, and a man for all women.*

THAT he was a most sparie drinker of wine, his very enemies would never denie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. CATO, *That of all that ever were, CÆSAR alone came sober to the overthrow of the State.* For, about his foode and diet C. OPPIVS sheweth hee was so indifferent & without curiosity, that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bord olde ranke oile in steed of greene, sweet, & fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely (by his saying) fell to it & ate thereof the more liberally; because he would not be thought to blame his \* Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

FROM other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the command of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: For, in *Spaine* (as some have recorded) he took money of the \* Proconsul, & the Allies there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes of the \* *Lusitanes*, he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do what-soever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against his comming: In *Gaul* he robbed & spoiled the Chappels & \* Temples of the Gods, full of rich gifts & oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more often for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespass committed. Whereupon it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare and did set to sale, \* he sold throughout *Italy* and in the Provinces after (a) 3000 sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stollen out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold, hee bestowed in the place thereof as much brasse guilt. The privileges of Societie and alliance with the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for example) from \* PTOLOMEVS that was but one, tooke away well-neere 6000 \* talents, in the name of himselfe & POMPEIVS: But afterwards by most open pilling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres, and also of his triumphes, and \* solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

In eloquence and warlike feates together, he either equalled or excelled the glory of the very best. After his accusation of DOLOBELLA, he was no doubt ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, CICERO in his Catalogue of Oratours to BRVTVS, sayeth; *He cannot see any one, unto whom CÆSAR might give place; affirming withall, That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a stately also, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading:* And unto CORNELIVS NEPOS, thus wrote he of the same CÆSAR. *What should a man*

say

*say more? which of all these Oratours that practised nothing else but Oratorie, will you preferre before this CÆSAR? who is there in sentences either quicker or comming thicker? who for words, yielded more gallant or more elegant? Hee seemeth whiles he was yet but young, to have followed that forme of eloquence onely, which STRABO CÆSAR professed: out of whose Oration also intituled, *Pro Sardin*, he transferred some sentences, worde for worde, into his owne; called *Divinatio*. It is said, that in his \* Pronunciation, he used an high and shrill voyce; an ardent motion; and earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace. Some Orations he left behind him (in writing.) Among which certaine goe under his name, but vntuely as namely that *pro*; Q. METELLO: which AVGVSTVS deemeth (and not without good cause) to to have beene written rather by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast, as he delivered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find that it had not so much as this Inscription, *Pro METELLO*: but \* *quam scripsit METELLO*: being (as it is indeede) a speech comming from the person of CÆSAR, clearing METELLVS and himselfe, against the criminations and slanders of common backbiters to them both. The Oration likewise, \* *Ad MILITES in Spaine*, the same AVGVSTVS hardly thinketh to be his: And yet there be 2. of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile: the other, at the latter: when, by the report of ASINIVS POLLIO, he had not so much as any time to make a speech; the enemies ran upon him & charged so suddainly.*

He left Commentaries also of his owne Acts, to wit, as touching the *Gaul*-warre, and the *Civill warre* with POMPEIVS. For, of the ALEXANDRINE, AFRICAN, and *Spanish warres*, who was the writer it is uncertaine: Whilest some thinke it was OPPIVS; others, HIRTVS; who also made up and finished the last of the *Gaul*-war, which was imperfect. As concerning those Commentaries aforesaid of CÆSAR, CICERO in the \* same booke, writeth thus: *Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (named they be, straight and upright, yea and lovely too, being dewessed, as it were, of all ornaments & trimme attire of Style) but while his mind was; that other disposed to write a compleat historie, should furnish and serve themselves with matter there ready to their hands, happilie to some foolish folke he did some pleasure, who are willing to curle and frizle the same with their crisping pins, but surely the wiser sort he scared aloofster from writing.* Of the same Commentaries, HIRTVS giueth this report, They are quoth he, in the iudgement of all men so approved, that it seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe. And yet, our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas others doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also with what facilitie & expedition he wrote them. POLLIO ASINIUS thinke-  
th they were compiled with smal care & diligence: with as little regard also of sound truth: seeing that CÆSAR received hand ouer head, & beleueed most things lightly: namely such as were by others atchieued; and euen those Actes which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put downe wrong: He supposed also that he meant to haue writtē the same a new & corrected thē. He left moreouer ij. books, *de Analogia*: & as many \* *Anticatores* besides

\* Take it ge-  
nerally for the  
whole Actions

\* Which he  
wrote for, or to  
Metellus.

\* *Oret. apud  
Militum.*

56

\* *Ad Brutum.*

\* *Asinius Pollio.*

\* Against Cicero  
in the dispraise  
of Cato *Pitensis*  
in whole com-  
mendation  
Cicero had writ-  
ten before.

beside a Poeme, entitled *Ite*; of which books the \*formost he made in his passage over the Alpes, what time as hauing ridde his *Cercuits* and finished the *Alpes*, he returned out of the hither prouince of *Gauls* to his armie: Those next \*following, about the time of the battaile at *Munda*. And the last \* of all, whiles he trauailed from the Citie of Rome into the farther prouince of Spaine, and performed that iourney within \* 24. dayes. Extant, there bee also Epistles of his written unto the Senate: which (as it seemeth) he was the first that turned into pages and leaues, euen to a forme of a \* *Memoriell*: whereas before time, the Consuls and generallies, never sent any letters but writte overthwart the paper. *MISSIVS* likewise there be of his written to *CICERO*, and to familiar friends as touching home-affaires. In which, if any matters of secrecie were to be carried, he wrote them by priuie \* marks: that is to say, placing the letters in such order, as there could not one word be made of them. Which if a man would descypher and find out, he must of *Necessitie* exchange euerie fourth letter of the Alphabet; to wit. d. for a. and the rest \* likewise. Furthermore there be certaine workes of his abroad in mens hands written when he was a boy & a very youth: as namely, *The Praises of HERCULES*, the *Tragedie of OEDIPUS*: as also, *Collects of Sayings and APOPHTHEGMES*: All which pamphlets, *AUGUSTUS* forbade to be published, in a certaine Epistle of his; which beeing verie briefe and plaine; he sent to *POMPEIUS MAECER* whome hee had appointed for the disposing and ordering of his *Libraries*.

In \* handling his weapon most skilfull he was, and in horfemanship as cunning: But what paines he would take, it is incredible. In the marching of his armie, his manner was to be formost: sometime on horsebacke, more often on foote: bare headed, whether the Sunne shone, or the Clouds poured raine. He made exceeding long Iournies with incredible speede: euen an hundred miles a day riding in some hired \* wagon, if he were lightly appointed otherwise and without cariages. Were riuers in his way to hinder his passage: crosse ouer them he would; either swimming, or els bearing himselfe upon blowed leather \* bottles: so that, verie often he preuented the letter-carriers, and messengers of his comming.

58 In performing his expeditions & martial exploits doubtful it is, whether he were more warie or adventurous? He neither ledde his armie at any time through wayes dangerous for ambushments, before he had thoroughly vewed and descried the situation of the quarters. nor put ouer his fleet into *Britaine*, vntill he had beforehand in \* proper person sounded the hauens, and tried the manner of sayling, and arriual to the Iland. Howbeit, the same man, (as circumspect as he was) upon newes brought unto him, that his Campe was beleagured in Germanie; passed through his enemies *Corps de guard* in French habite, and so came unto his owne men. From *Brindis* to *Dirrhachium*, he sayled ouer Sea in \* winter, betweene ij. Fleetes of the enemies riding opposite one to the other: and whiles his own forces which he had commanded to follow streight after him, lingered still behinde; hauing sent messengers oftentimes to call them away but all in vaine, at last himselfe secretly in the night went aboard into a verie small botume, with his head hooded: and neither discovered who he was, nor suffered the pillot to giue way vnto the Tempest: that came

came full affront the vessel; before hee was well nere overwhelmed with the waves.

No religious feare of diuine prodigies could ever fray him from any enterprise, or stay him if it were once in hand. As he sacrificed vpon a time, the beast made an escape & ran away: yet for all that differed not he his journey against *SEPTIMO* and *IVBA*. He fortun'd also to take a fall then, euen as hee went forth of the ship to land: but turning this foretoken to the better presage, *I take possession* quoth hee, of thee, *O Africke*. Moreover, in verie skorne, and to make but a mockerie of those prophesies, whereby the name of *Scipions* was farall to that province, and held luckie and invincible there, he had with him in his Campe the most base and abiect fellow of all the *Cornettan* family, & who in reproch of his life was surnamed \* *SALVITO*.

He fought \* not often set fields appointed before hand, but vpon the present occasion offered; Many times he struck a battaile immediatly after his iourney, otherwhiles in most foule & stormie wether, when no man ever thought he would once sturre. Neither held he off, and detracted fight, but in his latter dayes: being then of this opinion that the oftener he had gotten victorie, the lesse he was to venture and make tryall of fortune; Also, *That a victorie could gaine him nothing so much, as some disastrous calamitie might take from him*. No enimie put he ever to flight, but he discamped him and draue him out of the field. By this meanes he gave them whom hee had once discomfited, no time to be thinke themselves. In any doubtfull and dangerous service, his manner was to send away the horses, and his owne with the first: to the ende, that when all meanes of flight were gone, they might of necessitie be forced the rather to stand to it and abide to the last.

The horse he used to ride vpon was strangely marked, with feete resembling verie neere a mans, and the houes cloven like toes, which horse was foaled about home: and when the Soothsayers of their learning had pronounced; that he presaged unto his owner the Empire of the whole world, verie carefull hee was to reare him and nourish him. Now when as the beast would abide no man els to ride him, himselfe was he that backed him first. The full pourtraict and proportion of which horse, he dedicated also afterwards before the Temple of *Venus (a) Genitrix*.

Many a time himselfe alone renewed the battaile when it was discomfited; standing in their way that fled & holding the one by one backe: yea & by wreathing their throats he turned them againe vpon the enemies. Thus dealt he I say with his own soldiers, while they were many times verily so fearefully masked, that a \* Standerbearer threatned as he staied him, to smite him with the \* foote-point of the speare that carried the (b) Aegle: and another left behinde him the Ensigne in *CÆSAR* shand as he detained it.

63. Of his constant resolution these be no lesse tokens, if not greater (which I shall now reherse). After the battaile at *PHARSALIA*, when he had sent his forces before into *Africke*, and himselfe crossed the seas through the streight of *Hellepont* in a small \* passengers barke, where he met with *L. CASSIUS* one of the aduerser part, with x. strong war-ships armed with brasen beakeheads: he avoided him not, nor gave way: but affronting him, began to exhort him for to yield: and so vpon his humble supplication received him aboard.

D

59

\* Or *Salutis*.  
Read *Plinie*  
*Natur Hist. lib.*  
*7. cap. 12.*

60

\* *Non saps*.  
Some read, *non tantum*. I. not onely &c. but alio.

61

62

\* *Aquilifer*.  
Some read  
*Aquilifero*, as if  
*Cæsar* threatned  
the Standerbearer.  
See *Varo*.  
*Max. lib. 3*  
*cap. 2.*

\* Wherewith  
it was pitched  
into the  
ground.  
*Pelloria navi-*  
*cula*. a little  
boate. If you  
read *victor*, i.  
being conqueror,  
distinguish there.

At

64

At *Alexandria* being busie about the assault and winning of a bridge where by a sodaine fallie of the enemies he was driven, to take a boat, & many besides made hast to get into the same, he leapt into the sea, and by swimming almost a quarter of a mile recovered cleare the next ship: bearing up his left hand all the while, for feare the writings which he held therein should take wet, and drawing his rich coate (a) armour after him by the teeth, because the enemy should not have it as a spoyle.

65

This seemeth  
strange, and con-  
trary to the  
Romane disci-  
pline.

\* *a fortuna,*  
as *ast. 1. 100,*  
others read, *a*  
*fortuna, i. bea-*  
*ty, fauour, and*  
*feature of body*

His soldiers hee allowed for good, in regard neither of \*manners and behauour, nor of \*welth and outward estate, but onely of bodily strength: & he used them all with like severitie: with like indulgence also and sufferance. For he awed and chastised them not in all places nor at all times: but only when the enemy was very neere at hand: and then especially was he most severe, and precise in exacting and executing of discipline: in so much as hee would not give the warning of the time; either of journey or of battaile, but kept the readie, intente & prest to be led forth vpon a suddaine, everie minute of an houre, whether sooner he wold; this did he also many times without any cause, especially vpon rainie daies & festivals. And admonishing his soldiers ever & among, to observe and haue an eye unto him, he would suddainely in the day-time or by night, withdraw himselfe out of the way: yea & stretch out his journey more the ordinarie; even to tyre them out who were late in following after.

66

\* *Minuendo, or*  
*inhibendo i.*  
*Suppressing,*  
*which might*  
*seeme good*  
*pollicie.*

As for his soldiers that were terrified with the rumor of their enemies, his manner was to animate and encourage them, not by denying or \*diminishing, but by augmenting the same to the highest degree, even above the truth. And thus upon a time, when the expectation of I v l i u s his coming was terrible, he called his soldiers together: and in a publike speech unto them. Be it knowne unto you all, quoth he, *That within these very fewe dayes the King will bee here with a power of \*Legions of 30000. men of armes: an hundred thousand light \*armours and three hundred Elephants. Forbear therefore some of you to enquire or imagine further of the matter: but give credite unto me, that know this for a truth: Or else verely I will embarque you in the Oldest ship, I can get, & cause you to be carried away with any winde, into what Landes and Countries it shall be your fortunes to fall upon.*

\* *Footemen*  
*heavily armed.*  
\* *Footemen*  
*highly armed.*

As touching his soldiers trespasses and delinquencies, he neither observed and tooke knowledge of them all, nor yet punished them fully to the \*proportion. But as he made streight inquisition after those who trayterously forsooke their colours, and were mutinous, and proceeded against them with rigour: so, at others he would winke. Sometimes also, after a great battaile and victorie obtained, he released them all of militarie duties; permitting them in all licentiousnesse to roist and royt wantonly here and there: beeing wont to give it out, *That his soldiers (perfumed though they were with Odours: and besmeered with sweete oyles) could fight valiantly.* Neither called he them in his publike oration, plaine soldiours, but by a more pleasing name, *Fellow-soldiers.* Furthermore he maintained them so trim and braue, that he stucke not to set them out in polished armour, damasked with siluer and gold: as well for goodly shewe, as because they should in battaile take better hold and keepe the same more surely for feare of damage and losse. Moreover he loued them so affectionately, that when he heard of \*T i t u s his ouerthrow, he

\* And the Le-  
gions with him  
A. V. C. 700.

suffred the haire of his head and beard to growe long: and would not cut the same before he had reuenged their death. By which meanes, he both had his soldiers most devoted unto him, and also made them right valorous.

When he was entered into the Ciuill warre, the Centurions of euerie Legion presented vnto him one horseman a peece, provided out of their owne (a) priuate stocke; and generally all his soldiers offered their seruice freely, with out allowance of corne or wages out of his purse: considering that the welthier sort had taken vpon them the finding and maintenance of the poorer. Neither all that long time of soldierie, was their any of them that once revolted from him; and verie many being taken prisoners (by the enemies) & hauing life granted vnto them upon condition, they would serve as soldiers against him, refused it. Hunger and other extremities which necessarily follow warre, not onely whilst they were beleeged, but also when themselves beleagured others; they indured so resolutely, that during their strong siege and fortification against Dyrrachium, P o m p e y, when he saw what kinde of bread made of a certaine (b) Herbe they liued upon, said, *He had to deale with wild beasts.* commanding withail, the same quickly to be had away, and not shewed to any one: For feare, least his owne soldiers hearts should be utterly daunted, seeing once the patience and constancie of their enemies. And how valiantly they bare themselves in fight, this on thing may testifie: that hauing taken one foyle in a battaile before Dyrrachium, they volūtarily offered to be (c) executed therefore, in so much as their Generall was more troubled about comforting then punishing the. In all other battailes, they fewer in number by many parts, easily vanquished, infinit forces of their enemies. To conclude, one (d) cohort & no more of the 6. Legion, which had the keeping of a \*skonce, made good the place & held out for certaine houres against foure of P o m p e y s Legions: and were in manner all of the throughout shot into their bodies with a multitude of their arrows: of which were found one hundred & thirtie thousand within their trench and rampires. And no mervaille, if a man consider their seuerall facts singly by the selues, either of C a s s i u s S c æ v a a Centurion, or of C. A c i l i u s a comon soldier: to say nothing of many more. S c æ v a, when his eie was smitten out, his thigh & shoulder shot through, and his buckler perced likewise with the shot of \*120. arrowes yet defended the gate of the porte committed to his charge, & kept it still. A c i l i u s in a fight at sea before, M a s s i l i a, after his right hand was quite cut off, wherewith he had caught the Poole of his enemies ship, following herein that memorable example of C y n e c i r u s among the *Greekes*, leapt notwithstanding into the saide shippe, shewing and driving before him with the bosse and pike of his buckler those that he met in his way:

\* Or fort, at  
the Siege of  
Dyrrachium.

\* *Plutarch. 130.*

In ten yeeres space during the *Gaule warre*, they neuer so much as once mutined: In the Ciuill warres sometimes they did: yet so, as they were soone reclaimed and came againe into order: not so much by the remisse indulgence as the authoritie of their Captaine: For, neuer would he yeeld one jot vnto them in these their seditious tumults: nay, hee alwaies withstood and crossed them: And verily the 9. Legion at *Placentia*, notwithstanding P o m p e y s yet was in armes with his power in the field) he cashiered ful and wholly, & sent away with shame: yea & after many humble prayers & supplications with much ado restored he the to their places again, & not before executiō done vpon the offenders.

D 2

As

68

69



70

As for the soldiers of the tent Legion, when as in *Rome* they earnestly called for their discharge from warfare, & required their rewards euen with mightie threats, & that to the exceeding dāger of the whole Citie at what time also, the war was verie hote in *Afrika*, he neither would admit the into his presence, nor yet dismisse the albeithis friends seemed to scare him frō taking that course: but with one onely word, wherby he named them *(a) Quirites*, instead of *Milites*, he did so gently turne and winde, yea and bring them to his bent, that forthwith they made answer. *They would be his souldies still*: and so of their owne accord followed him into *Africa*, notwithstanding he refused their seruice, And yet for all this, he ammerced and fined the most mutinous sort of them with the losse of a third part, both of the pillage and also of the Lands appointed for them.

In affectionate love and faithfull protection of his dependants, he was not wanting in his verie youth. When he had upon a time defended *MASINTHA* a noble young Gentleman against King *\*HIMPAL*, so earnestly, that in the debate & altercatiō between them he flew upon *IVRA* the Kings sonne & caught him by the *(a)* beard: after that the said *MASINTHA* was pronounced definitive ly the Kings *\*I* tributarie: he forthwith both rescued him out of their hand: that would have haled him away: and also kept him clofe a long time in his owne Lodging: & soone after his Pretorship there expired, when he went into *Spaine*, tooke the young gentleman away with him in his own litter among others his followers; and fauorites, and those officers that attended upon him with their knitches of rods.

His friends he used at all times with so great curtesie and tender respect, that when *C. OPPIVS* who accompanied him in his journey through a wild forest fell suddainly sicke, he gaue him rowme in the onely Inne, that was, while him selfe lay all night\* upon the ground\* without doores. Moreover, being now become Emperour & Lord of all: some of them he aduanced euen frō the lowest degree unto the highest place of honour. And when he was blamed & reproved therefore, he professed openly. *That if he had used the helpe of robbers by the highway side, of custers and swabucklers in maintaining of his owne dignitie, he would not faile but requite them and be thankfull emen to such.*

He neuer entertained malice & hatred against any man so deeply but willing he was to lay downe the same upon occasion offered. Notwithstanding, *C. MEMMIVS* had made most bitter inuectives against him, and hee againe written unto him as bitterly, yet soone after, when the said *MEMMIVS* stooode for the Consulship, hee friended him all that he could with his good word and procured him voyces. When *C. CALVUS* after certaine Libels and defamatorie Epigrams against him, dealt by the mediation of friendes for a reconciliation, he of his owne accord wrote first unto him. As for *VALERIVS CATVLLVS* (by whose verses concerning *MAMVRA* he could not chuse but take knowledge that he was noted and branded with perpetuall infamie when he excused himselfe unto him and was readie to make *\*satisfaction*, he bad him to supper that verie day: & as he used before time, so he continued still to make his fathers house his lodging.

Moreover, in his reuengements hee was by nature most milde. Those rōuers by whome he was taken prisoner, after he had forced to yeeld, because hee

71  
\*Who laid  
claime unto  
*Masintha* as his  
Tributarie.  
\*Stipendiarium  
quoque pronun-  
tiam: how e-  
uer to merced  
pronuntiam: as  
if *Cæsar* had  
auerred openly  
that he was  
his waged sol-  
dour.

72  
\*In a paller or  
matrice upon  
the ground.  
\*Vnder the  
Jetty of the  
houle.

\*by saying  
*Nollem factum  
esse. I am for-  
gic for it: and I  
would I had  
not so done.*

74

he had sworne before that he would hang them vpon a crosse, he commanded that their throats should be first cut, and then to be *\*crucified*. *CORNELIVS PHAGITA*, whose for-laying him by night, he lying sicke, & *LATITANT* hard ly had escaped, (although he gaue him a good reward\*) but had like to have beene brought unto *SVLLA*, he neuer could find in his heart to hurt. *PHILEMON* a seruant and secretarie of his, who had promised his enemies to take his life away by poyson, he punished onely by simple death, without any other torment. Being cited and called much upon to beare witnesse against *P. CLODIUS*, for being naught with his wife *POMPEIA*, who was accused besides for the same cause to haue polluted the sacred\* Ceremonies, he denied that he euer knew any thing of the matter, or was able to bring in euidence. albeith both his mother *AVRELIA*, & *IULIA* his sister, had simply related all upon their credires euen before the same Iurie and Iudges. And being demanded thereupon, *wherefore then he had put away his wife? Because I deeme, quoth he, that those of my house ought to be cleere as well of suspicion as of crime:*

The moderatiō & clemencie which he shewed as well in the menaging of the ciuil war, as in his victorie, was admirable: VVhen *POMPEIVS* denounced in minatory terms, that he would recke him for an enemie, who soeuer he was, that failed to maintaine the Common-wealth: He for his part pronounced openly, *That he would make sure account of them to be his, who stooode indifferent betweene and were Neuters.* And so many, as upon the commendation of *POMPEIVS* before time, he had giue any charg or place of cōmand unto, in his armie under him, he granted the all free leave and libertie to depart unto him. Vpon Articles and conditions of yeelding moved and propounded to *POMPEIVS* at *Ileraa*, whiles between both parts there passed reciprocall dealing & commerce continually: when *AFRANIUS* and *PETREIVS* had taken within their Campe certaine of *CÆSARS* soldiers, & (which they repented soone after) put them to the sword, he would in no wise imitate the same perfidious treachery of theirs practised against him. At the battaile of *Pharsalia* he cryed out, spare all Citizens; & afterwards granted unto everie one of his owne soldiers (none excepted) this fauour to save each of the one of the aduerser part, whom he would: neither were any found or knowne slaine but in the uerie medly, except *AFRANIUS*, *FAUSTUS*, & *L. CÆSAR* the younger: and even these uerely, men thinke, were not with his good will put to death. Of whom notwithstanding: both the former, to wit, *AFRANIUS* & *FAUSTUS*, after pardō obtained had rebelled and entred into armes againe & *L. CÆSAR* for his part, when in cruell manner by fire & sword he had made hauock of his freed men & bondseruants, spitefully slew the verie wild-beasts also which *CÆSAR* had provided against the solemnitie of a public shew to be exhibited before the people. To cōclude, in his very latter daies he permitted al those also whom before time he had not pardoned to return into *Italy*, to gouern as magistrates in the Citie, & to cōmand as generals in the field. Yea the very Statues of *L. SVLLA* & *POMPEIVS* which the cōmons had overthrown & cast up & down, he erected again in their due places. And if after this, there was any plot intended or word spoken against him by his aduersaries to his hurt, he chose rather to repress than to revenge the same. And so, diuerse conspiraces detected and night conuenticles; hee found fault with no farther then thus, by giuing notice in some edict and proclamation.

D 3

That

\*Where note;  
that cruying  
was a painefull  
death.

\*2. Talents,  
Plutarch.

\*Of Bona Dea;  
in whole chap-  
pell it was  
thought he did  
the dedde dis-  
guised in wo-  
mans apparell;

75

That he had intelligence therof. And as for such as gaue out bitter speeches of him, he thought it sufficient in an open assemblie to give them an Admonition, not to persist therein. Finally, when in a most flaunderous booke written by A. CECINA, and certaine verses as rayling and reprochfull as it; devised by PITHOLAUS, his credite and reputation was much cracked and empaired he tooke the matter no more to the heart; than \* one Citizen would haue done at an others hand:

Howbeit, the rest of his deedes and words ouerweigh and depresse his good parts downe so as he might be thought both to haue abused his soueraintie, and worthily to haue bene murdered. For, he not only tooke upon him excessive honours, to wit, continued Consulship, perpetuall Dictature, & \* Presidency of Manners; and more than so, the forename of \* Emperour, the Surname Father of his Countrey: His statue among the Kings, an eminent seate of Estate raised above the rest in the Orchestra, among the Senatours: but hee suffered also more stately dignities than becomming the condition of a mortall wight to bee decreed and ordained for him: namely, a golden Throne in the Curia, and before the \* Tribunal: a sacred (a) Chariot & therein a frame carying an \* Image, at the solemne pomp of his Games Circense: Temples, Altars, his owne Images placed nere unto the Gods: a sacred Bed: lost for such Images to be bestowed upon: a flamin, (e) certaine \* Luperci (d): and the denomination of one (e) moneth after his owne name. Besides, no honourable offices there were but he tooke and gaue at his owne pleasure. His third and fourth Consulship in name onely and title he bare: contenting himselfe with the absolute power of Dictatourship decreed unto him with his Cōsulares all at one time: & in both yeeres, he substituted two Consuls under him for the three last moneths: so as, in the meane time, he held no Election but of Tribunes and Aediles of the Commons. In steed of Pretours he ordained Provofts, who should administer the affaires of the Citie even \* whiles he was present. And upon the very last day of the yeare to wit next before \* the Kalends of Ianuarie, the place of a Consulship being vacant by the suddaine death of a Consull he conferred upon one (f) that made suite to enioy the same but a few houres. With semblable licentiousnesse despising the custome of his Countrey, he ordained maiestates to continue in office many yeeres together. To x. men of Pretours degree he graunted the Consulare Ornaments. Such as were but enfranchized Citizens, and diuers mungrel: Gules no better then halfe Barbarians, he admitted Senatours. Furthermore, ouer the Mint and receipt of the City-reuenues, he set certaine peculiar seruants of his owne to be rulers. The charge and command of three Legions which he left in ALEXANDRIA, he committed wholly to a sonne of RVFINUS his freed man, a stale youth and Catanaite of his owne.

Neither did some words of his which he openly deliuered, bewraie lesse presumptuous Lordlines, as T. AMPIUS, writeth. For example, *That the Commonwealth was now no more any (a) real thing, but a name onely, without forme or shape: That SYLLA was altogether unlettered and no (b) \* Grammarian: in giuing over his Dictature. That men ought now to speake with him more considerately, and to holde every word that he saith for a Law.* Nay he proceeded to this point of Arrogancie, that when upon a time in a certaine Sacrifice, the South-sayer brought him

\* Civilian animi  
tulit.

76

\* i. Censorship  
indeed though  
not in name:  
\* Imperator i. e.  
Soueraine and  
absolute com-  
mander.

\* In the forme  
\* Of himselfe,  
as a God,  
\* Iuliani.

\* Etiam pro-  
fente se: some  
read absente  
te: cleane  
contrarie:  
\* The last of  
Decem'bers;  
A. V. C. 709.

\* Made free  
Citizens of  
Rome.

77

\* Nam Gram-  
matices est dicta-  
re.

word of unlucky Inwards in the beast; and such as had no heart at all, he made answer and said, *That those which were to follow afterwards should proue more ioyfull and fortunate if it pleased him: neither was it to be taken for a prodigious and strange token, if a beast wanted an heart.*

But the greatest envie and inexpressible hatred he drew upon himselfe by this occasion most of all. What time as all the Senatours in generall came unto him with many and those most honourable decrees, he receiued them sitting \* still before the Temple of Venus Genetrix. Some thinke, that when he was about to rise up, CORNELIVS BALBUS stayed and held him backe: others are of the mind, that he never went about it. But when C. TREBATIVS aduertised him to arise unto them, he looked backe upon him with a strang kind of looke: Which deede of his was thought so much the more intollerable, for that himselfe, when PONTIVS AQUILA one of the (a) Colledge of Tribunes; stood not up nor did reuerence to him as he rode in Triumph and passed by the Tribunes Puer, tooke such snuffe and indignation therat, that he brake out aloud into these words: *well done Tribune Aquila, Recover thou then, the common wealth out of my hands:* and for certaine dayes together, neuer promised ought vnto any man without this Priuilege and Exception, (b) *If PONTIVS AQUILA will giue me leave:*

To this CONTVMELIOUS and notorious \* behauiour of his toward the Senate thus despised, he adioyned a deede much more arrogant: For when as in his returne from the solemne Sacrifice of the Latine Holie dayes, among other immoderate and new acclamations of the people, one out of the multitude had set upon his Statue; a Coronet of Laurell tied about with a white band; and ERIDIUS MARULLUS; a Tribune of the Cōmons together with his colleagues CRESETIVS FLAVUS cōmanded the said band to be plucked of, & the man to be had away to prison, he taking it to heart, either that this overture to a kingdome sped no better, or, (as he made semblance & pretended himselfe) that he was put by the glorie of refusing it, sharply rebuked the Tribunes, & deprived them both of their authoritie. Neither for all this, was he willing afterwards to put away the infamous note of affecting and seeking after the title of a King: albeit he both made answer unto a (a) Commoner saluting him by the name of a King, *That he was CAESAR and no King:* and also at the Lupercalia, when ANTONIVS the Consul imposed the Diademe oftentimes vpon his head before the ROSTRA, did put it backe againe, and send it into the Capitoll to (b) *Iupiter Optimus Maximus.* Moreouer sundrie rumours ran rife abroad; that he would depart (for euer) to ALEXANDRIA or to (d) *Ilium*, hauing at once trālated and remooued thither the puissance and wealth of the Empire: dispeopled *Italie* with mustering of soldiers; and withall betaken the administration of Rome-Citie unto his friends: As also, that in the next Session of the Senate, L. COTTION of the (e) *Quindecimvirs* would move the house to this effect, *That for as much as it was contained in the Fatall bookes of SYBILLA, that the Parthians could not possiblie be vanquished but by a King, therefore CAESAR should be stiled King.*

This gave occasion to the Conspiratours for to hasten the execution of their designe, least of necessitie they should be driuen to assent thereto. Their counsels therefore and conferences about this matter, which before time they

\* Should signi-  
fic better for-  
tune.

78  
\* In capitiem  
or exitiabilem. i.  
deadly, & that  
which brought  
him to mis-  
chance.  
\* Not so much  
as rising vp  
vnto them.  
\* Saying with  
all, what Sir.  
Remember  
you are Caesar.

79  
\* Or gestura.

\* Resembling  
a Diademe.

held dispersed here and there, and projected oftentimes by two & three in a companie, they now complotted altogether, for that by this time the very people joynd not in the present state, seeing how things went; but both in secret and openly also distasted such soneraintie, and called earnestly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Vpon the admission of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was \* a Libell proposed in this form (a) *Bonum Factum Erc.* *That no man would shew the Senate-house to any new Senatours.* And these verses were commonly chaunted.

\*Or Bill,

\*Or rather, Idem in curiam. for the same Caesar brought them into the Senate.

\*Bracas, or trouses, or Braces, some take them for man-rei-

\*Hist. r.

\*Postremus or Postremo at last \*M. Brutus.

\*Some vpon the bridge others under it.

\*In which Caesar dwelt after he had bene high Priest, \*Is of Mars in honour of Anna Perenna And because the places were exhibited in Pompeii Theatre. Therefore the Senate met also in his Curia. \*Which him selfe promulged.

*Gallus* *CEASAR* in *Triumphum ducit*, \* *Idem in Curia Galli* \* *Bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.*

The French in triumph *CEASAR* leads, In Senate they anon

No sooner laid their \* Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

As *Q. Maximus* substituted (by *CEASAR*) to be a Consul for 3. Moneths entered the Theater, and the \* Sergeant commanded (as the manner was) that the people should obserue and regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out, *That he was no Consul*: After that *CAESAR* and *MARULLUS* the *Tribunes* aforesaid, were removed out of their office, at the next Solemne assembly, held for *Election*, verie many voices were found declaring them ij. Consuls. Some there were who subscribed under the Statue of *L. BRUTUS* these words, (d) *Would God thou were a line.* Likewise under the Statue of *CEASAR* himselfe.

(e) *BRUTUS* for expelling the Kings, was created Consul the first.

This man for expelling the Consuls is become King, \* the last.

There conspired against him more than three-score the heads of which conspiracie were *C. CASSIVS*, \* *MARCUS* and *DECIVS BRUTVS*; who hauing made doubt at first whether by diuiding themselves into partes, they should cait him downe the (f) bridge, as he called the Tribes to giue their voices at the *Election* in *Mars* fielde, and so take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or set vpon him in the high streete called \* *Sacra via*: or else in the very entrance to the Theater? after that the Senate had summons to meete in Counsell within the Court of *POMPEIVS* vpon the \* Ides of *March*, they soone agreed of this time and place before all others.

SI But *CEASAR* surely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many euident prodigies and strang foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certaine new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law \* *IVLIA* to dwell in the Colonie *Capua*, ouerthrew most auncient Sepulchers for to builde them houses to their landes; and did the same so much the more diligently and with better will, for that in searching they light vpon manufactures and vessels good store of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, *CAPYS* the founder of *Capua* lay buried, a brassen Table with a writing vpon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: *When the bones and reliques of CAPYS happen to be discovered, it shall come to passe, that one descended from IVLVVS shall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinsfolke, and his death soone after reuenged with the great calamities and miseries of all Italie*: And least any man should thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that *CORNELIVS BALEVS* a verie inward and familiar friend of *CEASAR*

is

is the author thereof: And the uerie day next preceeding his death, those troupes of horses which in his passage ouer the Riuer *Rubicon* hee had consecrate and let go loose ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he understood for certaine) forbore their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and shed teares abundantly. Also, as he offered sacrifice, the Soothlayer *SPVRINA* warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differred after the Ides of *March*. Now, the verie day before the said Ides, it fortun'd that as the birde (a) \* *Regaliolus*, was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of *POMPEIVS*, a sort of other birdes of diuerse kindes from out of the grove hard by, pursued after and there pulled it in peeces: But that night next before the day of his murder, both himselfe dreamed as he lay a sleepe, one while, that he was flying aboue the clouds: another while, that *Iupiter* and he shooke hands: and also his wife *CALPVRINA*, imagined, that the Finiall of his house fell downe, and that her husband was stabbed in her verie bosome: and sodainely withall the chamber doore of it selfe flew open. Hereupon, as also by reason of sickeliness, he doubted a good while whether he should keepe at home and put off those matters which he had purposed to debate before the Senate, or no? At the last, being counselled and perswaded by *DECIVS BRUTVS*, not to disappoint the Senatours who were now in frequencie assembled and stayed for his comming long since; he went forth when it was well neere eleuen of the clocke. And when \* one met him by the way, & offered him a written pamphlet, which layd open the conspiracie, and who they were that sought his life, he shuffled the same among other skroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would haue red it anone. After this when he had killed many beasts for sacrifices & could speede of the Gods fauour in none, he entred the \* *Curia* in contempt of all Religion; and therewith laughed *SPVRINA* to scorne: charging him to bee a false Prophet, for that the Ides of *March* were come: and yet noe harme befell vnto him; albeit hee answered, *That some indeede they were, but not yet past.*

82 When they \* saw once that he had taken his place, and was set, they stood round about him as serviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediatly \* *CIMBER TVLLVS* who had undertaken to begin first, stepped neerer unto him, as though he would have made some request. When *CEASAR* seemed to mislike and put him backe, yea and by his gesture to post him of unto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both shoulders: whereupon as he cried out, *This is violence*, \* *CASSIVS* came in a full front & wounded him a litle beneath the \* throat. Then *CEASAR* catching *CASSIVS* by the arme thrust it through with his stile or writing punches; and with that being about to leape forward he was met with another wound and stayed. Now when he perceived himselfe beset on everie side and assailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and couered his head with his gowne: but withall let downe the large \* lap with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part also of his bodie, that he might fall (d) more decently: and so, with 3. and 20. wounds he was stabbed: during which time he gave but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the first thrust; although some have written, that as *M. BRUTVS* came running upon him he said, *καὶ οὐτέτις*; (e) *And thou my sonne*

When

\* Or Regalis, the quasi ren avium.

\* Ab obvia quodam, vel Ovis, i. one Ovis.

\* Off Pamphlet

A.V.C. 710.

\* Conspirati, or conspirati: the conspirators stood round

about him.

\* Who before had bene his

grat friend &

sided with him

\* Alter Cassius

one of the

Cassii, vel alter

Cassius.

\* Iugulum, or

the chancell

bone.

\* Out of his

chaire.

\* Which they

were wont to

cast ouer their

shoulders. See

ne. de benefico.

Or tucke up

slack above the

waist.

Some read: καὶ οὐτέτις.

held disperfed here and there, and proiected oftentimes by two & three in a companie, they now complotted al together, for that by this time the very people joyncd not in the prefent ftate, feeing how things went; but both in fecret and openly alfo diftafted fuch foveraintie, and called earnestly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Vpon the admiffion of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was \* a Libell propofed in this form (a) *Bonum Factum eſt. That no man would ſhew the Senate-houſe to any new Senatours*. And theſe verſes were commonly chaunted.

*Galloſ CEASAR in Triumphum ducit, \* Idem in Curia Galli \* Bracas depofuerunt, latum clauum ſuſpferunt.*

The French in triumph CEASAR leads, In Senate they anon

No ſooner laid their \* Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

As Q. Maximus ſubſtituted (by CEASAR) to be a Conſul for 3. Moneths entred the Theater, and the \* Sergeant commanded (as the manner was) that the people ſhould obferue and (c) regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out, *That he was no Conſul*: After that C. SETIVS and MARULLUS the Tribunes aforeſaid, were removed out of their office, at the next Solemne aſſembly, held for Election, verie many voices were found declaring them ij. Conſuls. Some there were who ſubſcribed under the Statue of L. BRUTUS theſe words, (d) *Would God thou were alive*. Likewiſe under the Statue of CEASAR himſelfe.

(e) BRUTUS for expelling the Kings, was created Conſul the firſt.

This man for expelling the Conſuls is become King, \* the laſt.

There conſpired againſt him more than threeſcore the heads of which conſpiracie were C. CASSIVS, \* MARCVS and DECIVS BRUTVS; who hauing made doubt at firſt whether by \* diuiding themſelues into partes, they ſhould caſt him downe the (f) bridge, as he called the Tribes to giue their voices at the Election in Mars ſielde, and ſo take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or ſet vpon him in the high ſtreete called \* *Satura*: or elſe in the very entrance to the Theater? after that the Senate had ſummons to meete in Counſell within the Court of POMPEIVS vpon the \* Ides of March, they ſoone agreed of this time and place before all others.

81 But CEASAR ſurely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many euident prodigies and ſtrange foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certaine new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law \* IVLIA to dwell in the Colonie Capua, ouerthrew moſt auncient Sepulchers for to builde them houſes to their landes; and did the ſame ſo much the more diligently and with better will, for that in ſearching they light vpon manufactures and veſſels good ſtore of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, CAPYS the founder of Capua lay buried, a braſen Table with a writing vpon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: *When the bones and reliques of CAPYS happen to be diſcovered, it ſhall come to paſſe, that one deſcended from IVLVS ſhall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinſfolke, and his death ſoone after reuenged with the great calamities and miſeries of all Italie*: And leaſt any man ſhould thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that CORNELIVS BALEVS a verie inward and familiar friend of CEASAR

is

\* Or Bill,

\* Or rather, Idem in curiam, for the ſame Caſar brought them into the Senate.

\* Bracas, or trowſes, or Brachia, ſome take them for mantle: \* Hiſt. r.

\* Poſtremo or Poſtremo at laſt \* M. Brutus.

\* Some vpon the bridge others under it.

\* In which Caſar dwelt after he had beene high Prieſt, \* 15. of March in honour of Anna Perenna And becauſe the places were exhibited in Pompeii Theatre. Therefore the Senate met alſo in his Curia. \* Which himſelfe promulged.

is the author thereof: And the uerie day next preceeding his death, thoſe troupes of horſes which in his paſſage ouer the Riuer *Rubicon* hee had conſecrate and let go looſe ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he underſtood for certaine) forbore their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and ſhed teares abundantly. Alſo, as he offered ſacrifice, the Soothſayer SPVRINA warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differred after the Ides of *March*. Now, the verie day before the ſaid Ides, it fortun'd that as the birde (a) \* *Regaliolus*, was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of POMPEIVS, a ſort of other birdes of diuerſe kindes from out of the grove hard by, purſued after and there pulled it in peeces: But that night next before the day of his murder, both himſelfe dreamed as he lay a ſleepe, one while, that he was flying about the clouds: another while, that Iupiter and he ſhooke hands: and alſo his wife CALPVRINA, imagined, that the Finiall of his houſe fell downe, and that her husband was ſtabbed in her verie boſome: and ſodainely withall the chamber doore of it ſelfe flew open. Hereupon, as alſo by reaſon of ſicklineſſe, he doubted a good while whether he ſhould keepe at home and put off thoſe matters which he had purpoſed to debate before the Senate, or no? At the laſt, being counſelled and perſwaded by DECIVS BRVTVS, not to diſappoint the Senatours who were now in frequencie aſſembled and ſtayed for his comming long ſince; he went forth when it was well neere eluen of the clocke. And when \* one met him by the way, & offered him a written pamphlet, which layd open the conſpiracie, and who they were that ſought his life, he ſhuffled the ſame among other ſcroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would haue red it anone. After this when he had killed many beaſts for ſacrifices & could ſpeede of the Gods fauour in none, he entred the \* *Curia* in contempt of all Religion; and there with laughed SPVRINA to ſcorne: charging him to bee a falſe Prophet, for that the Ides of *March* were come: and yet noe harme befall vn- to him; albeit hee aunſwered, *That ſome indeede they were, but not yet paſt*.

82 When they \* ſaw once that he had taken his place, and was ſet, they ſtood round about him as ſerviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediatly \* C. IMBERTVLVS who had undertaken to begin firſt, ſtepped neerer unto him, as though he would haue made ſome requeſt. When CEASAR ſeemed to miſlike and put him backe, yea and by his geſture to poſt him of unto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both ſhoulders: whereupon as he cried out, *This is violence*, \* CASSIVS came in a full front & wounded him a litle beneth the \* throat. Then CEASAR catching CASSIVS by the arme thruſt it through with his ſtile or writing punch, and with that being about to leape \* forward he was met with another wound and ſtayed. Now when he perceiued himſelfe beſet on euery ſide and aſſailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and couered his head with his gowne: but withall let downe the large \* lap with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part alſo of his bodie, that he might fall (d) more decently: and ſo, with 3. and 20. wounds he was ſtabbed: during which time he gave but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the firſt thruſt; althoough ſome haue written, that as M. BRVTVS came running vpon him he ſaid, καὶ οὐ τέκνον; i. (e) *And thou my ſonne*:

When

\* Or Regaliolus, a ſort of Lawrell.

\* Abſolvit quod dicitur, vel Ovis, ſ. oue Ovis.

\* Of Pompeium

A.V.C. 710.

\* Conſpirati, or conſpirati: the conſpirators

ſtood round about him.

\* Who before had beene his great friend & ſided with him

\* Alter Caſſius or alter e Caſſius one of the Caſſii, vel alter, Caſſia.

\* Ingulum, or the chancell bone.

\* Out of his chaire.

\* Which they were wont to caſt ouer their ſhoulders. Seneca de beneficiis.

Or tucke up ſlack above the waſt.

Some read: καὶ οὐ τέκνον.

Some read: καὶ οὐ τέκνον.

\*Some expound this of the lister a. if one corner thereof hung downe, carried as it was by three. \*Whereby it seemeth he had eue given him in his neck before which the Author hath omitted. \*13. of September. \*So hee was there great Vnkle. \*Afterwards Augustus, sonne of Aia Iulius Cæsars sister daughter. \*As Pompey was borne after his death. \*Of Rome. \*46. f. 10. d. ob. starlinz. \*His owne daughter, wife to Pompey who died of child-birth, and by speciall privilege, was entered in Mars field. \*Or Herse. \*Or Bierre. \*Appon, a pole. \*Which was, That the magistrates and Senators should go before without their badges & robes of dignitie: the knights and gentlemen follow in mourning weed: then the soldiers, carrying the heads or points of their weapons downeward: last of all, the common people marshalled according to their Tribes. \*Or Attius, who wrote a Tragedie bearing the same title. \*Or Bierre. \*Deuluranc.

When all others fled sundrie waies, there lay he a good while dead, untill three of his owne pages bestowed him in a lister: and so with one \* arme hanging downe, carried him home. Neither in so many wounds, was there, as ANTI-STIVS his Physitian deemed, any one found mortall, but that which he receiued \* second, in his breast. The conspiratours were minded to haue dragged his Corps, after hee was thus slaine, into the Riuer *Tiberis*; confiscated his goods, and repealed all his acts: but for feare of M. ANTONIUS the Consul and LEPIDVS. Maister of the *Horsemen*, they held their hands and gaue ouer those courtes.

83 At the demand therefore of L. PISO whose daughter he married, his last will and Testament was opened and red in the house of ANTONIUS which will, upon the \* Ides of September next before, he had made in his own house at *Lauicium* & comitted to the keeping of the chiefe (a) vestal Virgin. *Q. Tubero* writeth, that from his first Consulship unto the beginning of the Civil war, he was euer wont to write downe for his heire, Cn. POMPEIUS, and to reade the saide will unto his soldiers in their publike assemblie. But in this last Testament of his, he ordained three Coheires, the nephewes all \* of his sisters. To wit \* C. OCTAVIUS, of three fourth parts, L. PINARIUS, and Q. PRIDIUS of one fourth part remaining. In the latter end and bottome of this Testamentarie Instrument, he adopted also: C. OCTAVIUS into his house & name; and many of those that afterwards murdered him, he nominated for guardiers to his \* sonne, if it fortun'd he had any borne. Yea and DECIMUS BRVTUS to be one of his second heires in remainder. Hee bequeathed in his legacies unto the \* people his hortyards about *Tiberis* to ly common; & three \* hundred Sesterces to them by the *Poll*.

84 The solemnitie of his Buriall being proclaimed, there was a pile of wood for his funerall fire reared in *Mars* field, neere unto the Tombe of \* IVLIA. Before the *Rostra* was placed a \* chappell all guilt resembling the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*. and within it \* a Bedsteed of *iuorie*, richly spred with cloth of gold and purple, and at the head thereof a \* *Trope* supporting the Robe wherein he was slaine. Now because it was thought, that those should not have day enough who came to his offerings and brought their oblations, commandement was giuen, that without obseruing the \* strict order, euery man might bring which way & by what streete of the Cittie he would, his gift into *Mars* field above said. During the Games and playes then exhibited there were chaunted certaine verses ficly applyed as well to mooue pittie as hatred withall of his death, and namely out of the Tragedie of *Pacruvius*, entituled, (a) The iudgement of Armour, *Men Men seruasse, ut essent qui me perderent*: Alas the while, that I these men should saue: By bloody death, to bring me to my grave; As also another out of that of *Accius* to the same sence, Insteed of a laudatorie oration, ANTONIUS the Consul pronounced by the publike Crier, that Act of the Senate, wherein they decreede for him *all honour, both diuine and humane*: likewise the solemne oth wherewith they all obliged themselves to defend the life and person of him and none but him: whereunto he added some few words of his owne. The fore saide \* Bed, the Magistrates for the time being, and such as had borne office of State alreadie, had \* conueied into the forum before the *Rostra*; which when some intended

to

to burn within the cell of IVPITER CAPITOLINVS, others in the \* Court of POMPEIUS: all of a sodaine there were ij. fellowes with swords girt to their sides: and carrying ij. lavelins, who with light burning Tapers, set it on fire: and with that immediately the multitude that stood round about gat drie sticks together and heaped them thereupon, with the Tribunall seats and other pues, \* of inferiour Magistrats, & whatsoeuer beside was readie & (c) next at hand. \* Or Benches. After them, the Minstrels and stage players disrobed themselves of those vestiments which out of the furniture of his Tryumphs they had put on for the present use and occasion, rent the same in peeces and flung all into the flaming fire. The olde Legionarie soldiers also did the like by their armour, wherein they brauely went to solemnize his funerall, Yea and most of the Cittie Dames did no lesse by their Jewels and Ornaments which they had about them: Their childrens pendant brooches also and rich coats embroidered and bordred with purple. In this exceeding sorrow and publike mourning, a number there were besides from forraigne Nations: who euerie one after their Countrie manner, lamented round one after another, by companies in their turnes: but above all other the \* *Jewes*. who also for many nights together frequented the place of his sepulture and where his bodie was burnt.

The common people streight after his funerall obsequies went with burning fire-brands and torches to the dwelling houses of BRVTUS and CASSIUS: From whence being hardly repelled, they meeting with HALVIUS CINNA by the way, and mistaking his name, as if he had beene CORNELIVS CINNA (one who the day before had made a bitter invective as touching CÆSAR and whom they sought for) him they slew: set his head vpon a speare, and so carried it about with them. After this they erected in the Forum a solide \* Colunne almost 20. foote high, of Numidian Marble: with this title graven thereupon; PARENTI PATRIÆ. *To the father of his Countrie*. At which pillar for a long time they used still to sacrifice, to make vowes and prayers, to determine and end certaine controversies interposing alwaies their oth by the name of CÆSAR.

CÆSAR left behind him in the minds of certaine friends about him, a suspicion, that he was neither willing to have lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: because he stood not well to health, but was euer more crasie: & thereupon neglected as well all religious warnings from the Gods, as also what reports soeuer his friends presented unto him. There be that thinke, howe trusting vpon that last Act of the Senate, and there oth aforesaid, he discharged the Guard of Spaniards from about him, who armed with swordes, gaue attendance \* vpon his person. Others contrariwise are of opinion; that seeing as he did how he was forelaied on euerie side, and confessing, it were better once for all to undergoe those imminent daungers, than alwaies to stand in feare thereof, he was wont to say: *It concerned not him selfe so much as it did the state, that hee should liue and bee safe: As for him, he had gotten long since power and glorie enough: marie the Common-wealth (if ought but well came to him) should not bee at quiet, but incurr the troubles of Ciuill warre, the issue whereof would be farre worse then euer it had beene.*

This one thing verily, all men well neere are agreed vpon, *That such a death*

\* Where he was murdered.

\* Or Benches.

\* They affected Cæsar (it should seem) in regard of many benefits, and namely for bringing Pompeie to confusion who had forced their chiefe Cittie.

85

\* Or Pillar.

86

\* Infection.

87

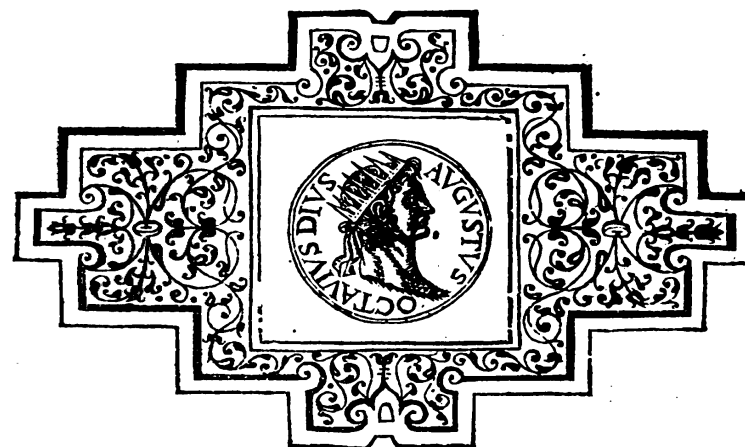
*death befell unto him as himselfe in manner wished*. For not onely upon a time when he had read in \*XENOPHON, how CYRUS beeing at the point of death gaue some order for his funeral!, hee setting light by so lingering and slow a kind of death, had wished to die quickly and of a suddaine; but also the verie daie before he was killed, in a certaine discourse mooved at supper in MARCUS LEPIDUS house upon this point, What was the best ende of a mans life? preferred that which was sodaine and unlooked for.

88  
\*In the 8, Sept  
timant.  
\*Consecrate.  
He died in the \* 56. yeare of his age and was canonized among the Gods, not onely by their voice who decreed such honour unto him, but also by the perswasion of the common people. For at those Games and playes which were the first that AUGUSTVS his heire exhibited for him thus \*deified, there shone a blazing starre for seuen dayes together, arising about the eleventh houre of the day; and beleevied it was to be the soule of CÆSAR received up into heaven. For this cause also upon his Image there is a starre set to the uerie Crowne of his head. Thought good it was to damme vp (b) the Court where in hee was mured: to name the *Ides of March (c) Parricidium*, and that the Senate should neuer meete in Counsell upon that day.

89  
\*Cassius: as  
Plutarch repor-  
ted, and Br-  
tus according  
to Dion, and  
theij. *Cassius*.  
A notable  
iudgement of  
Almightie  
God upon the  
unnatural mur-  
ders of their  
Soveraigne.  
Of these murderers, there was not one in manner that either survived him about three yeares, or died of his naturall death. All stood condemned; and by one mishap or other perished: some by ship-wracke, others in battaile: and \*and some againe, shortened their own daies, with the verie same dagger, where-  
with they had wounded  
CÆSAR.

# THE HISTORIE OF Octavius Cæsar Augustus,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



**H**at the principall name & linage of the OCTAVI, dwelt in times past at *Felstra*, there be many evidences to shewe: For, both a street in the most frequented place of the said towne long since carried the name OCTAVIUS, and also there was to be scene an Altar there consecrated\* by one OCTAVIUS, who being Generall of the field in a warre against the borderers, whē he happened to be sacrificing to Mars upon newes brought that the enemy gave a suddaine charge, caught the Inwards of the beast sacrificed halfe raw as they were, out of the \* fire; cut and offered them accordingly: & so entred into battaile and returned with victorie. There is beside, a publike Act extant upon record, wherein decreed and provided it was, that everie yeare after, the Inwards in like manner should bee presented

\*Orto offe-  
niac: Octavio  
Consecrat

\*where they  
were a boyling  
or resting.

E.



presented unto *Mars*, and the rest of the sacrifice remaining, carried backe unto the *Chamij*.

3 \* These *Octavij*, being by *K. TARQVINIVS PRISCVS* naturalized Romaines soone after translated and admitted by *SERVIVS TULLVS*, into the Senate among the *Patritians*, & Nobles, in proceſſe of time ranged themselves with the commons, and with much adoe at length, by the meanes of *IVLVVS* of ſacred *Memrie* returned to the *Patritian* degree again: The first of these that by the peoples election bare any *Magistracie*, was *C. RVFVS*: who having bene *Questor* begat *Cn. and C. FRO* the descended two families of the *OCTAVI*, and those for their estate of life farre different. For *Cn.* and all the rest from him one after another, attained to places of highest honour: but *CAIVS* and his posteritie everie one eve unto the father of *AVGVSTVS*, (such was either their fortune or their will,) staid in the order and degree of gentlemen, and rose no higher. The great Grandfather of *AVGVSTVS*, in the second *Punike* war, served in qualitie of a Militar \* *Tribune*, in *Sicilie*, under *ÆMILIVS PAPVS* Lord general. His father contenting himselfe with bearing office like another Burgesse in his owne Bourrough, being left welthie by his father, grew to a good estate, and lived to be an olde man, in much peace and tranquillitie. But of these matters let others make report. *AVGVSTVS* himselfe writeth noe more but thus. That the house from whence he came, was of *Romaine Gentlemen*, welthie and ancient withall, wherein the first that ever came to be Senatour was his father. *M. ANTONIVS* hitteth him in the teeth with his great Grandfather: saying he was but a *Libertine* borne, and by occupation a \* roper, & come out of a Village of the *Thurines*: also that his Grandfather was no better then a verie \* banquer. Neither have I founde any more, as touching the Aunces-tours of *AVGVSTVS* by the Fathers side:

*OCTAVIUS* his father, from the verie beginning of his age, was of great welth and reputation; so that I cannot but meruaile, that hee also hath bene reported by some a banquer or monie changer: yea and one of the (a) dealers of monie and servitours employed in *CAMPVS MARTIVS*, by those that stand for offices: For having bene from his verie cradle brought vppe in wealth highly and plentifully; he both attained unto honorable dignities with facilitie, and administred the same with credite and reputation. Presently uppon his Pretourshippe, the province of *Macedonie* fell unto his lot. And in his iourney thither, the fugitives, to wit the reliques of *SPARTACVS* and *CATILINES* forces, who then helde the *Thurine* teritorie hee defaied; having commission extraordinarily given unto him in the senate so to doe: This province hee governed with noe lesse iustice then fortitude. For having discomfited in a great battaile the *Bessi* and the *Thracians*, he dealt so well with the *Allies* and confederats of that Kingdome: that there be certaine letters of *M. TULLIVS CICERO* extant, wherein he exhorteth and admonisheth his brother *QVINTVS*, (who at the same time, little to his credite & good name, administred the procōfūlship of *Asia*) for to imitate his neighbour *OCTAVIUS*, in doing well by the *Allies*, and winning their love thereby.

4 As he departed out of *Macedonie* before that he could professe himselfe to be a suiter for the Consulship, he died a suddaine death: leaving these children behind

behind him alive, namely two daughters *OCTAVIA* the elder, which hee had by *ANCHARIA*: *OCTAVIA* the younger, and *AVGVSTVS* likewise, by *ATIA*. This *ATIA* was the daughter of *M. ATIVS BALBVS*, and *IVLIA* the sister of *C. CÆSAR. BALBVS* by his fathers side was an *ARICINE*, a man that shewed Senatours Images and armes, in his house: by his mother linked to *MAGNVS POMPEIVS* in the neereſt degree of consanguinitie. And having borne the office of Pretorship he among the xx. Commissioners devided by vertue of the Law *IVLIA*, the lands in the territory of *CAPVA* among the Commons. But *M. ANTONIVS*, despising the parentage and petegree of *AVGVSTVS* by the mother side also, twitteth him and layeth in his dish, that his great Grandfire was an *African* borne saying on while, that he kept a shop of sweete oyles; Ointments and perfumes; another while, that he was a baker in *Aricia*. *CASSIVS* verily of *PARMA*, in a certaine Epistle: taxeth *AVGVSTVS* as being the Nephew not of a Baker onely, but also of a banker, in these termes: Thou hast

\* All this is spoken allegorically of his base parentage.

meale for thy mother. And then comes a banker of *Nerulone*, who out of a most painefull backehouse in *Aricia* kneadeth and mouldeth it with his hands sullied by telling & exchanging monie.

*AVGVSTVS* was borne, when *M. TULLIVS CICERO* and *ANTONIVS* were Consuls, the \* ninth day before the Calends of October, a little before the Sun rising, in the (a) palatine quarter of the Citie, at a place: called \* *CAPITA BVBYLA*: where now it hath a sacred Chappel, built and erected a little after he departed out of this world: For, as it is found in the records of the Senate, when *C. LECTORIVS* a yong gentleman of the *Patritian* order, pleaded to have some easier punishment for the adulterie, & alledged, over, and besides his yong yeares & parétage, this also in his plea, before the Senatours, that he was the possessor and as it were, the warden & Sextaine of that ground or soyle, which *AVGVSTVS* of happy memorie touched (b) first, & requested that it might be given & granted unto the said *AVGVSTVS* as to his domestical and peculiar god: decreed it was that the same part of the house should be consecrated to that holy use.

There is yet to be seene the place of his nourcery, within a suburban house belonging to his Auncesters, neere unto *Velitra*: a very little Cabin, about the bignes of a Larder or Pantry: the neighbours are possessed with a certaine conceit, as if he had been there also borne. To enter into this rowme unlesse it be of necessitie & with devout chastitie, men make it scrupulous & are affraide: upon an old conceived opinion, as if unto as many as came thither rashly and inconsiderately, a certaine horror and fearefulness were presented. And verily, this was soone after confirmed by this occasion: For when the new Land lord & possessor of that same house, either by chance & at unwares, or els to try some experiment, went into it, there to take up his lodging, it happened that in the night within verie fewe houres after, being driven out from thence by some sodaine violence, (he knoweth not how,) he was found in manner halfe dead, together with bed and all, before the dore.

Being yet an infant, surnamed he was *THVRINVS*, in memorial of the beginning of his Auncestours: or else because in the cōtrie about *Thurij*, when hee was newly borne, his father *OCTAVIUS* fought a battaile against the *Fugitives*. That he was surnamed *THVRINVS*, my selfe am able to report by a god and sufficient evidence, as having gotten an olde little counterfeit in

Ea

brasse

\* Eageni inter Romanos alio

\* Against Antimachus and the Carthaginians: Colonel of 1000 footmen

\* A seller of roper's refines, not Refiners with a Capital R, as if it were a proper name. \* A gentleman an exchanger of monie for guine.

A.V.C. 691. \* 23. Of September. \* Ox or Bull heads.

6

7

brasse representing him being a child: which had in yron letters and those almost worne out, this name engraven: This said counterfeit, being given by me unto the \* Prince, is now devoutely kept and worshipped among other his bed chamber Images. Moreover called he is oftentimes in taunting wise by M. ANTONIUS in his Epistles: THVRINVS: and himselfe writeth unto him backe againe as touching that point, nothing but this: That he marvelleth why that former name of his should be objected unto him as a reproach. Afterwardes, he assumed the surname of C. CÆSAR: and after it of AVGVSTVS: the one by the last will of his great Vncle, by the mother side, the other by the vertue of MYNATIVS PLANCVS his sentence: For when some gave their opinion, that he ought to be stiled ROMVLVS, as if he also had bene A Founder of the Cittie, PLANCVS prevailed, that he should be called rather AVGVSTVS: not onely for that it was a new Surname, but also greater and more honourable, because Religious and holy places, wherein also any thing is consecrated by bird flight, and feeding of them be called AVGVSTA, *ab auctu. i. of growing, or else ab avium gestu gultu. i. of birds gesture and feeding.* Like as ENNIVS also teacheth writing in this manner.

*Augusto Augurio postquam inelyta condita Roma est.*

After that Noble Rome was built by sacred flight of Birds.

8 He was 4. yeares old when his father died: and in the xij. yeare of his age he praised in a publike assemblie, his Grand-mother IULIA deceased. Foure yeeres after hauing put on his virill robe, he had (a) militarie (b) gifts bestowed upon him at the African tryumph of CÆSAR, albeit by reason of his yong yeares he had not once serued in the warres: Soone after, when his Vnkle (CÆSAR) was gone into Spaine against Cn. POMPEIUS children, he followed with in a while, (being as yet not well recovered out of a greivous sicknesse,) even through waies infested by enemies, with verie few in his traine to accompany him, and hauing suffred shipwracke besides: whereby he mightily won his Vnckles love, who quickly approved his towardly behauiour and disposition, over and above his diligence in trauaile: Whē CÆSAR, after he had recovered Spaine and brought it to his subiection, intended a voiage against the \* Daci, and from thence against the Parthians, he being sent afore to Apollonia, became a Student there and followed his booke. And so soone as he had certaine intelligence that CÆSAR was slaine, and himselfe made his heire: standing in doubt and suspense a long time, whether he should implore the helpe of the Legions or no: at length he gave over that course verily, as too hastie & untimely, but whē he was returned againe to Rome, he entred upon his inheritance, not withstanding his mother made some doubt thereof & his father in law MARTIVS \* PHILIPPVS a man of Consular degree much dissuaded him therefro. And from that time hauing leuied & assembled his forces, he governed the common welth first jointly with (c) M. ANTONIUS and M. LEPIDVS for the space almost of 12. yeeres, and at the last for xliij. yeares by himselfe alone:

9 Having thus laid open the very sum as it were, of his life, I will goe through the parts thereof in particular: not by the times but by the severall kinds thereof. to the end the same may be shewed and knowne more distinctly: Five civill warres he made to wit, at Mutine, Philippi, Perusium in Sicilie, and at Actium. Of which the first & last were against M. ANTONIUS: the second against BRVTUS and

and CASSIUS the third against L. ANTONIUS brother to the Triumvir, the 4. against Sex. POMPEIUS, Cn. POMPEIUS his sonne. Of all these warres he took the occasion and quarrell from hence, namely, reputing and iudging in his mind nothing more meet and conuenient than the revenge of his unckles death and the maintenance of his acts and proceedings.

No sooner was he returned from Apollonia, but he purposed to set upon BRVTUS and CASSIUS at unwares: and (because upon foresight of daunger they were fled secretly out of the way) to take the course of law, and in their absence to endite them of murder. As for the Plaies and games for CÆSARS victory because they durst not exhibit them, whose lot and office it was so to do, himselfe set them forth. And to the end that he might go through all other matters also more resolutely, he professed himselfe to labour for the \* Tribune ship in the rowme of one who fortunated to die: albeit he was one of the Nobility, though not of the Senate. But seeing that M. ANTONIUS the Consul withstood his attempts, where as he hoped he would have bene his principall friend in that suit: and vouchsafed not unto him so much as the assistance of his owne publike authority, or helpe procured from others in any thing, without he agreed and covenanted to yeeld unto him some exceeding consideration: he betooke himselfe unto the protection of those Nobles & chiefe Senatours unto whom he perceived that ANTONIUS was odious: in this regard especially, that \* he endeavored all that he could by force of armes to expell DECIMUS BRVTUS besieged at Mutina, out of that province which by CÆSAR was granted and by the Senate confirmed unto him. And thereupon by the aduice and perswasion of some, he set certaine persons priuily in hand to murder ANTONIUS; which perilous practise of his being detected, and fearing still the like danger to himselfe, he waged the old soldiers with as beautiful a larges as possible he could, for the defence as well of his owne person as of the state. And being appointed to lead this armie thus leuied, in qualitie of propretour, & together with HIRTIUS and PANSA, who had entred upon the Consulship, to aide D. BRVTUS, he made an end of this warre committed unto him within three moneths, in two fought fieldes. In the former of which, ANTONIUS writeth that he fled, and without coat armour or horse appeared at length after two dayes and shewed himselfe. But in the battaile next following, well knowne it is, that he performed the part not onely of a Captaine but also of a soldier: and in the very heat and midst of the medly, by occasion that the Standerd bearer of his owne Legion was grievously hurt, he supported the Aegle with his owne shoulders\* and so carried it a good while.

During this warre, when HIRTIUS had lost his life in the conflict, and PANSA soone after of his wound, it was bruited risely abroad, that both of them were by his meanes slaine: to the end that having defaied ANTONIUS, and the Common-wealth beeing bereift of both Consuls, he alone might seize upon the victorious armies. And verily the death of PANSA was so deeply suspected that GLYCO the Physitian was committed to ward and durance, as if he had put poyson into his wound. A QVILLIUS NIGER addeth moreover and saith, that the one of the Consuls, to wit, HIRTIUS, was in the verie confused medly of the battaile killed by AVGVSTUS himselfe.



But so soone as he understood that ANTONIE after his flight was intertaind by M. LEPIDVS: that other Captaines also and armies consented to take part with \* the side. he forooke without all delays the cause of the Nobles and principall Senatours: and for the better pretence of this change and alteration of his minde, craftily and uniuersally alleadged the words and deedes of certaine of them: as if (a) some had given it out of him: *That he was a boy,* (b) Others, *that he was to be adorned, and honoured: That neither himselfe nor the olde beaten soldiers might be rewarded according to their deserts.* And the better to approve his repentance of the former side and faction that he tooke: He fined the *Nursines*, in a great summe of monie, and more than they were able to pay: For that upon the Monuments or Tombe of those Citizens that were slaine in the battaile at *Mutina* (which at their common charges was reared) they wrote this Title, *That they died for the Libertie and Free-dome of their Cittie.*

Being entred into Societie with ANTONIE and LEPIDVS, hee finished the Philippian warre also, (although he was but weake and sickely,) and that with two battailes: in the former being discamped and driven out of the field, hardly hee escaped by flight and recovered the Regiment or wing of ANTONIUS. Neither used he moderately the successe of his victorie, but when hee had sent the head of BRVTUS to Rome for to be bestowed under the Statue of CÆSAR, he dealt cruelly with the Noblest and most honourable prisoners, and not without reproachfull words: so farre forth verily, that to one of them, making humble suite and prayer for his Sepulture, he answered, (by report) in this wise. *That it would be none, at the dispose of the foules of the Aire:* and when others, to wit, the (a) Father, and sonne together intreated for their lives; he commanded them either to cast lots or trie by combat whether of them should have life granted: and so beheld them both as they dyed, whilest the father who offered himselfe to die was slaine, and the sonne voluntarily take his death. Whereupon the rest, & amongst them M. FAVONIUS that worthie follower of CATO, when they were brought forth with their yrons and chaynes to execution, after they had in honorable termes saluted ANTONIUS by the name of \* Emperour, openly reviled and let flie at him most foule and rayling words. Having parted betweene them their charges & offices after this victorie, whē ANTONIUS undertook to settle the *East* in good order, and himselfe to bring the olde Soldiers backe into *Italie*, & to placethem there, in the lands & territories belonging to the free *Townes* and *Boroughes*, he kept himselfe in favour neither with the said old soldiers, nor the former possessors of those lands: whilest the one sort complained, that they were disseized: and the other, that they were not well entreated according to their hope, for so good deserts.

At which verie time, he forced L. ANTONIUS (who confidently presuming upon the Consulship which he then bare, & his brothers power withall, went about to make an insurrection and alteration in the state) to flie unto PERVSIA, and there for verie hunger compelled him to yeeld: but yet nor without great jeopardie of his owne person, both before and after the warre: for whē at a certaine solemne sight of stage plaies: he had commanded an ordinarie and comon soldier who was set within the (a) 14. ranks, to be raised by an officer, & thereupon

thereupon a rumor was carried and spred by his malicious ill willers and backbiters, as if presently after torture he had put the same soldier to death. There lacked verie little, but that in the concourse and indignation of the militarre multitude, he had come to a mischiefe and beene murdered. This onely saued his life: that the man for a while missed, sodainely was to be scene againe alive and safe without any harme done unto him. About the walls of *Perusia*, as hee sacrificed, he had like to have been intercepted by a strong companie of sword fencers that fallied out of the Towne.

After he had forced PERVSIA, he proceeded to the execution of verie many, & euer as any went about either to crave pardon or to excuse themselves, with this on word he stopped their mouthes, *Die ye must.* Some write, that iij. hundred of both degrees (to wit Senatours and Knights) chosen out of them who had yeilded, were killed \* as sacrifices upon the \* Ides of *March*, at the Alter built in the honor of IVLVIS (CÆSAR) of famous memorie. There have been others who wrote, that of verie purpose he tooke armes and made this warre to the end that his close aduersaries and those who rather for feare, then of good will held in, upon occasion given and opportunitie by L. ANTONIUS there leader, might be detected: that having once vanquished them and confiscated their goods, the rewards promised unto the olde soldiers he might the better performe.

The warre in SICILIE he began betimes and with the first, but drewe it out a long time; as being often intermitted: one while, for the repairing and rigging of his fleet which by two ship-wrackes in tempest, (and that \* in summer time) he had lost: another while, by occasion of peace made at the earnest cry of the people, for the provision of their victuales cut off and kept from them: and the famine thereby dayly growing: untill such time as having built newe ships, manumised and set free xx. thousand slaues, and those put to the ore for to learn to row gallies, he made the Hauen *Iulius* at *Brax* by letting the sea into the Lakes, LVCRIVS and ALVERNVS. In which when he had trained and exercised his sea forces whole winters, he overcame POMPEIUS betweene \* *Mile* and \* *Naulochus*: at the verie houre and instant time of which Naual battaile, he was suddenly surprized with such a sound sleepe, that his friends were faine to waken him and raise him out of bed for to give the signall. Vtherupon occasion and matter was ministred (as I thinke) to \* ANTONIUS, for to cast this in his teeth, that he could not so much as with his eyes open see directly before him the battaile set in ray, but lay like a fencelesse blocke on his backe, looking onely into the \* skie aloft: nor once arose and came in sight of his soldours, before that M. AGRIPPA had put his enemies 12 ships to flight. Others blame and charge him both for a speech and deede also of his: as if he should erie out and say, *That seeing his owne regiment of ships were cast away by tempests, he would even against the will of NEPTVNE obtaine victorie.* And verily the next day of the (a) *Circensian Games*, he tooke out of the solemne pompe there thewed, the *Image* of the said God: Neither in any other warre lightly was hee in more and greater dangers For having transported one armie into *Sicilie*, when he failed backe againe for to waite over the rest of his forces from the continent and firme \* land, he was at unwares overtaken and surprised by DEMOCHARES and APOLLOPHANES the Lieutenants and Admirals of

12  
\* Propriet. bene  
of Pompeius and  
the common  
wealth. if you  
read propri-  
bus is with the  
Nobilitie  
\* Et tollendum.

13  
A.V.C. 712.

\* Sovereign  
commander

14  
A.V.C. 713.

15  
A.V.C. 714.

\* Brained with  
an axe: and  
not beheaded  
\* On which  
day Iulius Cæsar  
was murdered.

16

\* When some-  
monly it is  
calme in those  
Seas.

A.V.C. 715.

\* A port town  
in Sicilie,  
\* An bar-  
bour neere  
Messanah.  
A.V.C. 713.  
\* Marcus, the  
Triumvir.

\* For Gods  
help.

\* Of Italie,

POMPEIUS, but at the length with uerie much ado, he escaped with one onely barke In like manner as he travailed by land unto (b) *Rhegium* neere *Loerie*, kenning a farre of \* POMPEIUS gallies sayling along the coasts, and weening them to be his owne, he went downe to the shore, and had liketo have been caught and taken by them. And even then as he made shift to flie and escape through by-waies and blind-lanes: a bond-servant of AEMILIUS PAVLUS a companion of his, taking it to the heart that his Maisters father PAVLUS, was in times past by him proscribed and outlawed, and imbracing, as it were, the good occasion and opportunitie of revenge now offered, gave the attempt to kill him. After the flight of \* POMPEIUS, when M. LEPIDUS one of his \* Collegues, whome hee had called forth of *Afrike* to his aide, bare himselfe proude uppon the confidence of xx. Legions, challenged a souverainetie over the \* rest, and that, with terroure and menaces: hee stript him of all his armie, and uppon his humble submission and supplication, pardoned his life, but confined him for ever to *Circeij*. \* The Societie of M. ANTONIUS wauering alwaies in doubtfull tearmes and uncertaine, and notwithstanding many and fundrie reconciliations, not well knit and confirmed, he brake of quite in the ende: and the better to proove and make good that he (c) had degenerated from the ciuill behauiour and modestie of a (*Romaine*) Citizen, he caused the last will and testament of the said ANTONIE, which he had left at (d) *Rome*, and therein nominated even the Children of CLEOPATRA among his heires to be opened and red in a publike assembly. Howbeit when hee was judged by the State an enemy, hee sent backe unto him those of his neerest acquaintance and inward friendes and among other C. SOSIUS, (e) and T. \* DOMITIUS, being Consuls at that time till. The *Bonomians* also, for that of olde they were dependantes of the *Antonij* and in there retinue and protection, hee by a publike Act acquit and pardoned for not entring into a confederace with all *Italie*, (f) on his side. Not long after, he vanquished him in a Nauall battaile before (g) *Actium*, what time by reason that the fight continued untill it was late in the euening hee was forced to lodge all night conqueror as he was, on ship board.

When he had retired himselfe from *Actium* into the Iland *Samos* for his winter harbour, being disquieted with the newes of his soldiers mutinie demanding rewardes and discharge from service; those I meane, whom after the victorie atcheived hee had from out of the whole number sent before to *Brindis*, he went againe into *Italie*: but in crossing the Seas thither; twice was he tossed and troubled with Tempests: first betweene the promontories or Capes of *Poloponensius* and *Aetolia*: againe, about the Mountaines or Clifles *Ceraunij*. In both which places, part of his pinnaces were cast away and drowned: and with all, the verie takling of that shippe wherein he embarked was rent and torne asunder: yea, and the rudder thereof quite broken. Neither staid he at *Brindis* above 27. daies, that is to say untill hee had ferled his soldiers and contented them in their desires and requests: but fetching a compassse about *Asia*, and *Siria*, sailed into *Aegypt* where after hee had laied seige unto *ALEXANDRIA*, whether ANTONIE and CLEOPATRA were together fled: He soone became Maist. of that Cittie. And as for ANTONIE, who

\*Sext.

\*Sext.  
A.V.C. 718.  
\*In the Tri-  
umvirate.  
\*M. Antonius  
and Octavius  
Augustus.  
\*Some Cri-  
tiques begin  
here a newe  
Chapter.

\*Cn. Domitius  
A.V.C. 722.

A.V.C. 723:

17

A.V.C. 724

who now (all to late) made meanes for conditions of peace hee enforced to make himselfe away, and \* saw him dead. And to CLEOPATRA whom most gladly he would have saved alive for to beautifie his tryumph hee set the (a) PAVLLI to sucke out the venime & poyson within her bodie: for that supposed it was he died with the sting of the Serpent (b) Apis: This honour he did unto them both, namely to burie them in one sepulcher: and the Tombe by them begun, he commanded to be finished. Young ANTONIE the elder of those twaine whom he had by FVLVIA, he caused to be violently haled from the Statue of IVLIVS CÆSAR of famous memorie, unto which, after many prayers but all in vaine; he was fled as to sanctuarie, and so killed him. Likewise CÆSARIO, whom CLEOPATRA gave out openly that she had conceived by his \* father CÆSAR, he fetched backe againe from the place whether he was fled, and put him to death. The rest of the Children of ANTONIE and the Queene together, he both saued (no lesse than if they had beene linked in neere Alliance unto himselfe,) and also according to the Istate of euerie one of them, he maintained and cherished respectively.

About the same time, when he beheld the Tombe together with the corps of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly forth of the vaute or secret Chappell where it was bestowed; he set upon it a coronet of gold: and strewing flowers thereupon worshipped it: And being asked the question, whither hee would looke upo the PTOLOMES also: he answered that he was desirous indeed to see a King but not the (a) dead. When he had reduced *Aegypt* in the forme of a province, to the end that he might make it more fruitfull and fit to yeeld corne and victuals for the Cittie of *Rome*, he skowred and cleansed by helpe of soldiers, all those dirches where into *Nilus* overfloweth, which by long time had been choaked with mud. And that the memorie of his Actiacke victorie might be more renowned among posteritie, he built the Cittie *Nieopolis* over against *Actium*, and ordained certaine games and plaies there, euerie 5. yeeres: and hauing enlarged the old \* Temple of *Apollo*: and the place wherein he had encamped; he beautified with *Nauall* spoiles and then consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

After this, sundry tumults and the verie beginnings of commotions and insurrections, many conspiracies also detected before they grew to any head, he suppressed: and those, some at one time and some at another: Namely first one of LEPIDVS the younger: then, another of VARRO MVRÆNA, and FANNIVS CAPIO: soone after that, of M. \* GENATIVS: and so forward of PLAVTIUS RVFVS and L. PAVLVVS, his neeces husbands: and besides all these, that of L. AVDASIVS accused of forgerie, and counterfeit seales; a man neither for yeares able nor bodie sound: Likewise of ASIMIVS EPICADVS descended from the *Parthyn* Nations a (a) \* Mungrell: and last of all, of TELEPHVS, a base \* Nomenclator, servant to a woman: For free was not AVGVSTVS from the conspiracie and daunger, no not of the most abiect sort of people. As for AVDASIVS and EPICADVS, they had entended to carrie away IVLIA his daughter and AGRYPPA, his Nephew (out of those Ilands wherein they abode confined) unto the armies: and TELEPHVS purposed upon a deepe conceite that the soveraintie of dominion was by the *Destinies* and will of *Godde* due unto him, even to lay upon him and the Senate violent hands. And more then that,

\*Viditque mor-  
tuum: In some  
copies we read  
thus: Viditque  
mortuum Cleo-  
patram, i.  
And he saw  
Cleopatra dead:  
For he heard  
onely of An-  
tonies death and  
saw the sworée  
wherewith hee  
wounded him-  
selfe.  
\*His great  
Vnkle indeede  
but father by  
adoption:

\*Or Ptolemæ  
i. the bodies or  
Tombs of the  
Ptolemæes. If  
you read Ptole-  
mæum, it is  
meant of Legus:

\*Which stood  
upon the saide  
promontarie,  
actium.

\*Or Egnatius:

\*Begotten be-  
tweene a bond  
slave and a  
mungrell:

\*Or Prompter  
of names, em-  
ployed in telling  
of their names  
who came to  
salute and bid  
good morrow,  
and placing al-  
so of guests at  
the Table and  
in no better  
service.

18

19

one time there was taken neere vnto his bed-chamber by night, a camp-slave belonging to the ILLYRIAN armie, who had deceived the porters and gotten thither with a wood knife at his side, but whether he were out of his wits, or feigned himselfe mad, it was uncertaine: for nothing could bee wrung out of him by examination upon the racke and torture.

20  
A.V.C. 711.  
717.  
\*Or turret of  
woode.  
21  
Foraine warres he made in his owne person in all and no more: that is to say, the (a) Dalmatian, when he was yet a verie youth: and the Cantabrian, after he had defeated ANTONIE. In the Dalmatian warre, he was wounded also for in one battaile he gat a blow upon his right knee with a stone: and in another, not his leg onely, but also both his armes were hurt with the fall from a (b) bridge. The rest of his warres he managed by his Lieutenants: yet so as that in some of them namely the Pannonian and the Germane; hee would either come betweene times, or else remaine not farre of: making his progresse from the Cittie of Rome, as farre as to Ravenna, or Mallaine or to Aquileia.

He subdued partly by his owne conduct in proper person, and in part by his Lieutenants hauing cõmission immediatly from him & directed by his auspices Cantabria, Aquitaine, Pannonia and Dalmatia together with all Illyricum, Rhetia likewise, the Vindelici, the Salassians and the Nations inhabiting the Alpes. He repressed also the Incursions of the Dakes, hauing slaine three of their Generals with a great number of them besides. And the Germanes he remooued and set further of, even beyond the riuer Albis. Howbeit, of these the Sueuians and the Sicambrians, because they yeelded themselves, he brought over into Gaule, and placed them in the lands next unto Rhene. Other Nations being mal-content, he reduced unto his obedience. Neither made hee warre upon any people without iust and necessarie causes; and so farre was he from desire of enlarging his Empire, or aduancing his martiall glorie, that he compelled certain princes and potentates of the Barbarians, to take an oath in the Temple of Mars (a) the Revenger for to continue in their allegiance, & in the protection and peace which they sued for: yea and from some of them he asked to exact anew kind of Hostages, even \*women, for that he perceived, that they neglected the pledges of the males. And yet he gave the libertie, as oft as they would, to receive their hostages againe. Neither proceeded he at any time against those, who either usually or treacherously above the rest tooke armes & rebelled, to any punishment more greivous then this, euen to sell the as captives: with this conditon, that they shold not serve in any neighbour Country, nor be manumised and made free within the space of \*30. yeares. By which fame of vertue and moderation that went of him, he induced and drew the very Indians and Scythians, Nations known by report and heere say onely, to make suite of their owne accord by Embassadours, for amitie of him and the people of Rome. The Parthians also, when as he laied claime unto Armenia, yeelded soone unto him: and those militarie Ensignes which they had taken from M. CRASSVS & M. ANTONIVS, they delivered unto him againe at his demand: and moreover, offered hostages unto him. And finally when there were many Competitours together at one time claiming a title to the Kingdome, they would not allow of any, but one by him elected.

22  
The temple of Ianus Quirinus, which from the foundation of the City before his daies had once and twice bene shut, he in a farre shorter space of time hauing

(having peace both by sea and land) shut a third time. Twice he rood on horse-backe (b) ouant into the City: once presently upon the Philippian warre; and againe, after the Sicilian. He kept three Triumphes riding in his chariot: to wit, the Dalmatian, the Asiatic, and the Alexandrian, and these continued all for three dayes together.

Of shamefull foiles and grievous overthrowes, he received but two in all: and those in no place else but in Germanie; namely when LOLLIVS and \*V Ar \*Quintillio RVs were defeated. That of LOLLIVS, was a matter of dishonour more than losse and damage; but the other of VARVS, drew with it in manner utter destruction: as wherein three Legions with their General, the Lieutenants and (a) Auxiliaries, all were slaine. Vpon the newes of this Infortunity, he proclaimed a set watch both day and night through the City of Rome; for feare of some tumult and uprore: and the commissions of Presidents and Deputies ower Provinces, he renewed and enlarged their time of government: to the end, that the Allies of the people of Rome might bee kept in alleageance by governours, such as were both skilfull and also acquainted with them. Hee vowed also the Great (Romaine) Games and Playes to the honour of IVPITER OPT. MAX. If \*the Commonwealth turned to better State. This happened, during the time of the Cimbrian and \*Marsian warre. For, therewith (by report) hee was so troubled and astonished, that for certaine moneths together hee let the haire of beard and head grow still and wore it long, yea and other whiles would runne his \*head against the dores, crying out, QUINTILLVS VARVS, Deliver up thy Legions againe. And the very (b) day of this infortunate calamity he kept every yeere mournfull, with sorow and lamentation.

24 In warfare & feates of armes, he both altered and also instituted many points: yea and some he reduced to the auncient manner. (a) Militarie discipline he exercised most severely. He permitted not so much as any of his Lieutenants, but with much adoe and discontentment, to visite other-whiles their wives; and never but in the (b) winter moneths. A Romaine Knight, for cutting off the (c) thombs of two young men his sonnes, to avoid the militarie oath and warre service, he set in open port sale, himselfe (I say) and all his goods. Whom notwithstanding, because he saw the (d) Publicanes about to buy, and bid very well for him, he appointed and delivered to his owne Freed man; that being confined and sent away unto his living & lands in the Country, he might permit him to live as Free. The tenth Legion, for being stubborne and unwilling to obey, he dismissed all and whole with ignominie: Other legions likewise, requiring malapertly their discharge he cased without allowance of rewards due for their service. Whole bands or cohorts, if any of them gave ground and reculed, he tithed, that is to say, executed every tenth man of them: and the rest, he allowed barly in steed of wheat to feede upon. Those centurions who forsooke their Stations, he punished with death, even as well as the common soldiours of their bands: and for other kinds of Delinquencie he put them to shame sundry waies, as cõmanding them to stand all the day long before the Praetorium sometimes in their single \*coates and ungirt; other-whiles with ten \*foote perches in their hands; or else carying turfes of earth.

After the civile warres, he called none of his soldiours either in any publike speech, or by way of edict or proclamation, by the name of (a) Fellow-soldiours, but

but plaine *Souldiours*. Nay hee would not suffer them otherwise to be termed so much as by his sonnes, or his wives sonnes: thinking it was a more affected manner of Appellation than stood either with martial Law, or the (a) quietnes of those times, or the maiestie of himselfe and his house: (b) Libertines he employed in soulderie unlesse it were at *Rome* about skarfires by night, (not withstanding there was feared some tumult and uprore by occasion of great dearth and scarcity) but twice onely: once in garizon for defence of those *Colonies* which bounded fast upon *Illyricum*; a second time for keeping the banks of the river of *Rhene*. And those, being as yet bond, imposed upon men and women of the wealthier sort for to set out, but without delay manumifed, he kept with him to serve under one of the formost \*banners in the vanguard; neither intermingled with such as were Free borne, nor in the same manner armed. As for militarie gifts hee gave unto his souldiours trappers collars and \*whatsoever stood upon gold or silver, much sooner than (c) *Vallar* or *Mural* coronets which were more honourable. These he bestowed most sparily; and when he did, it was without suit made therefore: and many times upon the comon (d) and base souldiers. He gave unto M. AGRIPPA after a nauale victory in *Cilicia* a blew streamer. Those Captaines onely who had triumphed, albeit they were both companions with him in his expeditions, and also partakers of his victories, he thought not meete to be rewarded with any gifts at all: because they also had power to bestow the same upon whom they would. Moreover he deemed nothing lesse befitting a perfit and accomplished Captaine, than haile-making and rashnesse. And therefore, these mots and sentences were rise in his mouth. *Σπουδὴ βραδείας,*

*Ἀσφαλὴς ὅς ἐς ἀμείνων, ἡ δαγὼς σφραγιδῆς:*

As also, *Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene.*

His saying was, *That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unlesse there might be evidently seeme more hope of gaine than feare of damage: for such as fought after the smallest commodities not with a little danger, hee likened unto those, that angl. or fish with a golden hooke: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off no draught of fish whatsoever, was able to make amends.*

He managed magistracies and honorable places of government before due \*time; some of them also of a \*new kinde; and others in \*perpetuity. The Consulship hee usurped and entred upon in the twentieth (a) yeere of his age, presenting forcibly and in hostile manner his legions before the City, sending some of purpose to demaund it, euen in the name of the Armie for him. What time verily, when the *Senate* made some doubt and stay of the matter, C. CORNELIUS a Centurion and the chiefe man of that message, casting \*of his souldiours Iacket and shewing his swords haft, stucke not to say thus openly in the *Senate* house, *This here shall doe the deede, if yee will not*. His second Consulship hee bare nine yeares after: the third, but one yeare betwene: the rest ensuing hee continued one after an other unto the eleuenth. Afterwardes hauing refused many Consulships when they were offered unto him; his twelfth Consulship a greater while after, even 17 yeares, himselfe made suite for: so did hee againe, two yeares after it, for his thirteenth: to the ende that being himselfe in place of the Soueraine and highest Maistrate, hee might bring honorably into the Common Hall. C. and L. his

(adopted)

\* Sub primore vexillo or sub proprio vexillo: i. under his owne banner.  
\* Quicquid auro argenteo; conflat: or rather, quicquid auro argenteo; conflat: i. Albeit they were made of gold and silver.

26  
\* By the lawes Annales; or Annales.  
\* As the Triumvirate:  
\* As the Tribunes authoritie and Consulship:  
\* Or casting it behind him: *reiecit sagulo*.

adopted) \*sonnes; each of them to Commence and performe their first pleadings at their \*due time in virile gownes. The five middle Consulships betwene, to wit from the sixth to the eleventh he helde the whole yeeres thorough: the other, for the space of fixe, or nine, foure, or three moneths: but the second, very fewe howers: for upon the very Calends \* of Ianuarie, when hee had sitten a while upon his curule chaire of estate before the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; hee resigned up the Office, and substituted another in his place. Neither entred hee upon all his Consulships at *Rome*: but the fourth in *Asia*; the fifth, in the Iland *Samos*; the eighth and ninth at *Tarracum*.

\* The naturall sonnes of his daughter *Iulia* and *C. Agrippa*.  
\* The elder in his twelfth, the younger in his thirteenth Consul.  
\* The first of Ianuarie or Newyeeres day.

The Triumvirate for \*setting of the Common-wealth, hee administred for the space of tenne yeeres: Wherein verily, hee stood against his colleagues proceedings for a good while, That there might be no proscription: but when it was once on foote, hee executed it more sharply than they both. For, whereas they were exorable and would bee oftentimes intreated by favour and prayer, to respect the persons of many; hee alone was very earnest, that none might bee spared: among the rest, hee proscribed C. TORANIUS also, his owne Tutor and guardian, yea and the companion in the Office of Edileship with his father OCTAVIUS. IUNIVS SATVRNINVS writeth moreover, that after the proscription was ended, when M. LEPIDVS had in the Senate-house excused all that was past and given good hope of clemencie for the time to come, because there had bene execution enough done already: he on the contrarie side professed openly, That hee had determined no other end of the saide proscription, but that hee might have liberty still to proceede in all things as he would. Howbeit, in testimonie of repentance for this rigour and obstinacie of his, hee honoured afterward with the dignitie of Knighthood \* T. IUNIVS PHILOPEMEN, for that hee was reputed to have in times past hid his owne Patron, that was proscribed. In the same Triumvirate, hee incurred many waies the ill will and heart-burning of the people: for he commaunded that P. NABIVS a Gentleman of *Rome*, (what time as he himselfe made a publike speech in an assembly whereunto hee had admitted a multitude of Paganes, that is to say, such as were no souldiours, and espied him there to take notes of something that he delivered before the souldiours, supposing him to be over busie and a spie,) should be stabbed to death even in his sight: yea, and hee terrified T. DIVVS AFRICANVS, Consul elect, (because hee had maliciously in some spitefull termes depraved something that he had done) with so great menaces, that in a melancholy hee cast himselfe headlong and brake his owne necke. Likewise, as Q. GALLIVS the Pretour held under his robe a paire of duple writing tables, when hee came of course to doe his duty and salute him; he suspecting, that he had a (short) sword hidden underneath, and not daring straight waies to search him farther, for feare something elsse than a sword should bee found about him; within a little while after caused him to be haled out of the Tribunall seate of Iudgement, by the handes of certaine Centurions of Souldiours, and put to torture like a bondslave; yea & seeing he would confesse nothing, commanded him to be killed; having first

\* That was the colour & pretence of it.

\* Or *Pinus*, for so was his Patrone named.

F

with

with his owne hands plucked his eyes out of his head. Howbeit AVGVSTVS writeth, that the said GALLVS by pretending to parle secretly with him, laid waite for his life; whereupon hee committed him to prison, and afterwards dismissed and enlarged him onely to dwell in *Rome*: and that in the end hee perished either by shipwracke, or else by the hands of thieves who forlayed him. Hee received and held the *Tribunate* in perpetuity. Therein, once or twice, he chose and assumed unto him a colleague, for severall \* *Lustræ*. Hee tooke upon him likewise the government of manners and Lawes as a perpetuall Censour: In full right whereof, although hee had not the honourable title of Censureship, yet hee helde a survey and nombring of the people thrice: the first and third with a companion in office; the middle by himselfe alone.

28

Twice hee was in minde, to have resigned up his absolute government: First, immediatly uppon the suppressing of ANTHONIS, mindfull of that which oftentimes \* hee had objected against him, namely, as if it had beene long of \* him, that it was not resigned, and the Common-wealth brought to a free state againe: and secondly, by reason that hee was weary of a long and lingering sicknesse: what time he sent also for all the Magistrates \* and the Senate, home to his house; and delivered up an Account-booke or Register of the \* whole Empire. But considering better with himselfe, that were he once a private person, he could not live without daunger; and withall, that it would greatly hazard the Common-wealth, to be put into the hands and dispose of many; he continued in the holding thereof still. And whether the event ensuing, or his will heerein were better, it is hard to say. VVhich will of his, as hee pretended oftentimes when he sate in place, so hee testified also by a certaine edit in these wordes: *O that I might establish the Common-wealth safe and sound in her owne \* proper seat, and thereof reape that fruite which I desire: even that I may be reported the Author of an excellent estate, and carie with mee when I die this hope, that the ground worke and the foundations of the Common-wealth which I shall lay, may continue and abide steadfast in their place.* And verily what hee wished, \* himselfe effected and brought to passe, having endeavoured and done his best every way, that no man might repent of this newe estate. For the Citie beeing not adourned according to the maiestie of such an Empire and Subiect to the casualties of Deluges and fires, hee beautified and set out so, as iustly he made his boast, that where he found it built of bricke, hee left it all of marble. And for the safety therereof, hee performed as much for future posterity as could be fore-seene and provided for by mans wit and reason.

29

Publike works he built very many whereof the chiefe and principal was his *Forum* or *stately Hall of Justice*, together with the temple of *MARS* the *Revenge*: The temple of *APOLLO* in *Palatinus*; The temple like unto of *IUPITER* the *Thunderer*, in the *Capitol*. The reason why he built the said *Forū*, was the multitude of men & their suites: which because, (a) ij. would not suffice, seemed to have need of a third also. And therefore with great speed erected it was for that publike use, even before the temple of *MARS* was finished. And expressly provided it was by

A.V.C. 731

\* The space of 5. yeeres.

\* The Gaide Antonie.

\* i. Augustus.

\* At Senat<sup>h</sup> or, a *senatus*. i. out of the Senate.

\* Or of his acts &amp; proceedings in the government.

\* Base or Pied-stall.

\* As if he had beene a God himselfe: according to the saying. *Sapientis ipse finis fortunam sibi.*

by law, that in it publike causes should be determined apart, and choosing of Iudges (or Iuries) by it selfe. The temple of *MARS* hee had vowed unto him, in the Philippian warre which hee tooke in hand for the revenge of his fathers death. He ordained therefore by an Act, that heere the Senate should be consulted with, as touching warres & triumphs: that from hence those Pretours or Governours who were to goe into their provinces should be honorably attended & brought onward on their way: and that hither they should bring the ensignes and ornaments of triumph, who returned with victorie. The temple of *APOLLO* he reared in that part of the *Palatine house*, which being smitten with lightning was by that God required, as the Soothsayers out of their learning had pronounced: hereto was adioyned a gallerie, with a librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes. In which temple, he was wont in his old age both to sit oftentimes in counsaile with the Senate, and also to over-see & review the *Decuries* of the Iudges. He consecrated the temple unto *IUPITER* the *Thunderer*, upon occasion that he escaped a daunger, what time as in his *Cantabrian* expedition, as he travailed by night, a flash of lightning glanced upon his liester, & stricke his servant stone dead, that went with a light before. Some works also he made under other folkes names, to wit his nephew, his wife and sister; as the *Gallerie* and stately Pallace of \* *LVCIV* and *CAIVS*: likewise the *Gallerie* or *Porches* of *LIVIA* and *OCTAVIA*: the *Theatre* also of *MARCELLVS*. Moreover divers other principall persons hee oftentimes exhorted to adorne and beautifie the City, every man according to his ability either by erecting new monuments, or else by repairing and furnishing the old. By which means many an Edifice was by many a man built: as namely the temple of *Hercules* and the *Muses* by *MARCUS PHILIPPVS*: the temple of *Diana* by *L. CORNICIVS*. The \* *Court of Liberty* by *ASINIUS POLLIO*: A temple of *Saturne* by *M. NATIVS PLANCVS*: a Theatre by *CORNELIVS BALBUS*; and an (b) Amphitheatre by *Statillus Taurus*: but many and those very goodly monuments by *M. AGRIPPA*.

30 The whole space of the City he devided into (a) wards and streetes. He ordained, that as Magistrates or Aldermen yeerly by lot should keepe and governe the former: so their should be Maisters or Constables elected out of the Commons of every streete, to looke unto the other. Against skarefires he devised night-watches and watchmen. To keepe downe Inundations and Deluges, he enlarged and cleansed the channell of the River *Tiberis*, which in times past was full of rammell and the ruines of houses, and so by that meanes narrow and choaked. And that the Avenues on every side to the City might be more passable, he tooke in hand himselfe to repaire the high way or Cawfic *Flaminia*, so farre as to *ARMINIVM*: and the rest he committed to sundry men who had triumphed, for to pave; and the charges thereof to be befraied out of the money raised of spoiles and sackage. The sacred Churches and Chappels decayed and ruinate by continuance of time, or consumed by fire he reedified: and those together with the rest hee adorned with most rich oblations; as who brought into the Cell, or Tabernacle of *Iupiter Capitolinus* at one Donation, 16000. pound weight of gold, besides pretious stones valued at 50 millions of *Sefterces*.

But after that hee entred now at length upon the High priesthood when

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LAPIDVS A.V.C. 741.

\* His daughter children by Agrippa.

*Arvili libertatis*  
A *trium*, quæ  
antrio. A place  
where learned  
men were wont  
to meete and  
conferre, as our  
Merchants doe  
in the *Royall*  
*Exchange* build  
not unlike unto  
it with arched  
walks on every  
side standing  
upon pillars:  
& as this cloi-  
sture was called  
*Peristylum*, so  
the open yard  
within. *Arvum*  
or *Subdivale*.

31



LEPIDVS was once dead, which he never could finde in his heart to take from him while he lived: what bookes soever of prophesies & destinies went commonly abroad in Greeke and Latine, either without authors, or such as were not authentick and of credite, he caused to be called in from all places, to the number of 2000 & above: and when he had burnt them, he retained those only of *Sibyls* prophesies. And even of those also he made some special choice: and bestowed them close in two litle Desks or coffers under the base & piedstoole of *APOLLO PALATINVS*. The yeeres revolution reduced as it was into order by *IULIUS* of sacred memory, but afterwards through negligence troubled and confused, he brought againe to the former calculation. In the dispose whereof, he called the moneth *Sextilis* (rather than September wherein he was borne) by his owne name, because in it there befell unto him both his first Consulship & also notable victories. Of all the Religious & priests, but especially of the vestall virgins he augmented the number, the dignity and the commodities also. And whereas in the rowme of any vestall Nun deceased, there must another of necessity be chosen & take, he perceiving many to make suite that they might not put their daughters to the lottery; protested and bound it with an oath, that if any one of his owne Nieces or daughters daughters were of competent age he would present her to the place. Divers auncient ceremonies also which by little & little were disused and abolished, he restored againe, as namely the (a) *Augurie* of *SALVS*, the *Flaminship* of *IUPITER*, the *Sacred Lupercal*, the (b) *Secular* playes and the *Comptiality*. At the *Lupercal* Solemnities, he commanded that no beardless boyes should runne. Likewise, at the *Secular* playes, he forbade young folke of both sexes, to frequent any shew exhibited by night; unless it were in the company of some auncient person of their kindred. The *Tutelar* Images of crosse-ways called *Lares Compitales* he was the first that ordained to adorne twice in the yeere with flowers of the spring & sommer seasons. The principal honour next unto the immortall gods, he performed to the memoriall of those worthy Captaines, who had raised the *Romaine* onpyre from a small thing to so high and glorious a state. And therefore both the works & monuments of every of them he repaired & made againe, reserving their titles and inscriptions still; and all their Statues also in triumphant forme and shape he dedicated in both the Porches or galleries of his *Hall of Justice*. And in a publick edict he professed thus much, That he devised it to this end, That both himselfe while he lived, and the Princes or Emperours his successors for the ages to come, might be called upon and urged by their subjects and Citizens to conforme themselves as it were to their patron and example. The Statue likewise of *POMPEIUS*, translated out of the Court wherein *C. CÆSAR* was murdered, he placed over against the princely Pallace of his Theater under an Arch of marble in manner of a Through-fare.

Many most dangerous enormities and offensive abuses, which either had continued by custome and licentious liberty during the civill warres, or else crept in and began in the time of peace to the utter ruine of the Commonwealth, he reformed. For a number of bold roisters & professed Robbers ierted openly with short swords & skaines by their sides, under colour of their owne defence: Passengers & waifaring men, as they travailed through the Country, were caught up (by them) as well Free borne as slaves without respect; & kept

hard

hard to worke in the *Prisons* of landed men: many factious crewes also, under the title of a *New Colledge* had their meetings & joyned in fellowship to the perpetrating of mischief whatsoever. Whereupon, he disposed strong guards, and set watches in convenient places: he repressed those Robbers and Hacksters, he visited and surveyed the foresaid *Prisons*: and all *Colledges* or *Guilds* save onely those of auncient foundation and by law erected, he dissolved and put downe. The bills of old debts due to the Chamber of the City, he burnt, as being the chiefe matter and occasion of malicious accusations. The publike places & houses in the City, whereof the tenure & hold was doubtfull, he adiudged unto those who were in present possession. The debts & actions commenced against such as had beene troubled and sued a long time in the Law, by whose mournfull habite & distressed estate their adversaries fought for nothing but pleasure and the fulfilling of their wils he annulled & denounced this condition withall, that if any one would needes bring them into new trouble againe, he should be liable to the like danger of punishment or penalty as the molested party was. And to the end that no lewd A& might escape with impunity; nor businesse in Court be shuffled over by delays, he added unto the *Terme* time 30. (a) daies over & above: which daies the *Honorarie Games* & playes tooke up (before.) To three *Decuries* of Iudges he added a fourth out of a lower & meaner degree, which went under the name of *Ducentarij*, and were to iudge of smaller summes. As for those Iudges hee enrolled & elected them into the *Decuries* after they were once 30 yeeres of age: that is to say, five yeeres sooner then they were wont. But seeing that most of them refused & were loth to execute this burdensome office of iudging, he hardly granted that each *Decurie* should have their yeeres vacation by turnes; and that the law matters which were wont to be pleaded and tried, in the months of November & December should be let passe & omitted quite.

33 Himselfe sat daily in Iudgement, yea and other whiles until it was darke night, lying if he had not his health, in a lister which was of purpose set before the tribunall seate, or else in his owne house: and he ministred iustice not onely with exceeding severity, but also with as great lenity. For when upon a time there was one accused for a manifest parricidy, because he should not be sowed up in a leather (a) male or budget (a punishment that none suffred but such as had confessed the Fact) he examined (by report) upon interrogatives in this manner, Certes thou never murderedst thy father, diddest thou? Againe, when as a matter was handled before him as touching a forged will, & all the witnesses that set their hands & scales thereto, were attaint by the (b) Law *Cornelia*, he delivered unto the Commissioners who had the hearing & deciding together, of the cause, not onely the two (ordinarie) tables of condemnation and acquittal, but a third also; whereby they might have their pardon, who were certainly knowne to have beene seduced & brought to be witnesses as is before said, either by fraudulent practise or error & over-sight. As for the appeales in Court, he yeerely assigned those which were for the City-Suiters unto Pretours of the City; but if they were for Provinciaall persons unto certaine men of the Consuls degree, such as he had ordained, in every province one, for to be in commission and to determine provinciaall affaires.

34 The lawes made before time he revised & corrected: some also hee ordained & established a-new: as namely (a) *Sumptuaria*, as touching expenses

F 3

at

\*In manner of  
Bridewells or  
houses of cor-  
rection.

\*Or obligati-  
ons.

\*Excessive or  
excessive, &  
cancelled.

\*Or cause.  
\*Law daies, or  
pleading times.  
\*Liberality,  
Bacchanalia,  
Praetoria, or o-  
thers in the ho-  
nour of men  
living which  
might be well  
spaid.

\*For that they  
were valed at  
200 Seiter-  
tia, where as  
the other were  
worth 400.

\*Or 20 rather  
for the ordina-  
tie age was 25:  
yeeres, at which  
they were eli-  
gible.

\*Quarto quous  
anno: everie 4  
yeeres.

\*Upon cer-  
taine daies.  
of those mo-  
neths, during  
which, there  
were Sports &  
Reuels and the  
licentious, feast  
Saturnalia.

\*Suppo suit:  
some read,  
superposuit. i.  
upon such an  
arched Janus or  
Through-fare.

\* De pudicitia,  
or impudicitia.

at the bord: Of (b) *Adulteries* & \*unnaturall filthinesse cōmitted with the male kind: Of (c) *intirect suite for offices*. Of the (d) mutall mariages of *Senatours* and Gentlemen with *Commoners*. This act last named, when he had amended and reformed somewhat more precisely and with greater severitie then the rest, he could not carie cleerely and go through with, for the tumult of those that refused so to do, but that part of the penalties at length was quite taken away or els mitigated; an \*immunity also & toleration (of widow-head) graunted for \*3 yeeres, & the rewards besides augmented. And notwithstanding all that, when the order of Gentlemen stood out stily & stoutly calling in open sight, & publicly for the repealing of the said Statute; he sent for GERMANICUS his children, and taking some of them himselfe, & bestowing the others in their fathers armes, shewed & presented them unto their view signifying as well by the gesture of his hand, as by countenance, *That they should not be loath nor think much, to imitate the example of that young Gentleman*. Moreover perceiving that the force and vigor of that Law was dallied with, & avoided by the \*immaturity of young espoused wives, as also by often \*changing of mariages: he brought in to a narrower compasse the time of wedding and having such spaces, and also limited divorcements.

35

The number of Senatours growing still to a shameful & confused company (for there were not of them so few as a 1000, and some most unworthy, as who after CÆSARS death were taken into the house for favour or bribes; who the common people termed \*abortive, (as it were untimely births or born before their time): he reduced to the auncient \*stent & honorable reputation: and that in two elections: the former, at their own choise, wil, & pleasure, whereby one man chooseth his fellow. The second, according to his owne & AGRIPPAS mind: at which time he is thought to have sitten as president, armed with a shirt of maile or privie coate under his gowne, & a short sword or skeine by his side; having a gard also standing about his chaire of estate, to wit, ten of the stoutest & tallest men that were of Senatours degree, & all his friends: CORDUS CREMUTUS writeth that there was not so much as admitted then into the Senate-house any Senatour but singly one alone by himselfe, & not before his clothes were well serched & felt, for having any weapon under them. Some of them he brought to this modestie, as to excuse \*themselves: and yet for such as thus made excuse he reserved still the liberty to weare a Senatours (a) habite: the honor also to sit & behold the *Games* & plaies in the \**Orchestra*; together with priviledge to keepe their place at the solemne publique feasts. Now, to the end that being thus chosen & allowed (as is above said) they might with more religious reverence & lesse trouble execute the functions belonging to Senatours: he ordained, That before any one sat him downe in his chaire, he should make devout supplication & sacrifice with frankincense & wine, at the \*altar of that God, in whose temple they assembled for the time: and that ordinarily the Senate should not be holden oftner then twice in a moneth, to wit upon the (c) *Calends*, & (d) *Ides* of the same: and that in the moneths \*September & October, none els should be bound to give attendance, save those that were drawne by lot: by whose number, Decrees might passe. Furthermore, he devised to institute for himselfe, & that by casting lots, a privie Counsell for 6 moneths: with whom he might treat before hand of busineses and affaires to be moved unto a frequent Senate-house fully assembled. As touching matter of greater importance

\* Of living  
unmarried.  
\* After the de-  
cease of a for-  
mer wife or  
husband,

\* Vnripe age, i.  
under 12 yeeres  
\* By means of  
divorces.

\* Abortives:  
Some reade or-  
cinos Or orcinus,  
velut Orco seu  
terra natos i.  
obscure & base.  
\* 300.

\* For taking  
upon them that  
dignity.  
\* Among oth-  
er Senatours.

\* And that  
they should not  
need to come  
and salute him,  
but save that  
labour.  
\* Haply, by  
reason of un-  
tage that was  
not to be neg-  
lected.

tance put to question, he demanded the opinion of the Senatours, not after the usuall manner & in order, but as it pleased himselfe: to the end that everie man should bend his mind so intently thereto, as if he were to deliver his owne advise, rather then give assent unto another.

Other things there were besides, whereof he was the author and beginner: and among the rest: *That the Acts of the Senate should not be published nor appeare upon record: Item that no magistrates after that they had left or given up their honorable places, should esloomes presently, be sent as governours into any provinces. That for proconsuls or presidents, their should be a certaine rate in monie set downe and allowed, For their sumpter-mules, for their tentes and hales: which were wont really to be set out and allowed for them, at the publike cost of the Cittie. Item, that the charge of the Citties Treasure, should be separated from the Questours or treasurers of the Cittie, unto those that had been pretours, or to the pretours for the time being: lastly, that certaine Decemvirs should summon and assemble the (a) Centumviral court, and call the Centumvirs to the speare, which they onely were wont to do, that had borne the office of Questourshippe.*

And to the end that more men might beare their part in administration of the common weale, he devised new offices: to wit, *The overseeing of the publike works, the surveying of the waies streetes, and causies, of the water courses or conduits, of the channel of Tybris, and distributing corne among the people*. Also the prouostship of the Cittie: One\* *Triumvirate*, for chusing Senatours; an another for reviewing & visiting the troupes or cornets of horsemen, so oftē as need required. The Censours, whose creation was forlet and discontinued, after a long time betweene, he created againe. The number of pretours he augmented. He required also and demanded, that so often as the Consulship was conferred upon him he might have for one, ij. colleagues or cōpanions in office: but he could not obtaine it, whilst all men with one voice cried out, *That his maiestie was abridged enough already, in that he bare not that honourable office by himselfe, but with another*. Neither was he more sparing in honorably rewarding martial prowes, as who gave order, that to 30. *Captaines* and above, there should be granted by publike decree full tryumphs: and to a good many more tryumphall (a) ornaments. Senatours Children, to the end they might be sooner acquainted with the affaires of State, he permitted to put on even at the first their viril gown: to weare likewise the Senatours robe poudred with broad headed purple studs; and to have their places in the Senate house. Also at their first entrance into warfare, he allowed them to be, not onely \*militarre *Tribunes* in the legions, but also cap-  
taines over the \*horsemen in the wings. And, that none of them might be unexpected of the Camp-affaires: he ordained for the most part over everie wing or Corner, ij. such Senatours (sonnes) to be prouosts. The troupes & cōpanies of *Romaine Gentlemen*, he often reviewed: & after a long space of time betweene, brought into use againe the manner of their \*muster or (b) riding solemnly on horse backe, to shew theselues. Neither wold he suffer any on of the during this solemnity, to be unhorsed & arrested by his adversary, that pretended any matter in law against him: a thing that was usually don. And to as many as were known to be aged or to have any defect or imperfection of body, he gave leave to send their horses before, and to come on foote to aunswere when so ever they were cited. And soone after he did those this favour, to deliver uppe  
their

36  
\* A *Triumvir*  
and not *Senatour*.  
He  
meaneth *Di-  
rector*, i. the  
proceedings  
that passed  
there every day  
of sitting.  
\* Ten men ei-  
ther chosen out  
of the Centum-  
virs by lot; or  
created of pur-  
pose.

\* An office  
which 3 men  
jointly bare

Colonels of  
1000. foremen  
\* Or men of  
Armes.

\* *Transfretlan-  
nis*.

their (publike) horses, who being above 45. yeares of age, were unwilling to keepe them still.

39

\* A *senatus* or  
*senatus* or  
out of the *Se-*  
*natours* degree

Having obtained also by the \*Senate. x. *Coadiutours*, hee compelled euerie Gentleman (that served with the Citties horse) to render an account of his life. And of such as were blameable and could not approve their living; some he punished, others he noted with shame & ignominie: the most part of them with admonition, but after sundrie sorts. The easiest & lightest kind of admonition, was the rendering unto the in open place & all mens sight, a paire of \*writing tables, to read unto themselves presently, in the place where they stood. Some also he put to rebuke & disgrace for taking up of mony upō smal interest for the use, and putting it forth againe for greater gaine and usurie.

\* wherein were  
written at their  
faults.

40

*Demarchia*.  
*Dion.*

\* Of, enle-  
men or of the  
*Senatours*

At the Election of \* *Tribunes* (of the Common:) if their wanted (a) *Senatours* to stand for that office, he created the out of the degree of *Romaine Gentlemē*: so as, after they had born that magistracy, they might remaine ranged in whether degree they would themselves. Now, when as many of the *Romain Gentlemē*, hauing wasted & decayed their patrimonie, & estate in the civil wars, durst not out of the 14. for most feare behold the publike plaies & games, for feare of the penalty by the (law *ROSCIA & IULIA*) called *THEATRALIS*, he pronounced openy & made it knowne, that such gentlemen were not liable thereto if either themselves or their \*fathers before them, were euer at any time valued to the \*worth of *Romaine Gentlemen*: He made a review of the people of *Rome*, street by street: & to prevent that the comon people should not be oftē called away frō their affaires by occasion of the dole and distributiō of corne, he purposed to give out thrice a yeare, tiquets or talies for to serve 4. moneths: But when the people were desirous of the old custom he grātēd the again to receive the same upō the (b) *Nomes* of every moneth: The ancient right and libertie also, in *Elections* & *Parliaments* he brought in again: & having restrained the indirect suing for dignities by manyfold penalties, upō the day of such *elections* he distributed out of his own purse among the (c) *Fabians* & *Scaptians*, who were of the same *Tribes*, wherein himselfe was incorporate: a thousand *Sesterces* a peece, because they should not look for ought at any of their hands who stood for offices. Moreover supposing it a matter of great consequence to keepe the people incorrupt & cleare from all base mixture of forain & servile blood; he both granted the freedom of the City of *Rome* most sparily, & also set a certain gage & limitariō of manumising & enfranchising slaves: When *TERIVS* made request unto him by letters, in the behalfe of a *Grecian*, his client to be free of *Rome*: he wrot backe unto him, *That he would not grant it unlesse he came personally himselfe, and could perswade him, what iust causes he had of his suite: And, what time* as *LIVIA* intreated the like for a certaine French-man, tributarie to the Romans: he flatly denied the freedome of the City, but offered in lieu thereof immunitie and remission of Tribute; avowing, that he would more easily abide that somewhat went from the publike treasure and chamber of the Cittie, than have the honour of the *Romaine Cittie* to be made vulgar, & common: Nor content, that he had by diverse straight edicts & provisos kept many slaves from all manner of freedome, but more a great deal frō full freedome in the best cōdition; as having precisely & with much curiositie put in caveats both for the nūber & also for the condition & respect otherwife of those that were to be made free: he added thus much moreover.

That

That no slave, who had ever beene bound and imprisomed, or examined by torture should obtaine the freedome of the Cittie, in any kind of enfranchisement whatsoever. The olde manner of going and wearing apparell also, he endeavored to bring into use againe. And having seene upon a time assembled to heare a publike speech, a number of Citizens cladde all in blacke \*clokes or \*fullied gownes, taking great indignation thereat crying out with all. Beholde, quoth he.

*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.*

The \* *Romaines*, Lords of all the world, and longe rob'd Nation.

He gaue the *Aediles* in charge not to suffer any person from thence forward, to abide or stay, either in the Common place or the Cirque, but (d) in a gowne, laying a side all clokes or mantills thereupon.

His liberality unto all degrees of Citizens he shewed often times as occasions and opportunities were offered: for both by bringing into the Cittie in the *ALEXANDRINE Tryumph* the treasures of the (*Aegyptian* Kings he caused so great plenty of monie, that usurie fell, but the price of Landes and Lordships arose to a uerie high reckoning: and also afterwards, so often as out of the goods of condemned persons there was any surpluse of monie remaining above their fines; he granted for a certaine time the free lone and use thereof to as many as were able to put in securitie for the principall, by an obligation in duple the summe. The substance and wealth of *Senatours* hee augmented, and whereas the valew thereof before amounted to the summes of \*800000. *Sesterces*: he taxed or sessed them at 1200000: and looke who had not so much, he supplied and made it up to the full. Hee gave \* *Congiarie* often times to the people but lightly they were of diuerse summes, one while 400, another while 300. and some times 200: and fiftie *Sesterces*: and he left not so much as boyes under age, whereas they had not wont to receive such *congiaries*, unlesse they were above eleuen yeares olde: Hee measured out also to the people by the Poll, Corne in times of scarcitie oftentimes at a verie lowe price, and otherwhiles freely, without payinge therefore: and as for the Tickets, of monie, he duple the summe in them contained,

And that you may know, hee was a prince more respectiue of thrift and holcomenes, than desirous of popularitie, praise, & honour: when the people complained of the want & dearth of wine, he checked and snibbed the with this most severe speech, *That his sonne in lawe AGRIPPA had taken order good enough that men should not be athirst, by conueighing so many waters into the Cittie*. Vnto the same people demanding the *congiarie*; which indeede was by him promised, he answered; *That his credite was good, and he able to performe his word*; but when they earnestly called for one which hee had never promised, hee hit them in the teeth by an edict or proclamation with their dishonestie, & impudencie: assuring them, that give it he would not although he had intended it.

And with no lesse gravitie and resolution, when uppon his proposing & publishing of a *congiarie*, he found that many in the meane time were manumised and inserted into the number of Citizens, he reiectēd such, and said; they should not receiue any, unto whom he had made no promise: and to all the rest hee gave

\* By blacke he  
meant clokes  
or gownes of  
a felle russet  
colour, for their  
gownes should  
be white and  
faire, not sullied  
\* By the trope  
*Ironia* meaning  
those that were  
in clokes or  
foule gownes,

41

\* the *Ptolemies*

\* Duple the  
worth of Gen-  
tlemen.  
\* *Largesses*

\* *parentibus*:  
comprehēding  
all aunces & w-  
\* 400. *Sesterces*.  
or 400000.  
\* *Sest.* 100.  
3125. *Sesterces*.  
\* *Quis cumq;*  
*Manu.*



gave lesse than he promised: that the *summe* which he had appointed, might hold out and be sufficient. When upon a time, there was great barraineesse and scarcitie of corne, being put to an hard exigent and to seeke a difficult remedie, in so much as he was driven to expell out of the Cittie, all the sort of young slaves pampered and trimmed up for sale, as also whole scholes & companies of Novice-fencers and sword players: all strangers and forainers, except Physitians and scholemaisters: yea and some of the ordinarie household seruants: so soone as the market began to mend, and victuals grew plentiful, he writeth, *That it tooke him in the head to abolish those publike doles of Corne for ever; because upon the trust and confidence of them, tillage was cleane laid downe.* Howbeit he continued not in that mind long, as being assured, that the same doles might be set up againe one time or other by the ambitious humour (of Princes his successors.) And therefore after this he ordred the matter so indifferently, as that he had no lesse regard of the Citties fermours of tillage, & other undertakers and purcuers of the publike corne, than of the people and commons of the Cittie.

43

\*Quater et  
vices.

In number, varietie, and magnificence of solemne shewes exhibited unto the people he went beyond all men. Hee reporteth of himselfe that he set forth plaies and games in his owne name foure and twentie times: and for other magistrats who either were absent or not sufficient to beare the charges, three and twentie times. Diuers times, he exhibited plaies by euerie streete, and those upon many stages, and acted by plaiers skilfull in all languages not in the *Common forum* onely, nor in the ordinarie Amphitheater, but also in the *circus*. In the enclosure called *Septa*, he never represented any sportes but the baiting and coursing of wild beafts and the shewes of champions-fight having built wooden scaffolds and seates for the nonce in *Mars* field. In like manner, he made the shew of a Navall battaile about the River *Tiberis*, having digged of purpose a spacious hollow pit within the ground, even there whereas now is to be seene the grove of the *Cæsars*. On which dayes he bestowed warders in diuerse places of the citie, for feare it might be endangered by sturdie theeues and robbers, taking their vantage, that so few remained at home in their houses. In the *Circus* he brought forth to doe their deuour. *Charioters*, *Rummers*, and *killers* of savage beafts: otherwhiles out of the noblest young gentlemen of all the Cittie. As for the warlike *Riding* or *Turnament* called *Troie*, he exhibited it oftene of all other, making choise of boyes to performe it, as well bigger as smaller: supposing it a matter of antiquitie: a decent and honorable maner besides, that the towardly disposition and prooffe of noble blood should thus be seene and knowne. In this solemnitie and sport, he rewarded, *C. NONIVS ASPRENAS*\* weakened by a fall from his horse, with a wreath or chaine of gold, and permitted both himselfe and also his posteritie to beare the surname of *TORQUATVS*. But afterwards he gave over the representation of such pastimes, by occasion that *ASINIVS POLLIO* the Orator, made a grievous and invidious complaint in the Senate house, of the fall that *ÆSERVINVS* his nephew tooke, who likewise had thereby broken his legge. To the performance of his stage plaies also and shewes of sword fight, he employed some times even the Gentlemen and knights of *Rome*: but it was before he was inhibited by vertue of an Act of the Senate. For after

\*Orlamed.

it

it verily, he exhibited no more, save onely a youth called *L. IUVVS*, borne of worshipfull parentage, onely for a shew: that being a dwarfe not two foote high, & weighing but 17 lb. yet he had an exceeding great voice. One day of the sword fight that he set forth, he brought in for to behould the solemnitie, euen through the midst of the Shew place; the *Parthians* hostages who then were newly sent (to *Rome*) and placed them in the second\* ranke or row of seates\* above himselfe: His manner was moreover, before the usuall daies of such spectacles and solemne fights, and at other times, if any strang and new thing were brought over unto him, and worthie to be knowne, to bring it abroad for to be seene upon extraordinary daies, and in any place whatsoever. As for example, a *Rhinoceros* within the empaled or railed enclosure called *Scripta*: a *Tigre* upon the stage: and a *Serpent* 50 cubits long, within the *Hall Comitium*. It fortuned that during the great *Circean* games which he had vowed before, he fell sicke: whereby he lay in his litter and so devoutly attended upon the sacred chariots called *Thensa*. Again, it happened at the beginning of those plaies, which he set out when he dedicated the temple of *Mucellus*, that his curule chaire became uninioined, and thereby he fel upon his back: Also at the games of his nephewes when the people their assembled were mightily troubled & astonished, for feare that the Theater would fall: seeing that by no means he could hold them in, nor cause them to take heart againe, he removed out of his owne place, and sat him downe in that part thereof which was most suspected: The most confuse and licentious maner of beholding such spectacles, hee reformed and brought into order; mooved thereto, by the wrong done to a *Senatour*, whom at *Puteoli* in a frequent assemblie sittinge at their right solemne Games, noe man had received to him and vouchsafed a rowne.

Hereupon when a decree of the Senate was passed, *That so often as in any place there was ought exhibited publicly to be seene, the first ranke or course of Seates should be kept cleere and wholly for Senatours*: he forbade the Embassadors of free nations and confederats to sit at *Rome* within the *Orchestra*: because he had found, that even some of their libertines kind were sent in embassage. The soldiers hee severed fro the other people. To married men that were comoners, he assigned severall rewes by the selues. To Noble mens childre under age his\* own quarter: and to their teachers and governers the next thereto. He made an Act also, that not one of the base Commons wearing blacke and sullied gownes should sit so neere as the midst of the Theatre. As for women he would not allow them to behold so much, as the sword Fencers, (who customarily in the time past were to be seene of all indifferently) but from some higher\* loft above the rest, \* sitting there by the selues. To the *Vestall Nunnes* he graunted a place a part from the rest within the Theatre, and the same iust over against the *Prætors* Tribunal. Howbeit from the Solemnitie of Champions shew, he banished all the female sex: so farre forth, as that during the\* Pontificall Games, he put of a couple of them who were called for to enter in to combat, untill the morrow (b) morning. And made proclamation, that his will and pleasure was, *That no woman should come into the Theatre before the\* first hower of the day*.

Himselfe behelde the *Circean* Games, for the most part from the  
\*upper

\*His lightnes  
was more to be  
noted than his  
short stature:  
For whereas the  
full height is 6:  
foote and the  
weight some-  
what above  
100: this  
leuty of 3: foot  
is vnder that  
proportion the  
one halfe:  
\*Supergeese:  
or behind at  
his backe high-  
er, and therfore  
further off: or  
elle in a second  
seat from him  
of the one side,  
but in the same  
ranke: for he  
nor takes:

\*Cuneum sum  
or a rancke of  
their owne:

\*And by con-  
sequence farther  
of:  
\* Spectatores con-  
stituti solis,  
\* which him  
selfe exhibited  
being Pontifex  
\* Maximus: the  
High priest:  
\* Eleven of the  
clock, by which  
houre all that  
fight was past.

44

45

\*And not, *pulvinariis*.  
The beddost  
where the sacred  
Images of the  
Gods were de-  
voutly bebow-  
ed, which had  
beene brought  
in their Then  
ses and carried  
thether, at these  
solemn games.  
\*As if he had  
no delight in  
those games.

\*Poples un-  
swerable in  
Greece to the  
Romaine Glau-  
diatores.  
\*And so had  
learned the skill  
and teare of  
fighting.

\*By beating  
with rods.  
\*Pretours and  
Aediles.

\**Pompey*, B. 1.  
61. *Metellus*. For  
so many there  
were in *Augu-  
stus* dayes, be-  
sides the Am-  
phitheatre of  
*Sevilius Tullius*.  
A cunning  
Actour count-  
ersfaing all  
parts.

46

\*Voices

\*upper lofts and lodging of his friendes and freed-men Sometime out of the *Pulvinar*, sitting there with his wife onely and children. From these shewes and sightes he would be absent many houres together, and otherwhiles whole dayes: but first having craved leave of the people, & recommended those unto them, who should sitte as presidentes of those Games in his turne. But so often as he was at them, he did nothing els but intend the same: either to avoide the rumor and speech of men, whereby his father CÆSAR (as he said himselfe) was commonly taxed, namely for that in beholding those solemnities he used betweene whiles to give his mind to read letters & petitions, yea and to write backe againe: or els uppon an earnest desire and delight he had, in seeing such pastimes, pleasure and contentment, wherein he never dissimuled, but oftentimes frankly professed. And therefore he propofed and gave of his owne at the games of prize and plaies even of other men, Coronets and rewards, both many in number, and also of great worth: Neither was he present at any of these Greeke games (a) and solemnities, but he honored everie one of the Actors and provors of Maisteries therein according to their deserts. But most affectionately of all other he loved to see the Champions\* at fist fight: and the Latines especially; not those onely who by lawfull calling were\* professed, & by order allowed (and even those he was wont to match with Greeks) but such also as out of the common sort of townes-men; fell together by the eares pell mell in the narrow streets, and though they had no skill at all of fight, yet could lay on load, and offend their concurrents one way or other. In summe, all those in generall, who had any hand in those publike games or set them forward any way, he deigned good rewards and had a speciall respect of them. The priuiledges of Champions he both maintained entier, and also amplified. As for sword fencers he would not suffer the to enter into the lists, unlesse they might be discharged of that profession, in case they became victours. The power to chastise Actours and plaiers at all times and in everie place (granted unto the Magistrates by auncient law) he tooke from them, save onely during the plaies and uppon the stage. Howbeit he examined streightly nevertheless at all times either the matches or combats of Champions called (b) *Xystici*, or the fights of sword fencers. For the licentiounesse of itage plaiers he so repressed, that when he had for certaine found out, That *STEPHANIO*, an actor of Romaine plays had a mans wife waiting upon him shorne & rounded in manner of a boy, he confined & sent him away as banished: but weil beaten first with rods through all the three Theatres. And *HYLAS* the Pantomime at the complaint made of him by the Pretour, he skourged openly in the Court yard before his house: and excluded no man from the sight thereof: yea and he banished *PYLADUS* out of the Cittie of Rome and *Italie*, because he had pointed with his finger at a Spectatour who himselfe him out of the stage, and so made him to be knowne.

Having in this maner ordred the Cittie and administred the civile affaires therein, he made *Italie* populous and much frequented with (a) Colonies: to the number of 28, brought thither and planted by him; yea he furnished the same with publike workes and revenues in many places. He equalled it also after a sort, and in some part with the verie Cittie of Rome in priuiledges and estimation: by devising a new kind of Suffrages which the decurions or elders of Colonies gave every one in their owne Towneshippe, as touching Maiestrates to be created

created in Rome, and sent under their hands, and seales to the City against the day of the solempne Elections. And to the end, there should not want in any place either honest and worshipfull inhabitants, or issue of the multitude; looke who made suite to serve as men of armes on horse-backe upon the publike commendation of any towneshipp\* whatsoever, those hee enrolied and advanced unto the degree of Gentlemen. But to as many of the Commoners as could by good evidence prove unto him as hee visited the Countries and\* Regions of *Italy*, that they had sonnes and daughters he distributed a thousand sesterces a peece, for every child they had.

\* *Chiusi* (anciently oppidum).

\* And those were eleven,

As for those Provinces, which were more mighty than other, and the government whereof by yeerely Magistrates was neither easie nor safe; he undertooke himselfe to (a) rule: the (b) rest hee committed to Proconsuls by lot. And yet otherwhiles he made exchange of such Provinces: and of both sorts, hee oftentimes visited many in person. Certaine Cities, confederate and in league with Rome, howbeit by over-much libertie running headlong to mischief and destruction, hee deprived of their liberties. Others againe, either deeply in debt hee eased, or subverted by earthquake hee reedified, or able to alledge their merits and good turnes done to the people of Rome hee endowed with the franchises of *Latium*; or else with freedome of Rome. There is not, I suppose, a Province, (except *Affrick* onely and *Sardinia*) but hee went unto it. Into these Provinces after he had chased *SEXTUS POMPEIUS* thither, he prepared to saile out of *Sicilie* and to crosse the Seas: but continuall stormes and extreame tempests checked him: neither had hee good occasion or sufficient cause afterwards to passe over unto them.

48

All those kingdomes which he wan by conquest and force of armes, unlesse some fewe, hee either restored unto those Princes from whom hee had taken them, or else made them over to other. KK. mere Aliens, Princes, his Associates hee conioyned also together among themselves by mutuall bonds of alliance, as being a most ready procurer and maintainer of affinity and amity of every one; neither had he other regard of them all in generall than of the very naturall members and parts of his owne Empire. Moreover, he was wont to set Guardians and Governours over the saide Princes, when they were either young and under age, or lunaticke and not well in their wits; untill such time as they were growne to ripe yeeres, or began to come againe to themselves. The children of very many of them, he both brought up and also trained and instructed together with his owne.

49

Out of his militarie forces, he distributed both Legions and Auxiliaries by Provinces. He placed one fleet at *Misenum*, and another at *Ravenna*, for the defences of the\* upper and\* nether Seas. A certaine number of Souldiours he selected for a guard, partly of the City, and in part of his owne person, having discharged the regiment of the\* *Calagurritanes*; which hee had retained about him, untill hee vanquished *ANTONIUS*: and likewise of the Germanes which hee had waged among the Squires of his body, unto the disastrous overthrow of *VARUS*: And yet he suffered not at any time, to remain within the City more then 3 cohorts. and those without their pavilions. The residue, his manner was to send away to wintering places & sommer harbours about the neighbour-

\* *Supari*, called otherwise the Adriatick Sea.  
\* *Venice* gulf.  
\* *Inferi*, otherwise *Tusci*, or *Tyrrheni*. i. the Tuscan Sea.  
\* People of *Spain*.

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neighbour-townes. Moreover, all the souldiours that were in any place whatsoever, hee tied to a certaine prescript forme and proportion of wages and rewards, setting downe according to the degree and place of every one, both their times of warfare, and also the \* commodities they should receive after the terme of their service expired & their lawfull discharge: least that by occasion of old age, or for want, they should after they were freed from warfare, be solicited to sedition and rebellion. And to the end, that for ever, and without any difficulty, there might be defrayed sufficient to maintaine and reward them accordingly, he appointed a peculiar *Treasurie* for soldiours with new \* renewes devised for their maintenance. And that with more speede and out of hand word might be brought, and notice taken what was doing in every province, hee disposed along the rode high-waies, within small distance one from another, first, certaine young men as posts; and afterwards swift wagons to give intelligence. This he thought more commodious, and better to the purpose, that they who from a place brought him letters might be asked questions also, if the matters required ought.

50 In charters, patents, writs, bills and letters he used for his seale, at the first, the image of (a) SPHINX: Soone after, that of ALEXANDER the great: and last of all, his owne; engraven by the hand of \* DIOSCURIDES: wherewith the Princes and Emperours his successours continued to signe their writings. To all his missives his manner was, to put precisely the very minutes of houres, not of day onely but of night also, wherein it might be knowne, they were dated

51 Of his clemencie and civill (a) curtesie, there be many, and those right great proofes and experiments. Not to reckon up, how many and who they were of the adverse faction, that he vouchsafed pardon & life; yea, and suffered to hold still a principall place in the City: he was content and thought it sufficient, to punish IUNIUS NOVATUS and CASSIUS PATAVINUS, two commoners; the one with a fine of money and the other with a slight banishment: notwithstanding that IUNIUS NOVATUS in the name of young AGRIPPA had divulged a most biting and stinging letter, touching him, and CASSIUS PATAVINUS at an open table and full feast, gave out in broad termes, That he wanted neither hartie wishes nor good will to stab him. Moreover in a certaine iudiciall triall, when among other crimes this article was principally objected against ÆMILIUS ÆLIANUS of Corduba, That hee was wont to have \* a bad conceite and to speake but basely of CÆSAR, himselfe turned unto the accuser, and as if he had beene sore offended, *I would, quoth he, thou wert able to prove this unto me: In faith ÆLIANUS should well know, that I also have a tongue: for I will not lye to say more by him.* And farther than this he neither for the present nor afterwards inquired into the matter. Likewise, when TIBERIUS grieved and complained unto him of the same indignity in a letter, and that uncessantly and after a violent manner, thus he wrote back againe: *Dee not my good TIBERIUS in this point follow and feed the humor of your \* age: neither set it too neere your heart, That there is any man who speaketh evill of me; For it is enough for us, if no man be able to doe us harme.*

52 Albeit, he wist well enough, that Temples were usually graunted by decree even unto Proconsuls, yet in no Province accepted hee of that honour, but ioyntlie in the name and behaife of himselfe and of Rome. For in

Rome

Rome verily, he forbore this honour most resolutely: yea, and those silver Statues which in times past had beene set up for him, he melted every one. \* Of which, he caused golden \* Tables to be made, and those he dedicated to AROLO PATAVINUS. When the people offered and instantly forced upon him the Dictatorship, he fell upon his knees, cast his gowne from off his shoulder, bared his brest, and with detestation of the thing, besought them not to urge him farther.

53 The name and title of \* Lord (a) he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious & reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, these words were pronounced out of a Comœdie \*, *O good and gracious \* Lord*: whereupon the whole assembly with great ioy and applause accorded thereto, as if they had beene spoken of him: immediately both with gesture of hand and shew of countenance, he repressed such undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them most sharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after suffer himselfe to be called DOMINUS, no nor of his owne children and nephewes either in earnest or boord. And that which more is, such faire and glaving wordes hee forbade them to use among themselves. Lightly, you should not have him depart forth of the City or any Towne, nor enter into any place, but in the evening, or by night: For disquieting any person in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. In his Consulship hee went commonly in the streetes on foote: out of his Consulship oftentimes in a close \* (b) chaire or lister. In generall Salutations and duties done unto him he admitted the very Commons, entertaining the suites and desires of all commers with so great humanity as that he rebuked one of them merily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if hee had raught a small peece \* of coine to an Oliphant. On a Senate-day, he never saluted his Nobles but in the (c) CURIA: and those verily as they sat, every one by name without any \* prompter: and at his departure out of the house, he used to bid them farewell one by one as they were set, in the same manner. With many men he performed mutual offices yeelding one kindnes for another interchangeably: Neither ~~was~~ hee over frequenting their solemnities & \* feasts until he was farre stepped by Ceres: and by this occasion, that once upon a day of \* Espousals he was in the presse & throng of people sore crouded. GALLUS TERRINIUS a Senator, & none of his familiar acquaintance, howbeit fallen blinde and purposing resolutely to pine (d) himselfe to death, he visited in proper person, and by his consolatory and comfortable words perswaded him to live still.

As he delivered a speech in the Senate, one said unto him, *I conceived you not: & another, I would gain-say you if any place were left for \* me to speake.* Divers times when upon occasion of excessive altercation and brabbling among the Senators in debating matters, he was about to whip out of the Senate a pace in a great chafe, some of them would choke him with these words, *Senatours ought to have liberty to speake their mindes concerning the Common-weale.* ANTISTIVS LABEO at a certaine Election of Senators, when \* one man chooseth another, made choise of M. LEPIDUS, who sometime was (AUGUSTUS) mortall enemy, and then in Exile. Now when he demanded of the said ANTISTIVS, *If there were not others more worthy to be chosen?* hee returned this aunswere, *That every man had his owne liking and iudgement by himselfe.* Yet for all this, did no

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\* Fees, pensions, land and living.

\* Ducentis, simis et quinquagessimis. tum ventis. Bonis et idem denariis, with the two hundredth penny, and the fifth penny of wares sold; with the goods also of condemned persons.

\* A cunning Lapidarie and graver in precious stones.

\* Male opinari. The same in this Author, that Male dicere.

\* Young, impetuous, his coler & cruelty to the heate & youth & here bloud: measuring Tiberius by himselfe.

\* With the money, for which they were sold.

\* Curtinas, otherwise called Tripodas, standing upon 3. feete.

\* From which Oracles were delivered.

\* Domini, or Sr. \* Or Enterlude Mmo.

\* Or Sr.

\* Ad aperta: if adapted the sense is contrary.

\* Stipem Quintilianus reddidit assem lib. 6. cap. de visu.

\* Or Nominatator.

\* As Birth-dayes, & Marriage Minder.

\* Assurance making of a marriage.

54 \* As if Augustus by his absolute power had take up all. Cum vir viri, not Triumvir.

mans free speech or froward selfe-will, turne him to displeasure or danger.

55

Moreover, the diffamatory libels of him cast abroad & disperfed in the *Curia*, he neither was affrighted at, nor tooke great care to refute; making not fo much as learch after the Authors. Onely this he opened, *That from thence forth there should be inquisition made, and examination had of those that either in their owne name or under other mens, did put forth libels, rimes, or verses to the infamie of any person.* Furthermore, to meete with the spitefull taunts and skurrile scoffes of some, wherewith he was provoked, he made an Edict against such. And yet,

\* Wherein, the manner was to use broad jests, of any person.  
*Casabonus.*

\* Or graces.  
\* In Tribes, or in Tribunes, i. among other Tribes.  
\* Called *Favus Auvisti.*  
\* Than the other.

\* Pretentis aditus.

\* Or offender.  
\* Within the Barr, among the Advocates, as a well willer.

\* Or *Targuastier*, *Scutario* some take this for a proper name of some soldicior of his.

56 Whensoever he was present himselfe at the Generall Ward-motes for Election of Magistrates, he went with his owne (a) *Candidates* round about to the Tribes, and humbly craved their \* voices according to the usuall custome. Himselfe also gave a voice in his \* owne Tribe as one of the ordinary people. When hee appeared as witness in iudiciall courts, hee suffered himselfe right willingly to be examined upon interrogatives, & also to be impleaded against and confuted. His common \* Hall of Iustice he made lesse of narrower \* compasse; as not daring to encroch upon the next houses & dispossesse the owners. He never recommended his sonnes unto the people, but with this claufe added thereto, If they shall deserve. When, being yet under age, and \* in their purpled child's habit, al the people generally that sat in the Theater rose up unto them, and the standers below clapped their hands, hee tooke it very ill and complained grievously thereof. His minions & inward friends he would have to bee great and mighty men in the City; yet so, as they should have no more liberty than other Citizens, but be subiect to lawes and iudgements as well as the rest. When *Asprenas Nonius* (b), a man of neere alliance & acquaintance with him was accused by *Cassius Severus*, for practising poison, & pleaded for himselfe at the Barr, hee asked counsell of the Senate, what they thought in duty he was to do? For I stand in doubt, quoth he, *least being here present as an advocate, I should acquit the prisoner \* defendant and so hinder the course of law*: againe, if I be absent & faile him, least I might be thought to forsake and preiudice my friend: Whereupon, by all their consents, he sat there in the \* *Pues* certain houres, but spake never a word, nor afforded so much as a commendatorie speech in the defendants behalfe, as the maner of friends was to do in the triall of such cases. He pleaded the causes even of his very clients, and by name, of a certaine \* shield-bearer, (c) whom in times past he had called forth to serve him in the wars: he spake I say in his defence, when he was sued in an action of the case. Of all those that were thus in trouble, he delivered one & no more from making his appearance in Court: and him verily no otherwife, but by earnest praiers & entreating the Accuser before the Iudges: and him he perswaded at length to let fall his action. And *Castritius* it was, a man, by whose meanes he came to the knowledge of *Murenas* conspiracie.

57

How much, and for what demerits of his, he was beloved, an easie matter it is to make an estimate. The acts & decrees of the Senate concerning his honors I passe over, as which may be thought wrested from them either upon mere necessity or bashfull modesty. The Gentlemen of *Rome* of their owne accord and by an uniforme consent celebrated his birth-feast alwaies for 2 daies together. All States & Degrees of the City, yeerely upon a solemne vow that they made,

made, threw small pieces of brasse-coine into \* *Curtilus* lake for the preservation of his life & health. Semblably, at the Calends of Ianuarie every yeere they offered a newyeeres-gift in the Capitol unto him, although he were absent. Out of which masse & grosse sum he disbursed as much money, as wherewith he bought the most precious Images of the Gods, and dedicated them in divers streets: as namely *APOLLO* \* *SANDALIARIUS*, & *IUPITER* \* *TRAGÆDUS*, and \* others besides. For the reedification of his house in \* *Palatine* consumed by fire, the old soldiours, The Decuries (of the Iudges) the Tribes, & many severall persons by themselves of all sorts, willingly & according to each ones ability brought in their monies together. Howbeit, he did no more but slightly touch the heapes of such money as they lay, & tooke not away out of any one above one single \* denier. As he returned out of any province, they accompanied him honorably, not onely with good words & lucky \* wishes, but also with songs set in muscail measures. This also was duly obserued, that how often so ever he entred *Rome*, no punishment that day was inflicted up on any person.

58 The \* surname in his stile of *PATER PATRIÆ*, they all presented unto him with exceeding great & unexpected accord. The Commons, first, by an Embassage which they sent unto *Antium*: then, because he accepted not thereof, at *Rome* as he entred the Theater to behold the plaies, they rendered it a second time themselves in great frequencie, dight with Lawrell branches & Coronets. Soone after, the Senate did the like, not by way of decree nor acclamation, but by *VALERIUS MESSALLA*, who had commission from them all, to relate their minds in this maner. THAT, quoth he, which may be to the good and happinesse of thee & thy house *O CÆSAR AVGVSTUS* (for in this wise we think, that we pray for perpetuall felicity & \* prosperity to this Commonwealth.) THE SENATE according with the people of *Rome*, do iointly salute thee by the name of \* *PATER PATRIÆ*. Vnto whom, *AVGVSTUS* with teares standing in his eyes, made answer in these words, (For I have set the very same downe like as I did \* those of *Messala*) Now that I have (mine honorable Lords) attained to the height of all my vowes and wishes, what remaineth else for me to crave of the immortal Gods, but that I may carie with mee this universall consent of yours unto my lives end?

Vnto *ANTONIUS MESA* his Physitian, by whose meanes he was recovered out of a dangerous disease, they erected a Statue, by a generall contribution of brasse, just by the image of *ÆSCULAPIUS*. Some \* householders there were who in their last wils and testaments provided, That their heires should leade beasts for sacrifice into the Capitoll and pay their vowes, with this title caried before them containing the reason of so doing, *Because \* they had left AVGVSTUS living after them.* Certaine Cities of *Italy* began their yeere that very day, on which he first came to them. Most of the Provinces, over & above Temples & Altars \*, ordained almost in every good Towne, solemne Games & Playes every fifth yeere in his honor.

Kings his friends and Confederates both severally every one in his own kingdom built Cities calling them *Cæsarea*, and iointly altogether intended, at their common charges fully to finish the temple of *Jupiter Olympicus* at *Athens* which long time before was begun, & to dedicate it unto his *Genius*. And oftentimes, the said Princes leaving their realmes, going in Romaine gownes, without Diadems & regall Ornaments, in habit & manner of devoted Clients, performed their

\* Into the raised or empaled place named *Septa*, where sometime was that Lake.

\* In the Shoo-makers street.  
\* In the *Tragædians* street.  
\* *Alagi*. Inve. *Stitutions* & c.  
\* Mount *Palatine*.

\* 7d. ob.  
\* *Favus* omin. or, nomina. *lun.* i. names.

\* Or addition A. V. C. 758

\* Felicitatem Re. p. et leta. *lun.* i. prosperitatem et letam Re. p. *lun.*  
\* Father of the Courrey.  
\* *Sicnt* *Messalla*

59 \* *Paterfamilias* good honest Citizens of *Rome* that were *suaviter*.  
\* Their Fathers, the testam. *lun.*

\* As if he had beene a Demi-God.

60

their dutifull attendance unto him day by day: not at *Rome* only, but also when he visited and travailed over the provinces.

61 For as much as I have shewed already what his publique cariage was in places of Commaund and Magistracies: in the managing also and administration of the Common-weale throughout the world both in warre and peace: Now will I relate his more private and domestick life: as also what behaviour hee shewed and what fortune hee had at home, and among his owne, even from his youth unto his dying day. His mother he buried during the time of his first Consulship, and his sister OCTAVIA in the 54 yeere of his age. And as he had performed unto them both, whiles they lived, the offices of pietie and love in the best manner: so when they were dead, he did them the greatest honours he possibly could.

A.V.C. 711:  
745

62 He had espoused, being a very youth, the daughter of P. SERVILIUS ISAVRICUS: but upon his reconciliation unto ANTONIUS after their first discorde at the earnest demand of both their soldiours, that they might be conioyned and united by some nere affinity, he tooke to wife (ANTONIUS) daughter in law CLAUDIA, the naturall daughter of Dame FULVIA by P. CLODIUS: a young Damsell, scarce marriageable. And upon some displeasure, falling out with FULVIA his wives mother, he put her away, as yet untouched and a virgin: Soone after, he wedded SCRIBONIA, the wife before of two husbands, both men of Consular dignity, and by one of them a mother. This wife also he divorced, not able to endure, as hee writeth himselfe, her shrewd and perverse conditions: and forthwith, tooke perforce from TIBERIUS NERO, LIVIA DRUSILLA his lawfull wife & great with child. Her he loved entirely, her he liked onely, and to the very end.

A.V.C. 715:

63 Vpon SCRIBONIA he begat IVLIA: By LIVIA he had no issue, although full faime he would. Conceive once shee did by him; but she miscaried, and the Infant was borne before time. As for IVLIA, hee gave her in marriage first to MARCELLUS the sonne of his sister OCTAVIA, even when he was but newly crept out of his childe age. Afterwards, when MARCELLUS was departed this life, he bestowed her upon M. AGRIPPA, having by intreatie obtained of his sister, to yeeld up unto him her right and interest in her sonne \* in law. For, at the same time AGRIPPA had to wife one of the \* MARCELLÆ (her daughters) and of her body begotten children. When this AGRIPPA was likewise dead, he cast about and sought for divers matches a long time, even out of the ranks of Romaine Gentlemen, and chose for her, his wives sonne \* TIBERIUS: whom he forced to put away a former wife then with child, and by whom hee had bene a father already. M. ANTONIUS writeth, that he had affianced the said IVLIA first, to ANTONIUS his sonne: and afterwards to COTIS King of the Getes: what time ANTONIUS himselfe required to have a \* Kings daughter likewise to wife.

\* Her daughters husband:  
\* It seemeth the younger  
\* Emperour after him.

\* Lotepe the Median King of Armenia or else meaneth Cleopatra:

64 By AGRIPPA and IVLIA he had 3 nephewes, CAIVS, LUCIUS, and AGRIPPA: nieces likewise twaine, IVLIA and AGRIPPINA. IVLIA he bestowed in marriage upon LUCIUS PAULUS, the Censors sonne: and AGRIPPINA upon GERMANICUS, his \* sisters (a) Nephew. As for CAIVS and LUCIUS he adopted them for his owne children at home in his house, having bought them of AGRIPPA their Father by the brazen coine \* and (b) the balance. Whom being yet in their tender yeeres, he employed in the charge of the common-

\* Per offem, vel per as librum.

mon weale: and no sooner were they Consuls Elect, but hee sent them abroade to the government of Provinces and conduct of armies. His daughter and nieces above named, hee brought uppe and trained so, as that hee acquainted them with housewifery, and set them even to card, spinne and make cloth: forbidding them streightly either to say or doe ought but openly in the sight and hearing of all men, and that which might be recorded in their day \* bookes. Certes, so farre forth he prohibited and forewarned them the companie of strangers, that he wrote uppon a tume unto L. \* TULLIUS, a noble young gentleman and a personable, charging him that he passed the bounds of modestie, in that he came once to Baiae for to see and salute his daughter: his nephewes, himselfe for the most part taught to reade, to write (c) & to swimme, besides the rudiments & first introductions to other Sciences. But in nothing travailed hee so much as in this, that they might imitate his handwriting. Hee never supped together with them, but they satte at the nether end of the Table: neither went hee any Iournie, but hee had them either going before in a Wagon, or else about him ryding by his side.

\* Of accompt  
\* Of Punition.

But as joious and confident as hee was in regard both of his issue, and also of the discipline of his house, fortune failed him in the prooffe of all. His daughter and niece either of them named IVLIA dislained with all kinde of leawdnesse and dishonestie he sent out of the way as banished: \* CAIVS (a) and LVCIVS both, hee lost in the space of 18. moneths, CAIVS died in Lycia, LVCIVS at Massilia. His third nephew AGRIPPA, together with his wives sonne TIBERIUS (b) hee adopted his sonnes in the Forum of Rome by an Act of \* all the Curiae. But of these twaine within a small time hee cast out of his favour, yea and confined aside unto *Surrentum* AGRIPPA, for his base \* disposition and fell nature. Moreover he tooke much more patiently the death, than the reprochfull misdemeanours of his children. For, at the infortunie of CAIVS and LVCIVS he was not extremely dismaied and cast downe: mary, of his daughter & her leawd prances, he gave notice in his absence to the Senate, and that in writing, which his (c) Quellor red openly before them: and for very shame he absented himselfe a long time and avoyded the company of men: yea, and that which more is, once he was of mind to put her to death. And verely, when as, about the same time a freed woman of his named PHOEBE, one of them that were privie to her naughtiness, knit her own neck in a halter, & so ended her dayes, hee gave it out, that hee wisht wish all his heart he had bene \* Phoebes father. Confined thus when she was, hee debared her wholly the use of wine, and all manner of delicate trimming and decking her bodie: neither would hee permitte any man, one or other, bond, or free to have access unto her without his privie and leave asked: nor unless he might be certified before, of what age, of what stature and colour hee was, yea and what (a) markes and skars hee carried about him. After 5. yeares ende, he remooved her out of the \* Island into the Continent where shee abode at more libertie somewhat, and not so streightly looked unto: For, to call her home againe once for all, hee could by no meanes bee intreated: as who, many a time when the people of Rome besought him, earnestly and were very instant with him in her behalfe, openly before a frequent assembly of them cursed such daughters and such wives: saying, God blesse yee al from the like. The infant that his niece IVLIA bare after she was condemned, hee forbade expressly to take knowledge of, & to give it the rearing. As touching his nephew AGRIPPA seeing him to proove nothing more tractable, but rather braine sicke every day more than other, he transported him (from *Surrentum*) into an Island and enclosed him there, besides with a guard of soldiars. He provided also by an Act of the Senate, that in the same place he should be kept for ever. And so often, as there was any mention made either of him or his ij. \* IVLIA, he used to fetch a sigh and grone againe, and with all to breake out into this speech.

65

\* ij. of his Nephewes.

\* These Actes were called *Leges Curiae*: made in a parliament of all the Curiae, in number 30. to which, *Romani* divided the Citty. These lawes *Sext. Papirius* collected into one Booke, and called it was *Jus civile Papirianum*. *Servidus*, others read *Stolidum*, & *Horridum*. *Sotish* & rude. \* Or that his daughter had bene *Phoebe*. \* *Pandarus* Tacit, lib. 1.

\* Daughter & niece.

ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἄγαμ' ὁ Τ' ἔμεινεν, ἄγον' ὁ Τ' ἀπολέσθαι,  
IV. *God I new: r had wedded bride*  
Or else without any childe had died.

G 4

Friendship



Friendship with any persō as he did not easily intertain, so he maintained & kept the same inost cōstantly; not honoring only the vertues & deserts of euery man according to their worth, but enduring also their vices & delinquences at least wile if they exceeded not: for out of al that nūber of his depēdants ther wil hardly be any found, during his frendship to have bin plunged in aduersity & thērby overthrown: except SALVIDIENVS RVFVS whom he had before advanced to the dignitie of Consul; & CORNELIVS GALLVS promoted by him to the pro vostship of *Aegypt*, raised both from the verie dunghill. The one of these for practising seditiously an alteration in the state: & the other for his unthankful and malicious mind he forbad his house & all his provinces. But as for GALLVS, whē as both by the menaces of his accusers, & also by the rigorous Acts of the Senate passed against him, he was driuen to thorten his owne life: AVGVSTVS cōmēded verely their kind harts to him for being so wroth & grievuing so much in his behalfe: howbeit for GALLVS sake he wept, & complained of his owne hard fortune, in that he alone might not be angrie, with his friends, within that measure as he would himselfe: all the rest of his favorites flourished in power & welth to their lives end, as chiefe persons every one in their ranke: notwithstanding some discontentment & millikes came between. For otherwhiles, hee found a want in M. AGRIPPA of patience, and in M. ECENAS of Taciturnitie & secrecie; when as the \*one upon a light suspition of his cold love, \* & affection, with a telousie besides, that MARCELLVS should be preferred before him left all & went to MITYLBNE: the \*other (b) unto his wife TERENTIA revealed a secret, as touching the detection of MVRENAS conspiracie. Himselfe also required semblably mutual benevolence of his friends, as wel dead as living. For although he was none of these that lie in the winde to mung and catch at Inheritances, as who could never abide to reape any cōmoditie by the last will & testamēt of an unknown person; yet weighed he most strictly & precisely the \*supreme iudgments & testimonies of his friends concerning him, delivered at their deaths: as on who dissimuled neither his grief in case a man respected him slightly & without honorable tearmes; nor his ioy, if he remembered him thankfully & with kindnes. As touching either legacies or parts of heritages, as also portions left unto him by any parents whatsoever, his manner was either out of hand to part with the same unto their children, or if they were in their minority, to restore all unto them with the increase, upon the day that they put on their virile gownes, or else whereon they married.

A patron he was (to his freedmen) and a Maist. (to his bondservants) no lesse severe, than gracious & gentle. Many of his enfranchised men he highly honoured and employed especially: by name, LICINIUS ENCELADVS, with others. His servant COSMVS, who thought & spake most hardly of him, he proceeded to chastice no farther, than with hanging a paire of fetters at his heeles: As for Diomedes his Steward, who walking together with him, by occasion of a wild Bore running full upon them, for very feare put his Maist. between himselfe and the Beast, hee imputed unto him rather timiditie, then to bee any fault: else: and although it were a matter of noe small perill, yet because there was noe prepenesd mallice, hee turned all into a iest. Contrariwise, the selfe same man, forced to death PROCLIVS a freed man of his and whome hee set geatest store by, because hee was detected for abusing mens wives. \*GALLVS his \*scribe, had receiued 500: deniers

For

For making on priuie unto a letter of his hands: but he caused his legges to be broken for his labour. The pædagogue and other servitours attendant uppon CÆSAR his sonne, who taking the vantage of his sicknesse and death bare themselues proudly and insolently in his \*province and therein committed many outrages, he caused to be throwne headlong into a River, with hea-  
\*Lysie

In the Prime and flower of his youth he incurred sundrie waies the infamous note of a vicious and wanton life. Sext. POMPEIUS railed upon him as an effeminate person. M. ANTONIVS layed to his charge, that he earned his unkles adoption, by suffering the filthy abuse of his bodie: Semblably, LUCIVS brother to the said MARCUS enveied against him, as if he had abandoned and prostituted his youth (deflowred and tasted first by CÆSAR) unto A. HIRTIUS also in *Spaine* for 300000: sesterces: and that hee was wont to singe his legges with red \* horre Walnutshels, to the end the haire might come up foster: The verie people also in generall one time on a day of their Solemne Stage playes, both construed to his reproach, and also with exceeding great applause verified of him a verie pronounced vpon the Stage, as touching a priest of (Cybele) mother of the Gods playing upon a *Timbrell*,  
\*A kind of  
\*Trotulum

*Vides (a) ne: Cinadus orbem digito temperat.*

That he was a common adulterer. his verie friends did not denie: but they excuse him for sooth: saying, That he did it not upon filthy lust, but for good reason and in pollicy: to the end he might more easily search out the plots & practises of his aduersaries, by the means of women & wiues, it skilled not whose. M. ANTONIVS objected against him, besides his over hastie marriage \* with LIVIA, that he fetched a certaine Noble dame, the wife of one who had beene Consul, forth of a dining parlour, even before her husbands face, into his own bed chamber, and brought her thither backe again to make an end of the banquet with her haire all rustied, even while her eares were yet glowing red. also that he put away \*SCRIBONIA, because she was too plaine & round with him, upon griefe she tooke, that a Concubine was so great & might do so much with him: as also that there were bargaines and matches sought out for him by his friends, upon liking: who stucke not to view & peruse both wiues, & young maidens of ripe yeares, all naked, as if TORAVVS the baud were a selling of them: Moreover he writeth thus much to himself, after a familiar sort, as yet being not fallen out flatly with him, nor a professed enemy: *What hath changed and altered you? Is it because I lie with a Queene, she is my wife. And is this the first time? Did I not so 9. yeares since? Alas good sir, you that wold haue me cōpany with OCTAVIUS my wife onely tell me true. know you for your part none other women but DRVCIL*  
\*Tertia. Tertius  
\*Thia, Rufe: as  
lousers v/e to  
name their  
sweet hearts.

LA: go to: so may you fare well & have your health, as when you shall read this letter, you be not redy to deale carnally with \*TERTVLLA or TERENTILLA, or RVFILLA, or SALVIA TITISCENIA or with all of them. And thinke you it skilleth not, where and whom you lust after and meddle with?

Moreouer, much talke there was abroad, of a certaine supper of his more secret, ywis then the rest, & which was commonly called \* (a) *Dodecatheos*: As which, that their sarguests in habit of Gods & goddeses, & himselfe among the adorned instead of *Apollo*: not onely the letters of ANTONIE, who rehearsed most bitterly the names of every one do lay in his reproach, but also these verses without an author so vulgarly knowne and rise in everie mans mouth:

CNR

A. V. C. 714.  
718.

\*M. Agrippa:  
\*Frigor: or  
vigor, as if Au-  
gustus, had loo-  
ked sternely  
or strangely  
upon him.  
\*Macenas.

\*Finall or last

\*Or Timul.  
\*Clerke or  
secretary:

68

69

67

70



*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa Choragum,  
Sexque Deos vidit Malla, sexque Deas:  
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludis;  
Dum noua Diuorum canat adulterium:  
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt.  
Fugit et auratos Iupiter ipse thronos:*

\* Choragum, Choregus, or one to provide the furniture of the feasts.  
\* Some take this to be the name of one of the 6 goddesses guests, or as ther some dame that could skill in bringing such to, either.  
\* Thronos, al. throni, beds or throni, Scutcheons in Architecture.  
\* Not count as at the supper overnight.

When first the (b) table of these (guests) hired one the\* daunce to leade

And (c) Malla six Goddesses and Gods as many saw;

Whiles Cæsar Phœbus (d) counterfeites profanely, and in stead

Of supper, new adultries (e) makes of Gods against all law;

All the heavenly powers then, from the earth their eyes quite turned away,

And Iupiter (f) himselfe would not in gilt \* Shrines longer stay.

The rumor of this supper was increased by the exceeding dearth & famine at that time in Rome: and the very next morrow, there was set up this cry & note within the Cittie, *That the Gods had eaten up all the Corne; and that CÆSAR was become* \* Apollo in deede, but yet *Apollo* the (a) tortor: under which surname that God was worshipped in one place of the Cittie. Furthermore, taxed hee was for his greedie grasping after pretious house furniture and costly *Corinthian* Vessels: as also for giving himselfe much to dice play. For, as in time of the proscription, there was written over his statue; *Pater Argentarius, Ego Corintharius.*

My father was a Banking-monie changer,

And I am now a Corinth Vessell-munger.

Because it was thought he procured some to be put into the bill of those that were proscribed, even for the love of their Corinthian Vessels: so afterwards, during the *Sicilian* warre, this Epigrame of him went currant abroad.

*Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit:*

*Aliquando ut vincat, ludis assidue aleam.*

Since time he lost his ships at Sea in fight: defaied twice;

That win he may sometime, he playes continually at dice.

71

Of these criminous imputations or malicious slanders (I wot not whether) the infamie of his unnatuall uncleannesse he checked and confuted most easily by his chaste life both at the present and afterward. Semblably the invidious opinion of his excessive, and sumptuous furniture: considering, that when he had by force won *ALEXANDRIA*, he retained for himselfe out of all the kings household stuffe and rich Implements, no more but on cup of the pretious stone \* *Myrrha*: and soone after, all the brassen vessels which were of most vse, hee melted everie one. Mary for fleshly lust otherwife and wantonnes with women he went not cleere, but was blotted therewith. For afterwards, also as the report goes; he gave himselfe overmuch to the deflowring of young maides whome his wife fought out for him from all places. As for the rumour that ran of his diceplaying he bashed no whit thereat: and he played simply without Art and openly for his disport, even when he was well stricken in yeares: and besides the moneth (a) December, upon other play dayes also, yea and worke daies too. Neither is there any doubt to bee made thereof. For in a certaine Epistle written with his owne hand: I supped, quoth hee, my *Tiberius* with the same

\* Or Myrrha. The Cassidone

same men: there came moreover to beare us companie these guests, *VINCIVS*, & *SALVIVS* the father. In \* supper time we played \* like olde men, both yesterday and to day. For when the \* dice were cast (b) looke who threw the chaunce, *Canis* or *Senion*, for everie die he staked and layed to the steeke a denier: which he took up and swooped all cleane, whose lucke it was to throw *Venus*. Again in another letter. We lived full merily, my *TIBERIUS*, during the feast (c) *Quinquatria*: for, wee played everie day: wee haunted I say and hear the dicing house. Your \* brother did his deede with many great shouts and outcries: Howbeit, in the ende he lost not much: but after his great losses gathered uppe his crummes pretily well by little and little, beyond his hope and expectation. I for my part, lost 20000. Sesterces in mine owne name: but it was when I had bene over liberall in my gaming, as commonly my manner is. For, if I had called for those loosing-hands which I forgave my fellow gamesters, or kept but that which I gave cleane away, I had wonne as good as 50000. cleere. But I choole rather thus to doe. For my bountie exaleth me unto celestial glory. Vnto his daughter thus he writeth, I haue sent unto you 250. deniers: just so many as I had given to my guests a peece, if they would have played together in supper time, either at cockeall, or at even and odde. For the rest of his life, certaine it is, that in everie respect he was most continent, and without suspition of any vice.

Hee dwelt at first, hard by the *Forum* of *Rome* above the winding staires *ANULARE*, in an house which had been *CALVUS* the *Oratours*: Afterwards in the mount *Palatium*: howbeit in a meane habitation, belonging sometime to *HORTENSIVS*, and neither for spacious receite nor stately setting out, and trim furniture, conspicuous: as wherein the galleries were but short, standing upon pillars made of (soft) *Albane* stone: and the *Refectio* *Roumes* without any marble or beavtifull pavements. For the space of 40. yeares and more, hee kept on bedchamber winter and summer: and albeit hee found by experience the Cittie not verie holesome in the winter for his health, yet continually he wintred there: If hee purposed at any time to do ought secretly, and without interruption: hee had a speciall roome alone by it selfe aloft which hee called (a) *Syracusa*. \* Hither would hee withdrawe himselfe orderly, or else make a steppe to some Country house neere the Cittie, of one of his *Libertines*. Was hee sicke at any time? Then hee used to lie in *MÆCENAS* his house. Of all his reryring places of pleasure, hee frequented these especially, that stood along the *Maritime* tract, and the Isles of *Campania*; or else the townes nere adioyning to the Cittie of *Rome*, to wit, *Lanuvium*, *Prænestæ* and *Tibur*: where also within the *Porches* of *Hercules* Temple, he sat verie often to minister iustice. Large palaces and full of curious workes hee misliked: And verily, those that were sumptuously built he rased downe to the verie ground: his own as little as they were, he adorned and beautified not with trim statues and gay painted Tables, as with open \* walks, pleasant \* groves, and such things, as for their antiquitie and rarenesse were notable: Of which sort were at *Caprea* the huge members of monstrous \* fishes and wilde beasts: the bones that are faide to bee of the Gyants, and the armour of the demigods and worthies in olde time:

How slenderly provided he was of household stuffe and furniture otherwise appeareth

\* For *Talorum* lus/suit/jenilus, \* Or bones. \* Betwene dishes or courses of service

\* *Dm/su* *Xero*

\* Or *Techno*. phyo

\* *Xy/sis*, admit. ting the winter sun re. \* For shade in Summers

\* *Belluar*. as what's within pooles, &c.

appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the most part whereof be scarce answerable to the elegancie of a meere private person Neither slept he by mens saying otherwise than upon a \*low-bed, and the same but meanely spread and laid with Coverlets: He wore not lightly any apparell but of huswifes cloth, made within house; by his wits, his sister, his daughter and neieces. His gownes were neither streight and skant, nor yet, wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with overbroad fluds of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His shoes underlaide somewhat with the highest, that hee might seeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee used abroad, and his shooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, against all suddaine occurrents and unlooked for occasions what soeuer.

He feasted daily: and never otherwise than at a set \*table: not without great respect and choise of degrees and persons. VALERIUS MESSALLA writeth, that hee never entertained any of his libertines at supper except MEANVS, and him \*naturalized first even after the betraying of Sex: POMPEIUS fleete; Himselfe writeth, that he invited one, in whose ferme hee would make his abode, and who in times past had beene a \*Spie of his. Hee came to the bourde himselfe when he made a feast, sometimes very late, and otherwhiles left the same as soone: and then his guests would both fall to their suppers before hee sat downe, and also continued sitting still after hee was gone. The suppers hee made consisted ordinarily of three dishes\* of meate and when hee would fare most highly of 6: at the most; and as he entertained his guests in no exceeding sumptuous manner, so he welcomed them with all the kindnesse and curtesie that might be. For he would prouoke them, if they either sat silent or spake softly to the fellowshipp of discourse and like: yea and interpose either \*Acroames and players or else \*Triviall fellowes out of\* the Cirque, but most commonly these discoursing poore \* threedbare Phylosophers:

75 Festivall and solemne daies he celebrated sometimes with unmeasurable expenses, otherwhiles with mirth and sport onely: At the *Saturnalia*, and at other times when it pleased him, hee used to send abroad as his gifts, one while appaile, golde and silver: otherwhile mony of all stampes, even olde peeces currant in the Kings dayes, and strange coynes; sometime nothing but haire clothes, spunges, cole \*rakes, \*cizars and such like stuffe, under obscure and doubtfull titles symbolizing somewhat else; Hee was wont also to offer sale, by marting in the time of a banquet to his guesstes, of such thinges, as were in price most unequal, yea and to tender blinde bargaines unto them also of painted Tables, with the wronge side outwarde, and so by uncertaine venturing upon their happe, either to frustrate and disappoint, or fully to satisfie the hope of the Chapmen: yet so, as the cheapning of the thinge should alwayes passe through everie bourde, and the losse or gaine growe to them all as common,

As touching diet (for I may not over passe so much as this) hee was a man of verie little meate, and feedinge for the most part grosse. \* Seconde breade and small fishes: cheefe made of cowes milke and the same

\* pressed

\*Not rayfed uppe and sweeling high with downe.

74  
\*Canastis, or velle, absolutely, or difference of person.  
\*Restored to his blood and created a gentle man. for he was Demetrius a very annulus ut i. ter ingenuos habere tur Dion.  
\*Speculator, or a squire of his bodie.  
\*Tribus feculis, not such as ours be but framed in manner of Troopes, with devises that some meates might lye flat other hang there up.  
\*As minstrels Musicians, Quiristers &c.  
\*As fortune tellers, iuglers Baffors &c.  
\*Aretalotos, \*Or fire forks, \*Or snippers.  
\*A kinde of Lottarie.

76  
\*Or chear,

pressed \* with the hand, & greene figges especially of that kinde which beare twice a yee, his appetite served unto. His manner was to eat even iust before supper, when and wheresoever his stomacke called for food. His very wordes out of his owne Epistles shewe no lesse, which are these: *Whiles wee were in a \* Britis Waggon, wee tasted of bread and Dates.* Again, *As I returned homeward in my Litter from the Palace, I ate an ounce weight of bread with a few hard coated Grapes.* And once more, *The very Iewe, my TIBERIUS, observeth not his Fast upon the (a) Sabbath so precisely, as I have this day: who in the baines, not before the first houre of the night was past, \* chewed two morsels of bread, even before I began to be anointed.* Upon this \* retchlesse neglect of diet, he used divers times to take his supper alone, either before his other guests were set and fell to meate, or else after all was taken away, and they risen: whereas, at a full bourd he would not touch a bit.

77  
Hee was by nature also a very small drinker of wine. CORNELIUS NEPOS reporteth of him, that his usuall manner was during the time hee lay encamped before *Musina* to drinke at a supper not above thrice. Afterwards, whensoever hee dranke most liberally hee passed not \* fixe Sextants; or if hee went beyond, he cast it up againe. Hee delighted most in *Rhetian* wine; and seldome dranke hee in the \* day time. In steede of drinke hee tooke a sop of bread soaked in colde water; or a peece of a Cucumber, or a young leetuce head, or else some new gathered apple, \* sharpe and tart, standing much upon a winish liquour within it.

78  
After his noones repast hee used to take his repose, and to sleepe a while, in his cloathes as he was, with his shooes (a) on, stretching (b) out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After supper hee retired himselfe into a little Closet (c) or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even untill he had dispatched the rest of that daies businesse, either all or the most part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: Where, hee slept at the most not above seven houres: and those verily not together but so, as in that space of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his sleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles); hee would send for some to reade or \* tell tales; and by their meanes catch a sleepe againe, and drawe the same out often after day-broke. Neither would he ever lie awake without one sitting by his beds side. Much offended hee was with want of sleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to be awakened sooner than ordinarie, either about some worldly affaires of his friends, or service of the Gods, because hee would not prejudice thereby his owne good or health; hee used to stay in some of his familiar friends upper roomes and loft, next to the place where his occasions lay. And even so, many a time for want of sleepe, both as he was caried through the streetes, and also when his litter was set downe, hee would betweene whiles take a nap and make some stay.

79  
Hee was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same throughout

\* Much like Angelots. mane prestum, or mane prestum. i. Greene cheese new made.  
\* Or Germain; effedo. For they were used in both countries indifferently.  
\* This duracini, or, with hard kernels.  
\* Or, did eat.  
\* Ex hac in observantia, vel, ex hac observantia: upon this due observing of his, to eat when his stomack called for it, & not else.  
\* 6. measures, i. containing either 2. ounces a peece, or two cyathes. i. 3. ounces. In all, at the most not above a good pint, or a small wine quart, called Sextarius, consisting of 18 ounces.  
\* Interdum, as we say, betwixt meales.  
\* Acidum, or aridum. i. dried, but yet of a winish taste.

\* Or, to hold him with talke.

out all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable; negligent though hee were in all manner of pikednesse, for combing and trimming of his head so careless, as that he would use at once many Barbers, such as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee shaved his beard; and yet at the very same time, he either read, or else wrote somewhat. His visage and countenance, whether he spake or held his peace, was so mild, so pleasant and lightsome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule; confessed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely staied and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee passed over the Alpes, and so shove him downe from a steepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and shining eyes: wherein also, (as hee would have made men beleeve) was seated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee ioyed much, if a man locking wistly upon him helde downe his face, as it were against the brightnesse of the Sunne. But in his olde age he saw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thinne in his head, and the same were small and ragged: The haire of his head was somewhat curled and turning downward; and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye browes met together: his eares were of a meane bignesse: his nose both in the \* upper part, bearing out round, and also beneath somewhat with \* the longest. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne \* and faire white. His stature but short: (and yet IULIUS MARATHUS his freed-man writeth in the Historie of his life, that hee was five foote (a) and nine inches high). But as lowe as the same was, the proportionable making and feature of his limmes hid it so, as it might not be perceived, unlesse he were compared with some taller person than himselfe standing by.

80

His body, by report, was full of spottes: having upon the brest and bellie naturall markes which hee brought with him into the worlde; dispersed, for the manner, order, and number, like unto the starres of the celestiall \* beare; as also certaine hard risings of thicke brawnie skinne, occasioned in divers places by the ytching of his bodie, and the continuall and forcible use of the \* *Strigil* in the Baines: Which callosities resembled a Ringworme (a). In his left hucklebone (b), thigh and legge, hee was not very sound: in so much, as many times for grieve thereof he halted on that side: but by a remedie that he had of Sand (c) and Reedes, he found ease and went upright againe. Also, the fore-finger of his right hand hee perceived otherwhiles to be so weake, that being benumbed and shrunk by a crampe upon some colde, he could hardly set it to any writing, with the helpe of an hoope and finger stall of horne. Hee complained also of the grieve in his (d) bladder, but voiding at length little gravell-stones by urine, he was eased of that paine.

81

All his life time hee tasted of certaine grievous and daungerous sicknesses, but especiallie after the subduing of CANTABRIA: what time, by reason of his liver diseased and corrupted by Destillations, hee was driven to some extremitie: and thereby of necessitie entred into a contrarie (a) and desperate course of Physicke: For, seeing that hote fomentations did him no good, forced

\*Toward his forehead.  
\*Deductione, or as some expound it, sharp & thin, Lepton.  
\*Inter aquilum candidumq; somewhat tanned and sunne-burnt, as Casan- non seemeth to interpret it.

\*Charlemaine his waine.

\*Much like a currie comb.

\*Destillationibus cinore visciato. What if we thus point and read? Destillationibus, iocinore visciato: to this sense, That he was much subject to rheumes, by occasion that his liver was diseased, to wit, obstructed or stopped.

forced hee was by the direction and counsell of ANTONIUS MUSA his Physitian, to be cured by colde. He had the experience also of some maladies which came (b) yeerely and kept their course at a certaine time. For about his (c) birth-day, most commonly he was sickish and had a faintnesse upon him: likewise in the beginning of the (d) Spring, much troubled hee was with the inflation of the midriffe and \* hypochondriall parts: and whensoever the winde was fouthierly, with the murr and the pose. By occasion whereof, his body beeing so shaken and crazie, hee could not well endure either colde or heat.

82

In winter time clad he went against the colde with foure coates, together with a good thicke gowne, and his Wastcoate or Pericoate bodie of woollen: well lapped also about the (a) thighes and legges. During Sommer he lay with his bed chamber dores open, and oftentimes within a cloisture supported with pillers, having water (b) walming out of a spring, or running from a spout in a Conduit; or else some one to make (c) winde hard by him. Hee could not away so much as with the Winter sunne shine: and therefore even at home hee never walked up and downe in the aire without \* a broad brimd Hat upon his head. He travailed in a lister, and never lightly but in the night. The journeyes that he made were soft and small: so as if hee went from Rome but to Tibur (d) or Preneste, he would make two daies of it. Cou'd hee reach to any place by sea: hee chose rather to saile thither, than goe by land. But as great infirmities as he was subiect unto, hee maintained and defended his body with as much care and regard of himselfe: but principally by seldome \* bathing (e): For, anointed hee was very often and used to sweate before a light fire: and then upon it to be dowssed in water luke warme, or else heated with long standing in the Sunne. And so often as he was to use the Sea waters hote, or those of \* *Albula* for the strengthening of his sinewes, hee contented himselfe with this: namely to sit in a wooden bathing Tub, which himselfe by a Spanish name called DURERA, and therein to shake up and downe his hands and feet one after another, by turnes.

83

The exercises in (Mars) field of riding on horse-backe and bearing armes, hee laid aside immediatly after the civile warres, and tooke himselfe, first, to the little (a) tennis-ball, and the hand-ball blowne with (b) winde. Soone after, he used onely to bee \* caried and to walke, but so as that in the end of every walke he would take his runne by iumpes, lapped and wrapped within a light garment called \* *Sestertius* (c) or a thinne vaile and sheete of linnen. For his recreation and pastime, his manner was sometime to angle or fish with the hooke, otherwhiles to play with cockall bones, or \* trundling round (e) pellets, or else with nuttes even among little boxes; vvhom hee would lay for, and seeke out from all parts, if they were of an amiable countenance and could \* prattle pretily with a lovely grace, but principally those of the Moores and Syrians kind. As for Dwarfes, crooked and mishapen Elves and all of that sort, hee could not abide such, as being the very mockeries of natures work, and of unlucky preface.

\* Or Bond: Grace.

\* In hot waters.

\* Which naturally were hot standing upon a veine of brass stone.

\* Either on horse-backe, or in a charriette.  
\* Two foote & a halfe square.  
\* These the Romans called *Penetes* / as, their play-thes and dears in an honest fence not such as the crickets in an unclean signification, named *Paidica*, wanton baggage, Catamites.

84

Eloquence, and other liberall professions he exercised from his very childhood right willingly, and therein tooke exceeding great paines. During the warre at *Mutina*, notwithstanding that huge heape of affaires and occurrents, (by report) he read, he wrote, hee declaimed every day. For afterwards, neither in the Senate-houle, nor before the people, neyer to his souldiours made he ever speech, but it was premeditate and composed before: albeit hee wanted not the gift to speake of a sodaine and extempore. Now, for feare least his memorie at any time should faile him, least also he might spend too much time in learning by rote, hee began to reade and rehearse all out of his written copie. His very speeches also with folke by themselves, even with *LIVIA* his wife about any grave and serious matters were never but penned and put downe in writing: out of which hee would rehearse the same, that hee might not speake otherwise *extempore* or lesse than was meete. His pronunciation and utterance was sweete, carying with it a peculiar and proper sound of his owne: and continually he used the helpe of a *Pisonasus* to moderate his voice: but sometimes when his throat was \* weakened, he delivered his orations to the people, by the mouth of a Crier.

85

Many compositions he made in prose, of sundry arguments. Of which he would reade some in a meeting of his familiars, as it were in an Auditorie: as namely a Reioinder, called *Rescripta*, unto *BRUTUS*, against \* *CATO*. Which volumes, when for the most part, hee had rehearsed, being now well stricken in yeeres and growing wearie, hee made over to *TIBERIUS* for to be reade through. In like manner hee wrote certaine Exhortations unto Philosophie, and somewhat of his owne life: which hee declared in \* thirtie bookes, even unto the Cantabrian warre, and no farther. As for Poetrie hee dealt in it but superficially. One Treatise there is extant written by him in Hexametre verses, The argument whereof, is *Sicilie*, and so it is entituled. There is another booke also, as little as it, of *Epigrammes*: which for the most part hee studied upon and devised whiles hee was in the Baines. For, having in a great and ardent heat begun a \* Tragedie, when he saw his stie would not frame thereto and speede no better, he defaced and wiped it quite out. And when some of his friends asked him, *How ALEXANDER*? he answered, that his *ALEXANDER* was \* fallen upon a (a) Spunge.

86 The Eloquence that he followed was of an Elegant & temperate kind: wherein he avoided unapt and unfit Sentences, as also the stinking favours, as himselfe saith, of darke and obscure words: but tooke especiall care how to expresse his minde and meaning most plainly and evidently. For the better effecting whereof, and because hee would not in any place trouble and stay reader or hearer, hee stucke not either to put Prepositions unto Verbes, or to iterate Coniunctions very oft: which being taken away breed some obscurity, although they yeeld a greater grace. As for those that affect (a) new-made words, such also as use old termes past date, hee loathed and reiected alike, as faulty, both the sorts of them in a contrary kinde. Those he shooke up divers times, but especially his friend *MÆCENAS*, whose (b) *Murebrecheis* \* *cincinno*s for these were his termes he evermore curseth and tareth, yea and by way of (c) imitation merrily scoffeth at. Neither spared he so much as *TIBERIUS* for hunting otherwhiles after old words out of use, and such be obscure and hardly understood.

understood. As for *MARCUS ANTONIUS*, he rateth him as if he were frantick, for writing that which men may rather wonder at, than understand. And proceeding to mocke his lewd and unconstant humour in choosung a kinde of eloquence by himselfe, he added thus much moreover, *And are you in doubt to imitate CIMEER* (d) *ANNIUS* and *VERANIUS FLACCUS*, so that you might use the wordes which *CRISPUS SAIUSTIUS* gathered out of \* *CATO*'s Origines: or rather transfer the rolling tongue of Asiatick Oratours, full of vaine words, and void of pithy sentences into our language and manner of speech? And in a certaine Epistle, praising the ready wit of *AGRIPPINA* \* his owne niece, *But you have neede*, quoth hee, *to endeavour that neither in writing nor in speaking, you be troublesome and odious.*

In his daily and ordinary talke certaine phraes hee had which hee used very often and significantly: as the letters of his owne hand writing doe evidently shew: In which, ever and anon, when hee meant some that would never pay their debts. He said, *They would pay ad \* Calendas Gracas*. And when he exhorted men to beare patiently the present state what ever it was, *Let us content our selves*, quoth hee, *with this \* CATO*. To expresse the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily. *Quicker, would he say, than SPARAGES can be sodden*. Hee putteth also continually for *Stultus* \*, *Baccolus* \*: For \* *Pullus*, *Pulleiacens*: and for *Ceritus*, *Vacerrosus*; and in steede of *Malese habere*, *Vapide se habere*: and for *Langvere*, *Betizare*, which commonly we meane by *Lachanizare* \*. Semblably, for, *sumus*, *sumus*; and *domos*, in the genetive case singular for *domus*. And never used hee these two words otherwise, that no man should thinke it was a fault rather than a custome. Thus much also have I observed, especially in his *manuscripts*, That he never cutteth a word in sunder: nor in the end of any \* rewrites transferreth the overplus of letters unto those next following, but presently putteth them downe even there underneath, and encloseth them (within a compasse line).

88 Orthographie, that is to say, the forme & precise rule of writing set down by Grammarians, he did not so much observe: but seemeth to follow their opinion rather, who thinke, *Men should write according as they speake*. For, where as oftentimes he either exchangeth or leaveth cleane out, not letters onely but syllables also, that is a common error among men. Neither would I note thus much, but that it seemeth strange unto mee, which some have written of him, namely, That he substituted another, in the place of a Consulare Lieutenant (as one altogether rude and unlearned) because hee had marked in his hand-writing, *ixi*, for, *ipsi*. And looke how often himselfe writeth darkly by way of ciphre, hee putteth *b* for *a*. *e* for *b*. and so forth after the same manner, the letters next following in steede of the former: and for *x* a double *a*.

Neither verily was he lesse in love with the studie of Greeke literature: For, even therein also he highly excelled, as having beene brought up and taught under the professed Rhetorician *Apollodorus of Pergamus*. VVhom beeing now very aged, himselfe as yet but young had forth of *Rome* with him to *Apollonia*. Afterwards, also when he was well furnished with variety of erudition and learning of (a) *SPHERUS*; he entred into familiar acquaintance, with

\* *Censorius*, who wrote a booke of Antiquities, so called.

\* By his daughter *Julia*, and *M. Agrippa* the mother of *Caligula*.

87

\* At the Greek *Calendes* i at latter Lammas for the Greeks had no *Calends*, no more than the *Latins* *Acromenti* as, i. i. ewe mcones to begin their months with. And yet the word seemeth to be derived of *Kalo* in Greeke

\* Read *Macrobius* *Saturnalis*.

\* A foole. *Vel Bluteolus* a blite, vel *Blaccolus*, a black, vel *Baccolus*.

\* Or for *Puleius* i. *Pulegium*, *Puleiacens*.

\* Or *Lachanifera*.

\* Or lines.

89

\* When he was hoarse, by reason of the warre.

\* *Pisonasus*.

\* *XXV. Libris*, or rather *xiii.* according to *Suidas*, and all old Copies.

\* Called *Alex*, or rather *Alex* away or blot red out with a sponge: alluding to *Alex* i. at fe'l upon his own sword: whereof *Sophocles* made a Tragedie entituled *Alex*.

\* Curled lockes or feathers, glib and dropping againe with sweat.

\*In Greeke

AREUS the Philosopher and his two sonnes, DRONYSIUS and NICANOR: yet so, as for all that he neither could speake readily, nor durst compose any \* thing. For if occasion required ought, he drew it in Latine, and gave it unto another for to be translated into Greeke. And, as he was not altogether unskillfull in Poemes, so he tooke delight even in the (b) olde Comedie also, which he exhibited oftentimes to be acted in publique solemnities. In reading over and perusing Authors of both Languages, hee sought after nothing so much as holsonne precepts and examples, serving to publique or private use: and those, when he had gathered out of them word for word, hee sent either to his inward friends and domesticall Servitours, or to the Commanders of armies and Governours of Provinces: or else for the most part to the Magistrates of the Citie, according as any of them needed admonition. Moreover, whole bookes he both read from one end to the other unto the Senate, and also published oftentimes to the people by proclamation: as namely, the Orations of

\*As well to cut  
of the expenses  
of sumptuous  
edifices as to  
prevent danger  
by Skare-fires

Q (c) METELLUS touching the propagation and multiplying of children: those likewise of RUTILIUS concerning the model \* and forme of buildings: thereby the rather to perswade them, *That hee was not the first that lookt into both these matters, but that their fore-fathers in old time had even then a care and regard thereof.* The fine wits flourishing in his daies he cherished by all meanes possible. Such as rehearsed before him their Compositions he gave audience unto, courteously and with patience: not onely verses and histories, but \* orations also and dialogues. Many, if any thing were written of himselfe, unlesse it were done with serious gravity and by the best, hee tooke offence thereat; and gave the Prætors in charge not to suffer his name to be made vulgar and stale, in the trivial contentions (of Oratours, Poets, &c) when they were matched one with another.

\*Which were  
not so usually  
red and reher-  
sed in open au-  
dience.

90

\*Or of a sea  
calfe, which as  
Plinie writeth  
checketh all  
lightnings

For Religious scrupulosity and Superstition, thus by heere-say hee stoode affected. Thunder and Lightning hee was much affraide of: in so much as alwaies and in every place, hee caried about him for a preservative remedie a \* Scales skinned: yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinary storme or tempest, he would retire himselfe into a close secret roome under (a) ground, and vaulted above head: Which hee did, because once in times past, he had bene frightened with a flash of lightning, crossing him in his journey by night; as we have before related.

91

\*Medici, Some  
read, amici, i. a  
friend:

As for dreames, neither his owne, nor other mens of himselfe, he neglected. At the battaile of PHILIPPI albeit hee meant not to step out of his pavilion by reason of sicknesse, yet went hee forth, warned so to doe by the dreame of his \* Physitian. And it fell out well for him: considering that after his Campe forced and wooen by the enemies, his sister was in that concurse of theirs stabbed through and all to rent and torne, as if hee had remained there behind lying sicke. Himselfe every spring was wont to see many visions most fearefull, but the same proved vaine illusions and to no purpose: at other times of the yeere he dreamed not so often, but yet to more effect. When as hee ordinarily frequented the temple dedicated to IUPITER, the Thunderer in the Capitoll, he dreamed that IUPITER CAPITOLINUS complained, *How his worshippers were taken from him perforce: and That hee answered, Hee had placed Thundering*

IUPITER

IUPITER *hard by him, in steede of a \* Porter:* whereupon soone after hee adorned the \* *Lanterne* of that Temple with a \* Ringe of belles, because such commonly do hange at mens \* Gates. By occasion of a vision by night, he begged (a) yearly upon a certaine day many of the people, and held out his hand \* holow to those that brought and offered unto him brasen \* Dodkins or mites called *Asses*.

Certaine foretokens and ominous signes he observed as unfallible prefaces, to wit, if in a morning his shoes were put one wronge, and namely, the left for the right, he held it unluckie: Againe, when hee was to take any long journey by land or sea, if it chanced to mizzle of raine, hee tooke that for a luckie signe betokening a speedie and prosperous returne. But mooved he was especially with uncouth and supernaturall sights. There happened a date tree to spring forth betweene the very joints of the stones before his dore, which hee remooved and transplanted in the inward court of his domesticall \* Gods; taking great care that it might get roote and grow there. Hee joied so much that in the Iland *Caprea*, the boughes of a very old holmetree hanging and drouping now for age down to the ground, became fresh againe at his coming thither, that he would needes make an exchange with the State of *Naples*, and in lieu of that Iland gave them *ÆNARIA*. Certaine dayes also hee precisely observed: as for example: hee would not take a journey any whither, the day after the (a) *Nundine*: nor begin any serious matter upon the *Nones* of a Moneth: Herein verily avoyding and eschewing nought else, as he writeth unto *TIBERIUS*, but the unluckie \* ominousnesse of the name.

\*Dore keeper,  
& Or top.  
\*Cr chime  
\*To raise the  
porters.  
\*As beggers  
do:  
\*Or peccas,  
worth, ob. q. q.

92

Of foraine ceremonies and religions, as hee entertained with all reverence those that were auncient, and whereof hee conceived good reason: so hee despised the rest. For having bene instituted and professed (in the sacred mysteries of *CERES*) at *Athens*, when afterwards he sat judicially upon the *Tribunall* at *Rome* to here and determine a controversie as touching the priviledge of *CERES* priests in *Attica*, and perceived that certaine points of great secrecie were proposed there to be debated: hee dismissed the assembly and multitude of people standing all about in the Court, and himselfe alone heard them plead the cause; But contrariwise, not onely when hee roade in visitation all over *Egypt*, himselfe forbore to turne a little out of his way for to see (a) *Apis*, but also comended his nephew *CÆIVS*, because in ryding through *Jurie*, he did not so much as once \* make supplication in (b) *Hierusalem*.

\*Wherin they  
stood,

\*Dusphemian  
nominis

93

And seeing we have proceeded thus \* farre, it would not be impertinent to annex hereto, what befell unto him before hee was borne: What happened upon his verie birth-day? And what presently ensued thereupon? Whereby, that future greatnes and perpetuall felicity of his, might be hoped for and observed. At *Vulturne*, part of the (Towne) wall in olde time had bene blasted by lightning: upon which occasion, answere was given by *ORACLE*, that a Citizen of that Towne should one day be ruler of the world. The *Vulturnes*, in confidence hereof, both then immediatly, and afterwarde also, many a time warred with the people of *Rome*, even wel neere to their own finall ruine and destruction. At length (though late it was) by good proofes and evidences it appeared that the said strange accident, portended the mightie

\*Or do his de-  
votions

94

\*In the histori-  
call reports of  
so great and  
worthy a prince

H 4

power



power of AVGVSTVS. IVLIVS MARATHVS reporteth, that some fixe moneths before AVGVSTVS Nativitie, there happened at Rome a prodigie publickly knowne, whereby foreshewed and denounced it was, *That nature was about to bring forth a King (a) over the people of Rome, at which the Senate being affrighted made an Act, That no man child that yere borne should be reared and brought up.* But they, whose wives then, were great bellied (for everie one was readie to drawe the hope unto him selfe,) tooke order, *That the said Act, of the Senate should not be brought into the Cittie Chamber* and there enrolled. I reade in the bookes of ASCLEPIADES *Mendes* entituled *Theologoumenon*, \* Howe ATIA, being come at midnight to celebrate the solemne sacrifice and divine service of Apollo, whilst other dames slept, fell fast a sleepe also; and sodainely a (b) serpent crept close unto her, and soone after went forth from her: She therewith being awakened purified her selfe, as she would have done upon her husbands companie with her: and presently there arose to bee seene upon her bodie a certaine marke or specke representing the picture of a serpent, which never after could be gotten out: in so much as immediatly thereupon shee forbore the publick baines for ever: Also, how in the x. moneth after, she was delivered of AVGVSTVS: & for this cause he was reputed to be the sonne of Apollo. The same ATIA, before she was brought to bed of him, dreamed that her entrails were heaved up to the stars, and there stretched forth & spread all over the compass of earth and heaven. His father OCTAVIUS likewise dreamed, that out of the wombe of ATIA, there arose the shining beames of the Sun. The very day on which he was borne, what time as the conspiracie of CATILINE was debated in the Senate house, and OCTAVIUS by occasion of his wives Child-birth came verie late thither, well knowne it is and commonly spoken, that P. \* NIGIDIUS understandinge the cause of his stay, so soone as he learned the houre \* also when shee was delivered, gave it out confidently, *That there was borne the Sovereaine Lorde of the Worlde.* Afterwardes, when OCTAVIUS leadinge an Armie through the secret partes of Thracia, inquired in the Sacred grove of *Liber pater* (according to the rites and ceremonies of that Barbarous Religion,) concerning his sonne, the same aunswere hee received from the Priestes there; For, that when the wine was powred upon the Altars, there arose from thence so great a shining flame, as surmounted the \* *Lanterne* of the Temple. and so ascended uppe to Heaven: and that in times past the like strange token happened to ALEXANDER the great, and to none but him, when hee sacrificed upon the same Altars. Moreover, the night next following, hee \* presently thought he sawe his sonne carrying a stately Maiestie above the ordinarie proportion of a mortall wight, with a \* Thunder bolt and a Scepter (in his hand) with the Triumphant Robes also of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* (upon his backe) and a Radiant Coronet (on his head): over and besides his Chariot dight with Lawrell and drawne with 12: steeds exceeding white. While hee was yet a very babe, (as C. DRVSVS hath left in writing extant,) being by his nource laide in the evening within a Cradell in swadling bands, beneath upon a lowe floure: the next morning hee could no where bee seene: and after long seekinge was found at last, lying upon a verie

\* Or Mendes bearing the name of the Cittie Mendes in Egypt.  
\* Of diu ne discourses.  
\* The mother of Augustus.

\* famous Astrologer.  
\* And thereby the Honor came of his Nativitie

\* Or Steepe

\* Having:  
\* Which properly are attributed unto Iupiter:

\* Augustus.

verie high Turret just against the Sunne-rysing. So soone as hee began to speake, hee commaunded the Frogges to keepe silence, that by the mannour of his Grandfires by the Cittie side, chaunced to make a foule noyse: and thereupon ever after, the Frogges in that place are not able to croke. About foure miles from Rome, as yee \* goe directly to Capua, it fell out, that sodainely an Ægle snatched a peece of bread out of his hand as hee tooke his dinner within a pleasant grove: and when he had mounted up a very great height, came gently downe of a suddaine againe and reitored unto him the same: Q. CATVLVS after the dedication of the Capitol dreamed two nights together: In the former, him thought, that *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*: Whiles many young boyes, Noble mens sonnes, were playing about his Alter, secured one of them from the rest and bestowed in his bosome the publick broad (c) Seale of the State to carrie in his hand. And the next night followinge he saw in another dreame the same boy in the bosome of *Iupiter CAPITOLINVS*: Whome when hee commaunded to bee pulled from thence, prohibited hee was by the admonition of the God, as if the same boy should be brought up for the defence and tuition of the Common-weale: Nowe the morrowe after, chauncing to meete with (young) AVGVSTVS, (whome earst hee had not knowne before,) hee beheld him wistly not without great admiration, and withall openly gave it out, *That hee was for all the world like unto that boy of whom hee dreamed.* Some tell the former dreame of CATVLVS otherwise: as if *Iupiter*, (when as a number of those boyes required of him a Tutor) pointed out one of them, unto whome they should referre all their desires: and so lightly touching his lipps, & taking as it were an assay therof with his fingers, brought that kisse backe to his own mouth; M. CICERO having accompanied CATVLVS CÆSAR into the Capitoll, happened to report unto his familiar friendes the dreame hee had the night before: namely how a boy of an ingenious face and countenance, was let downe from heaven by a golden Chaine, and stood at the doore of the Capitoll, unto whom *Iupiter* deliuered a (d) whip: Hereupon espying at unawares (little) AVGVSTVS whom (as yet altogether unknown to most men) his Vnkle CÆSAR had sent for to the sacrifice, hee avouched plainly, that this boy was very he, whose Image was represented unto him in a vision as he lay a sleepe. When hee was putting on his virile gowne, it fortuned that his broad \* studded Coate with purple, being unstitched in the seames of both shoulders, fell fro about him downe to his feete. There were who made this interpretation; *That is betokened nothing else, but that the \* degree whereof that Robe was a badge should one day be subjected unto him.* IVLIVS of sacred memorie being about to choose a plot of ground: for to encamp in, about *Munda*, as he cut downe a wood, chanced to light upon a date tree. which he caused to bee spared and reserved as the verie presage of victorie: from the root of it, there sprung immediatly certaine shoots which in few dayes grew so fast, that they not onely equalized but over topped also and shadowed their stocke: yea and \* doves haunted the same, therein to nestle and breede. notwithstanding that kind of birde cannot of all others away with any hard leaves and rough branches. Vppon this strange sight especially, CÆSAR, by report was mooved to suffer none other to succede him in the Empire but his sisters \* Nephewe. AVGVSTVS, during the time that he was retired to *Apollonia*, went up in the company

\* In the way Appia.

\* Or Cittie

\* Which Cæsar had given him instead of Tawre carilla.

\* Senators

\* Done or consecrate to Venus from whence the Iulij are descended. By them therefore & the date tree was inscribed perpetual selfe: citie to that name and familie.



\*Or schoole.  
\*Or Astrolo-  
ger.

\*Augustus.

companie of AGRIPPA, into the \*gallerie of Theogenes the \*mathematician; Now, when AGRIPPA, (who inquired first what his owne fortune should be) had great matters and those in manner incredible foretold unto him; AVGVSTVS \*himselfe concealed the time of his owne nativitie, and in no wise would utter the same; for feare and bashfulnesse, least he should be found inferior to the other. But when, hardly after many exhortations and much ado, hee had delivered the same, Theogenes leapt forth and worshipped him. AVGVSTVS then anon conceived so greate a confidence in his fortunes, that hee divulged his Horoscope and the ascendent of his Nativitie: yea and also stamped a peece of silver coyne, with the marke of the Celestiall signe Capricornus, under which figure and Constellation hee was borne.

95

After CÆSARS death, being returned from Apollonia, as he entred Rome Cittie, sodainly when the skie was cleere and wether verie faire, a certaine round coronet in forme of a raine bowe compassed the circle of the Sunne, and therewith soone after, the monument of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter was smitten with lightening. Moreover in his first (a) Consulship, whiles he attended to take his Augurie, there were presented unto him, like as to Romulus, 13 \*geirs: and as hee sacrificed, the Livers of all the beasts then killed appeared in open view enfolded double, and turned inwardly from the nether fillet: And no man of skill conjectured otherwise, but that prosperitie and greatnes hereby was portended.

\*Or Vulture.

96

\*Antonie  
Lepidus, and  
Octavius Augu-  
stus.

Furthermore, the very events, also of all his warres hee foresaw. What time as all the forces of the \*Triumvirs were assembled together at Bononia, an Ægle perching over his tent, all to beat ij. Ravens that assailed and fell upon her of either side, and in the end stricke them both down to the ground: which sight the whole armie marked verie well, and presaged thereby that one day, there would arise betwene the Colleagues of that Triumvirate such discorde, and the like ensued thereof, as after followed. At Philippi there was a certaine \*Thessalian, who made report of the future victorie: alledging for his author CÆSAR of famous memorie, whose \*Image encountered him as he journeyed in a desert and by-way. About Perugia whē he offered sacrifice &c could not \*speede, but demaunded (a) more beasts still to be killed: behold, the enemies made a sodaine fallie forth, caught up and carried away the whole provision of the Sacrifice. The Soothsayers then agreed upon this point, *That those perils and adverse calamities which had bene threatned and denounced to him that sacrificed should light all, and returne upon their heads, who gat the Inwards;* And so it fell out in deed. The day before he fought the battaile at Sea neere Sicilie, as hee walked upon the shore, a fish leapt out of the sea and lay at his feet. At Aethi-um, as hee was going down to fight the battaile, there met him in the way an Asse with his driver, the mans name was (b) EVTYCHVS, and the beasts Nicon: After victorie obtained, hee set uppe the Images of them both in brasse, within that Temple, into which hee converted the verie place where he encamped.

\*And therefore  
by likenhoope  
a wizard.  
\*Or Spectre.  
\*A Obaine  
the favour of  
the Gods.

97

\*Called Lustrum

His death also (whereof from hence forth I will write) and his deification after death was knowne before by many signes most evident, when hee had taken a review of the Cittie; and was about the solemne \*purging thereof within

Mars.

Marsfield before a frequent assemblie of people: an Ægle there was that soared oftentimes round about him, and crossing at length from him unto a house thereby, settled upon the name of AGRIPPA, and iust upon the first \*letter of that name; Which when he perceived, the vowes which the manner was to be made until the next (a) Lustrum, he commanded his colleague TIBERIVS to nuncupate and pronounce. For, notwithstanding the Tables and (b) instruments containing them were now written and in readinesse, yet denied he to undertake those vowes which he should never pay. About the same time the first \*letter of his owne name, upon a flash and stroke of lightening went quite out of the Inscription that stood upon his statue: Answer was made by the Soothsaiers, that he was to live but iust one hundred dayes after: which number that letter did betoken; And that it would come to passe that hee should bee Canonized and registred among the Gods, because ÆSAR, the residue of the name CÆSAR, in the Tuscan Language signified God. Being about therefore to send TIBERIVS away into Illyricum and to companie him as far as Beneventum, when diverse suiters, for one cause or other interrupted him, yea and detained him about hearing and determining matters iudicially, hee cryed out aloud (which also within a while was reckened as a presaging oile,) *That were he once out of Rome, he would never after be there againe what occasion soever might make him stay.* And so being entered upon his journey he went forward as far as to Astura: and so presently fro thence (contrary (c) to his usuall maner,) with the benefite of a forewind & gentle gale \*tooke water by night and sayled over.

\*C, in Caesar.

For Astura was  
a water towne  
with a river also  
of that name  
running by it

The cause of his sickenes hee caught by a flux of the bellie. And for that time having coasted Campanie and made circuit about the Ilands next adioyning, he bestowed also foure dayes within a retiring place of pleasure at Caprea: where he gave his minde to all ease and courteous affabilitie. It happened as he passed by the Bay of Puteoli, certaine passengers and souldiers out of a ship (a) of ALEXANDRIA, which then was newly arrived, all clad in white, dight also with garlands, and burning frankincense, had heaped upon him all good & fortunate words, chaunting his singular prayes in these terms. *That by him they lived, by him they sayled, by him they enioyed their freedome, and all the riches they had.* At which, he tooke great contentment and was cheered at the heart; Insomuch as thereupon he divided to everie one of his traine about him 40. (b) peeces of gold, but he required an oath againe &c assurance of ech one, that they should not lay out that monie otherwise than in buying the wares (c) &c commodities of ALEXANDRIA. For certaine dayes together that remained, among diverse and sundrie gifts, he distributed among them over and above, gownes and clokes with this condition, that Romans should use the Greekeish habite and speake likewise Greeke; the Greekes also weare Romaine attire and use their language. He beheld also continually the youthes exercising themselves (of whom they remained yet some store at Caprea) according to the \*auncient custome. And even unto them he made a feast in his owne sight, permitting them or rather exacting of them, their olde libertie of sporting, of snatching appels and cates, and of skimming for such small gifts and favours as were sent or skattered abroad. In one word, he forbore no manner of mirth and pastime. The Iste (d) hard by Caprea, he called *Apragopolis*, of the Idleness of such as

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\*of the greeke  
who sometime  
inhabited  
those parts.

out

out of his traine retired themselves thither. But one of his beloved minions named (f) MASGABAS, hee had wont merily to call ΚΤΙΣΚ, as one would say, *The founder of that island*. The sepulcher of this MASGABAS (who died a yeare before) when he perceived one time out of his dining chamber to be frequented with a fort of people and many lights: he pronounced this verse a loud which he made *ex tempore*.

ΚΤΙΣΚ ΔΕ ΤΥΜΒΟΝ ΕΙΣΟΡΩ ΠΥΡΣΜΕΝΟΝ.

*I see the Tombe of \*KTISTES all on fire.*

\*The founder

And therewith turning to THRASYLLUS a companion of TIBERIUS sitting over against him, and not woting what the matter was, he asked him of what Poets making he thought that verse to be: And when he stucke at the question and made no answer, he came out with another to it.

Οὐδὲς Φαέστι Μουσῶν Τυμῶμενον,

*Thou seest with lights MASGABAS honoured.*

Of this verse also he demanded whom he thought to be the maker? but when THRASYLLUS returned no other answer but this, *That who so ever made them, right excellent they were*; he laughed a good and made himselfe exceeding merie. Soone after he crossed over to Naples, albeit even then his guts were greatly enfeebled & the disease (g) grew variable: yet for all that, the (h) *Quinquenal Gymnick* games instituted in the honor of him, he beheld to the very end, and so together with TIBERIUS went to the place appointed. But in his return from thence, his disease increased more and more, so as at length he yeilded to it, at Nola: where, having sent for TIBERIUS and called him backe from his journey, he held him a great while in secret talke; neither from that time framed he his minde to any greater affaire.

\*Or if yee distinguish thus Morbo variante tamen &c. yet by reason that his disease altered, & himselfe was better some time then other,

99

\*A looking glasse.  
\*Or chaps.

Vppon his dying day, enquiring ever and anone, whether there was as yet any sturre and tumult abroad as touching him? hee called for a \*mirror, and commanded the haire of his head to be combed & trimmed: his chawes also readie for weaknesse to hang or fall, to be composed and set straight. Then having admitted his friends to come unto him, and asked of them whether, *they thought he had acted well the Enterlude of his life?* he adioyned with all this finall \*conclusion, for a Plaudite,

Δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρῆς κτυπήσατε.

*Now clap your hands and all wishioy resound a shout.*

\*As the manner is at the end of Comedies to call for a Plaudite: hee persisted there in the metaphor, and by this plaudite, allegorizeth the end of this life, which hee called before Μῦσῳν κτύπον, & *Euthanasia*.

After this he dismissed them all, and whiles hee questioned with some that were new come from the Cittie, concerning the daughter of DRVSUS the sicke, sodainely amidst the kisses of LIVIA, and in these words he gave up the ghost, *Live mindfull LIVIA of our wedlocke, and so farewell*. Thus died he an easie death and such as he had euer wished to have, For lightly, so often as he heard of any body to have departed this life quickly & without all panges, he prayed unto God, that hee and his might have the like \**Euthanasia*, for, that was the verie word he was wont to vse. One signe onely and no more he shewed of a minde disquieted and distracted, before he yeilded up his vitall breath: in that he suddenly started as in a fright and complained, *That hee was hurried away by 40. tall and lustie younge men*. And even that also was rather a pregnant preface of his minde, than a raving fitte and idle conceit of light braine. For so many souldiers they were indeede of the *Prætorian bande*: who carried him

him forth (dead) into the streete upon their shoulders.

Hee died in that very bed-chamber wherein his Father OCTAVIUS left his life before him, when POMPEIUS and APPULEIUS, having both their forename SEXTUS, were Consuls: \*Fourteene daies before the Calends of September, at the \*ninth houre of the day: being 76 yeeres olde wanting five and thirtie daies. His corps was conveyed and borne by the Decurions \*of the free burroughs and Colonies from Nola to Bovilla by night, for the hore season of the yeere: whereas till the day time it was bestowed in the Hall of every towne, or else in the greatest (a) temple thereof. From Bovilla the degree of Romaine Gentlemen tooke charge of it, and brought it into the Citie of Rome, where they placed it within the Porch of his owne house. The Senate both in setting out his Funerals, & also in honouring his memorialls, proceeded so farre in striving, who should shew greater affection, That among many other complements, some were of minde, *That the pompe and solemne convey of his obsequies, should passe forth at the Triumphal gate with the image of vic-torie, which is in the Court Iulia going before*: and the chiefe Noble mens children of both sexes singing a dolefull and lamentable song, others opined, *that upon the very day of this funerall, their (b) rings of gold should be layd away and others of iron put on*. Againe, divers gave advice, *That his bones should be gathered \*up by the (c) priests of the most ancient Societies*. And one above the rest would have had the name of the moneth \*August to be shifted and transferred unto September; For that, AUGUSTUS was borne in this and died in the other. Another perswaded, That all the time from his very birth unto the dying day, should be named \*SECVLUM AVGVSTVM, and so recorded in the Kalendars and Chronicles. But, thought best it was, to keepe a meane in the Honours done unto him. Whereupon, twice, and in two severall places praised hee was in a funerall Oration: once before the temple of IULIUS late deceased, of sacred memorie, by TIBERIUS; and againe \*at the (d) *Rostre* under the *Veteres*, by DRVSUS the sonne of TIBERIUS, and so upon Senatours shoulders was hee borne into *Campus Martius*, and there committed to the fire & burnt. Neither wanted there a \*grave personage, one that had been Pretor, who affirmed & bound it with an oath, That he saw his very \*image when he was burnt, ascending up to heaven. The chiefe Gentlemen of the Knights order, in their single \*waistcoates, ungirt & bare-footed gathered up (e) his reliques together, & bestowed them in a stately (f) monument\*: which peece of work himselfe had built between the street *Flaminia* & the bank of *Tiberis* in his sixth Consulship, & even then given the Groves growing about it & the walks adioyning to be common for the use of the people of Rome for ever.

101 His last will & testament made by him when L. PLANCUS and C. SILIUS were Consuls, the third day before the \*Nones of April, a yeere and foure moneths before hee died, and the same in two bookes written partly with his owne hand, and in part with the hands of POLIUS and HILARIUS his freed men, the vestall virgins (a) who had the keeping thereof upon trust brought forth; together with three other rolls or volumes sealed alike. All which Instruments were opened and read in the Senate. He ordained for his 6 heires; In the first place, TIBERIUS of the one halfe and a (b) sixt part: and LIVIA of a (c) third: whom also he appointed to beare his owne (d) name. In a \*second

100

A.V.C. 764.

\*The Nineteenth of August.

\*About three of the clocke after noone.

\*Aldermen, or Senators.

\*A thing against the olde received religion.

\*Before him called *Sextilis*.

The August 28<sup>th</sup>.

\*Or before;

\*Dionameth him *Numerius*.

*Atticus*: & faith, he was hired by *Livia* for two millions of *Se-*

*sterces*, to sweeten that of *Augustus*, which *Procus* had

sometime sworn of *Romulus*.

\*Or true Portraict.

\*Or shirts, as some would expound *unicuique*.

\*In *Mausoleo*, the third of April.

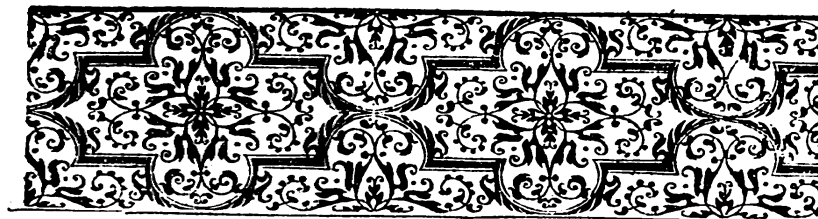
\*For default of the other if ranke, they dyed.

ranke, hee appointed DRVSUS the sonne of TIBERIUS to inherit one third part: and GERMANICUS with his three male children, the other parts remaining. In \* a third degree, he nominated of his owne kinsfolk, Allies & friends, very many. Hee bequeathed as a legacie to the (e) people of *Rome* \* 400000 Sesterces an hundred times told. To the Souldiours of the \* guard a thousand Sesterces a peece. Among the Cohorts of the City Souldiours 500, & to those of the Legionarie cohorts 300 a peece. Which summe of money he commaunded to be paid presently: For hee had so much in store at all times (put up in bagges and coffers) lying by him. Sundry parcels gave hee besides by legacie parole. And of some thereof he deferred the \* payment, if the same were above 20000 Sesterces. For paying of which he set a yeeres day at the farthest: alledging for his excuse his meane estate; and protesting, that by this account there would not come to his heires hands, above 150 \* millions: albeit within the compasse of 20 yeeres immediatly going before, hee had received by the wills and testaments of his friends \* 40000 millions. All which masse of treasure, together with two patrimonies by his \* two fathers and other inheritances, hee had spent wel-neere every whit upon the Common-weale. The two JULIUS, to wit, his daughter & \* niece, (if \* ought hapned unto them) he forbade expressly to be entered in his owne *Mausoleum*. Of those three Rolls or Instruments above named, in the first he comprised his owne directions as touching his funeral: The second contained a Register or Index, of those Acts which he had achieved: and his pleasure was, that the same should be engraven in brazen \* tables, and erected before his *Mausoleum*. In the third he represented a Breviarie and abstract of the whole Empire: to wit, *How many Souldiours were enroled and in pay, in any place whatsoever? as also, How much money was in the common Treasurie of the City and in his owne coffers? Lastly, what the arrievages were of such renewes and tributes as were due to the state and unpaid: Whereunto he annexed also a Shedule, containing the names of Freed men and bond, his receivers, at whose hands the reckoning might be exacted.*

\* If the second heires failed,  
\* Som read *quadragesies* *tricies* *quingies*: and then it is three millions and a halfe more.  
\* Or *Prætorium* band.  
\* *Produs* *eg.* *quædam* *ad* *vi-* *cena* *Sestertia*.  
So *Torrentius* expoundeth it.  
\* Of Sesterces.

\* *Quater decies* *millies*, four thousand millions.  
\* *Octavius* and *Iulius Cæsar*.  
\* His daughters daughter.  
\* If they died.

\* *Annis tabulis*, other writers say, *Pillars*.



# THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Nero Cæsar, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



**T**He Patritian familie CLAUDIA (for, there was likewise another *Plebeian* of that name, neither in power nor dignity inferiour) had the first beginning out of \* *Regillum* a Towne of the Sabines. From thence they came with a great retinue of vassals to *Rome* newly founded, there to dwell: induced thereto by the counsell of T. TATIUS, fellow in government of the kingdome with ROMULUS; or (which is the more received opinion) through the perswasion of (a) ATTA \* CLAUDIUS, a principall person of that house, about the 6 yeere after the kings were expelled: and to, by the Senatours of *Rome*; rainged they were among the *Patritij*. Vpon this, soone after, they received by vertue of a graunt from the whole City, for their Clients & vassals, lands to occupy beyond the river *Anio*:  
and

\* Or *Regill.*

\* Or *Clasfui*

\* *Lucum*, Some  
s. ad *Lucum*, not  
in the strict sig-  
nification o' a  
sacred Grove,  
but of a plea-  
sant tuft of  
trees where-  
with monu-  
ments were  
beautified: as  
you may ga-  
ther by the  
*Mausoleum* of  
*Augustus*.  
\* *s. Blind*.  
A.V.C. 474  
490  
457

A.V.C. 304  
\* Or *Arpius*  
*Claudius*.  
\* *s. One of the*  
*ten Decemvirs*.

\* *s. The Faire*.  
A.V.C. 505

\* Or *Ilycia*.

\* *Plin: Nat. Hist.*  
*lib. 7. cap. 35.*  
\* *Cybele*.  
\* Or *Barr*.

A.V.C. 580.  
For, unto this  
time that sex  
had not bene  
endi ed and  
tant of treas-  
See *Paler, Max.*  
*lib. 8. cap. 1.*  
A.V.C. 695

\* *C. Pontius*.

and for themselves a \* place of sepulture under the Capitol: and so forth, in proesse of time obtained 28 Consulats, five Dictatures, Censures seaven, Triumphs fixe, and two Ovations. This family being distinguished by sundry fore-names and surnames both, in a generall consent reiected the fore-name of *LUCIUS*, after that two of their linage bearing that name were convict, the one of robbrie, the other of murder. Among surnames it assumed the addition of (*b*) *NERO*, which in the Sabine tongue signifieth *Strong or stout*.

2 Many of these *Claudij*, as they deserved many waies passing well of the Common-wealth: so, in as many sorts they faulted and did amisse. But to relate the principall examples onely in both kindes; *APPIUS* surnamed \* *CÆCUS* was hee, who disswaded the entering into league and societie with King *Pyrrhus*, as prejudiciall unto the State: (*a*) *CLAUDIUS CADEX* was the first man that passed over the narrow Seas with a flecte, and drave the Carthaginians out of *Sicilie*: *CLAUDIUS NERO* surprised and defeated *Asdrubal* comming out of Spaine with a very great and puissant armie before he could ioyne with his brother *ANNIBAL*. Contrariwise, \* *CLAUDIUS APPIUS REGILLANUS* being \* *Decemvir* chosen to frame and pen the Romaine Lawes, went about by violence (for the satisfaction of his fleshly lust) to enthrall a virgine Free-borne: and thereby gave occasion to the Commons for to fall away and forsake the Nobles a second time. *CLAUDIUS DRUSUS* having his owne statue erected with a Diademe in a Towne called (*b*) *Forum Appij*, attempted with the helpe of his favorites and dependants to hold all *Italia* in his owne hands. *CLAUDIUS* \* *PULCHER*, when as in taking of his (*c*) *Auspicia* before *Sicilie*, the sacred pullets would not feede, caused them, in contempt of Religion, to be plunged into the Sea, *That they might drinke seeing they would not ease*: and thereupon stricke a battaile at Sea: In which, beeing vanquished, and commaunded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, scorning, as it were, and making but a iest at the publique danger & calamitie of the State, named a (base) Sergeant of his owne called \* *GLYCIA*. There stand likewise upon record the examples of women, and those as divers and contrary. For, TWO *CLAUDIÆ* there were of the same house: both shee \* that drew forth the ship with the sacred images of the \* *Idean* mother of the Gods sticking fast and grounded within the \* shelves of *TIBERIS*, having before made her prayer openly, *That as she was a true and pure virgin, so the ship might follow her, and not otherwise*: as also another, who after a strange and new manner being \* a woman, was arraigned before the people of high treason, for that when her Coach wherein shee rode could hardly passe forward by reason of a thicke throng and preasse of people, she had openly wished, *That her brother PULCHER were alive againe, and might leese a flecte the second time, so the end there might be by that meanes a lesse multitude at Rome*. Moreover, very well knowne it is, that all the *CLAUDI*, excepting onely that *P. CLODIUS* who for expelling *CICERO* out of *Rome*, suffred himselfe to be adopted by a \* Commoner and one younger (*d*) also than himselfe, were alwaies *Optimates*, the onely maintainers or patrons of the dignitie and power of the Patriitians: yea, and in opposition of the Commons so violent, stubborne and selfe-willed that not one of them, although he stood upon his triall for life and death before the people, could finde

finde in his hart so much as to change his (*e*) weede, or to crave any favour at their hands. Nay, some of them there were, who in a brawle and altercation, stuck not to beat the very (*f*) Tribune of the Commons. Furthermore, a \* virgin vestale there was of that name, who when a brother of hers triumphed without a warrant from the people, mounted up with him into the chariot, & accompanied him even into the Capitoll: to this end, that none of the Tribunes might lawfully \* oppose themselves and forbid the Triumph.

3 From this race and linage *TIBERIUS CÆSAR* deriveth his Genealogie, and that verily in the whole bloud and of both sides: by his Father, from *TIBERIUS NERO*: by his mother from *APPIUS PULCHER*, who were both of them the sonnes of *APPIUS CÆCUS*. Incorporate hee was besides into the familie of the *LIVII*, by reason that his Grandfather by the \* mothers side was adopted thereinto: Which family (Commoners though they were) flourished notwithstanding and was highly reputed; as being honoured and graced with eight Consulships, two Censureships, and three Triumphs: with a Dictatorship also and Maistership of the Horsemen: renowned likewise and ennobled for brave and notable men, (*a*) *SALINATOR* especially and the \* *DRUSI*: As for *SALINATOR*, in his Censureship hee noted and taxed all the Tribes everie one and whole bodie of the people, for unconstant levitie, for that having upon his former consulship condemned him and set a fine upon his head, yet afterwards they made him Consul a second time and Censour besides. *DRUSVS*, upon the killing of one *DRUSVS* the Generall of his enemies in close combat and single fight, purchased unto himselfe and his posteritie after him that surname. It is reported also, that this *DRUSVS* beeing propertour, recovered and fetched againe out of his province *Gaule*, that gold which in times past had bene given unto the Senatours when they besieged the Capitol: & that it was not *CAMILIUS* (as the voice goeth) that wrested the same perforce out of their hands. His \* sonne in the 4. degree of descent, called for his singular imployment against the *Gracchi*, Patron of the Senate, left behind him a sonne: whom in the like variance and debate as he was busie in devising and putting in practise sundrie plots, the adverse faction treacherously slew.

4 But, the Father of this *TIBERIUS CÆSAR*, being Treasurer unto C. \* *CÆSAR*, and Admirall of a flecte in the *Alexandrine* warre performed very good service for the atchieving of victory, whereupon hee was both substituted Pontifex in steed of *SCIPIO*, and also sent with commission to plant Colonies in *Gaule*, among which were \* *Narbona* and *Arelate*. Howbeit, after that *CÆSAR* was slaine, when as all men for feare of troubles and uprores decreed a finall abolition \* and oblivion of that fact (and all other quarrels thereupon depending) he proceeded farther and opened, *That they should consult about the rewards of such Tyrant-killers*. After this, having borne his Pretourship (in the end of which yeere there arose some discord betweene the Triumvirs) hee retaining by him still the \* ensignes and ornaments of that office after the time fully expired, and following *L. ANTONIUS* the Confull and the Triumvirs brother, as farre as to *Perusia*, when the rest yielded themselves, continued alone fast, and stuck to the faction (that sided against *OCTAVIUS*) and first escaped to *Preneste*, then to *Naples*: where when hee had proclaimed (but in

\* *Claudia*.  
A.V.C. 611

\* Of so reve-  
rent regard  
were these  
Nunnes, that  
no magistrate  
might either  
attach or cross  
them.  
\* Or mothers  
grandfather  
materno avo.

\* Or rather  
*Drusus*.  
A.V.C. 550

A.V.C. 471

A.V.C. 433  
\* Or Nephew,  
abnepos.

A.V.C. 463  
\* Dictator.  
A.V.C. 707

\* Or *Narbo*.  
A.V.C. 710  
\* This is that  
amnesia which  
*Cicero* perswas  
did unto.

A.V.C. 713  
\* To wit, his  
sixe lieters or  
vergors w th  
their Knitches  
of rods & axes  
sticking therin.  
*Alexand. 16*  
*Alexand.*

\* *Servial pile-  
um vocatur: be-  
cause he cap  
or bonnet was  
the badge of  
freedome.*

vaine) \* freedome for all bondslaves, hee fled into *Sicilie*. But taking it to the heart, that hee was not immediatly admitted to the presence of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, but debarred the use of his (\*) Knitches of rods to bee borne afore him, hee crossed the Seas into *Achaia*, and went to *M. ANTONIUS*. With whom, by occasion that shortly after, an attonement and peace was made betweene all parties, hee returned to *Rome*; and at the request of *AUGUSTUS*, yeelded unto him his owne wife *LIVIA DRUSILLA*, who both at that time was great with child, and also had already before brought him a sonne named *TIBERIUS*, in his owne house. Not long after, he departed this life, and left his children surviving him, namely *TIBERIUS NERO* and *DRUSUS NERO*.

5

\* Or his grand-  
dame by the  
mothers side,  
\* *Felicitas*, or  
*Facundia* -  
fruitfulness.  
\* The sixteenth  
of November.  
A.V.C. 712

Some have thought that this *TIBERIUS (CÆSAR)* was borne at *Funde*, grounding upon a light coniecture, because his mothers \* Grandame was a *Fundane* borne; and for that loone after the image (\*) of \* *Felicitas*, by vertue of an Acte of the Senate was there publicly set up. But, as the most Authors and those of better credite doe write, borne hee was at *Rome* in the *Mount Palatium*, the \* sixteenth day before the Calendes of December, when *M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS* was Consul the second time together with *MUNATIUS PLANCUS*, even after the warre at *Philippi*. For so it standes upon record and in the publique Registers. Yet there want not some who write otherwise: partly that he was \* borne a yeere before in the Consulship of *HIRTIUS* and *PANSA*, and partly the yeere next following, wherein *SERVILIUS ISAURICUS* and *ANTONIUS* were Consuls.

6

\* *Luxuriosam*  
i. growing a  
pace to matu-  
rity.  
\* Or discove-  
red.

His infancie and childhood both were exceeding \* forward (\*) and the same full of toilesome travaile and daunger, by occasion that every where, hee accompanied his Parents still, in their flights and escapes. And verily, twice hee had like to have \* descried them with his wrawling at *Naples*, what time as a little before the forcible and suddaine entrie of the enemy, they made shift secretly to get into a ship: namely once, when hee was taken hastily from his Nources breast: and a second time out of his Mothers lap and armes, by those who as the necessity of the time required, did their best to ease the poore women of their burden and load. Hee was caried away with them likewise through *Sicilie* and *Achaia*: yea, and beeing recommended to the *Lacedæmonians* (who were under the protection of the *CLAUDI* their Patrones) for to take the charge of him in publique, as hee departed from thence by night, hee was in daunger of his life by reason of a light flaming fire, which suddainly from all parts arose out of a wood: and compassed all the companie in his traine so; as that some part of *LIVIAS* apparell and the haire of her head was scorched and singed therewith. The giftes bestowed upon him in *Sicilie* by *POMPEIA* the sister of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, to wit, a little Cloake with a button or claspe to it: likewise studds and bosses of golde, continue and are yet shewed to bee seene at *Baie*. After his re-

turne

turne into the Cittie of *Rome*, beeing adopted by *M. GALLIVS* a Senatour in his last will and testament, hee accepted of the inheritance and entred upon it: but within a while forbore the name, because *GALLIVS* had sided with the adverse faction and taken part against *AVGVSTVS*. Being 9. yeares olde hee praised his father deceased openly from the *Rollra*. Afterwardes, as hee grew to be a springall, he accompanied in the *Actiacke* triumph the Chariot of *AVGVSTVS*, ryding upon the steede drawing without the \* yoke on the left hand, when as *MARCELLVS* the sonne of *OCTAVIA* rode upon the other on the right hand. Hee was president also at the *Actiacke* Games and plaies yea & the *Troian* Turnament in the *Circean* solemnities, where he led the troupe of the bigger boyes.

\* Or spren-  
pole.

7.

After hee had put on his \* virile robe, his whole youth and all the time besides of the age next ensuing, even unto the beginning of his Empire, hee passed for the most part in these affaires following. He exhibited one sword fight performed by fencers to the outtrance, in memoriall of his father: likewise another in the honourable remembraunce of his Grandfather *DRVSVS*: and those at sundrie times and in diverse places: the former in the \* *Forum*, of *Rome*: the second in the Amphitheatre: having brought againe into the Lists, even those that were freed before time and discharged from that profession: whom hee now hired and bound to fight, with the summe of one hundred thousand sesterces. Hee did set forth stage playes also, but whiles himselfe was absent: all with great magnificence, and also at the charges of his \* mother and \* father in Law. \* *AGRIPPINA* the daughter also of *M. AGRIPPA*, and neice to *POMPONIVS ATTICVS* a Gentleman of *Rome*, him I meane, unto whom *CICERO* wrote his Epistles, hee took to wife. And when hee had begotten of her a sonne named *DRVSVS*, albeit shee fitted him well enough and was besides with Childe againe, enforced hee was to put her away; and forthwith towed *IULIA* the daughter of *AVGVSTVS*: not without much grieve and heart breake: considering that hee both desired still the companie of *AGRIPPINA* and also misliked the conditions and demeanour of *IULIA*, as whom he perceived to have had a minde and fantasie unto him whiles shee was the wife of a former husband. Which verily was thought also abroad. But as hee grieved, that after the divorce hee had driven away *AGRIPPINA*, so when hee chanced but once (as shee mette him) to see her, hee followed her still with his eyes so bent, so swellinge, \* and staring, that streight order was given, and a watch set, shee should never after come in his way nor within his sight. With *IULIA* he lived at the first in great concord and mutuall love: but afterwardes hee began to \* cōtraunge himselfe, and (that which was the more grieve) hee proceeded to part beddes and to lie from her continually, namely, after that the pledge of love, their sonne begotten betweene them, was untimely taken away: who beeing borne at *Aquileia* died a very infant. His owne brother \* *DRVSVS* hee lost in *Germanie*, whose bodie he conveyed throughout to *Rome* going before it all the way on foote.

\* at 17. yeeres  
of age,

\* Or great  
market place,

\* *Livia*,  
\* *Augustus*:  
\* Whom *Tar-*  
\* *quinius* cal-  
\* *purnius* after  
\* the turne of  
\* her father,

A.V.C. 744.

\* Readie as it  
were to run out  
of his head.

\* Or disagree,

\* Who died  
when he was  
Consul  
A.V.C. 35.

In



8

In his first rudiments and beginnings of civile offices, he pleaded at the barre in defence of *Archelaus*; of the *Trallians* and *Theffalians*: all of them in sundrie causes whiles *AVGVSTVS* sat in iudgement to heere their tryall: In the behalfe also of the *Laodiceans*, *Thyaterenes* and *Chians*, who had suffered great losse by Earthquake, and humbly sought for reliefe, he intreated the Senate. As for *FANNIVS CÆPIO*, who together with *VARRO MVRÆNA* had conspired against *AVGVSTVS*, hee arraigned of high treason before the iudges, and caused him to be condemned: And amid these affaires, he \*executed a duple charge and function: to witte, the purveyance of Corne and Victualles, whereof there happened to be scarcitie: and the skouringe or riddance of the worke-house \*prisons: the Lordes and Maisters whereof were become odious, as if they had caught uppe and held to worke not onely waifaring persons, but those also who for feare of taking a militarie oath and to be enrolled, were driven to throwd themselves in such corners and starting holes.

\*Whilest hee was Questour, and but 19 yeares olde. \*Fressulorum Such as bridle well adhouls of correction:

9

A.V.C. 728, \*Colourell of a thousand footmen. A.V.C. 728,

His first service in the warres was in the expedition of *Cantabria*, what time hee had the place of a \*Tribune *Militarie*. Afterwardes, having the conduct of an armie into the East parts, hee restored the kingdome of *ARMENIA* unto *TIGRANES*, and from the Tribunall seat did put the *Dia-deme* upon his head. Hee recovered also those militarie ensignes which the *Parthians* had taken from *M. CRASSVS*. After this hee governed as Regent that part of *Gaulle* beyond the *Alpes*, called *Comata*: which was full of troubles, partly by the incursions of barbarous nations, and in parte through the intestine discorde of Princes and Nobles of the Countrie. Then, warred hee upon the *Rhetians* and *Vindelici*, and so forwarde vppon the *Pannonians* and *Germanes* (whom hee vanquished all). In the *Rhetian* and *Vindelicke* warres, hee subdued the Nations inhabiting the *Alpes*: in the *Pannonian*, he conquered the *Breuci* and *Dalmatians*. In the *Germane* warre hee brought over into *Gaulle* 40000 that yeilded unto him, and placed them neere unto the *Rhene* banke, where they had their habitations assigned. For, which Acts, hee entered the Citie of *Rome* both *Quant* (tyding on horsebacke) and also *Triumphant* mounted vppon a Chariot: being the \*first (as some thinke) that was honoured with Triumphant ornaments, a newe kinde of honour and never graunted to any man before: To beare Magistracie hee both beganne betimes, and also ranne through them all in manner joyntly without intermission, namely his *Questure*; *Præture* and *Consulate*. After some space betweene hee became Consul a seconde time, yea and also received the *Tribunitian* Authoritie for five yeares together:

\*Primus, some read *primus*, i. ante ovationem, before he had ridden ovant or triumphed:

A.V.C. 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747.

10

In this confluence of so many prosperous successes, in the strength also of his yeares and perfect health, hee had a full purpose, sodainly to retire himselfe and remoove out of the way as farre as hee could. Whether it were for the wearinesse hee had of his wife, whome neither hee durst plainly charge or put away, nor was able to endure any longer, or to the ende that by avoyding contempt (a) incident to daily and continuall residence, hee might maintaine and increase his authoritie by absenting himselfe, if at any time the State stood in neede of him, it is uncertaine.

Some

A.V.C. 748.

Some are of opinion, that considering *AVGVSTVS* his children were nowe well growne, he of his owne accorde yeilded up unto them the place and possession as it were, of the second \*degree, which himselfe had usurped and held a long time; following herein the example of *M. AGRIPPA*, who having preferred *M. MARCELLVS*, to be employed in publike affaires, departed unto *MITYLENE*; least by his presence he might seeme to \*hinder them or deprave their proceedings. Which cause even himself, but afterwards, alleadged: *Marie*, for the present, pretending the satietie that he had of honorable places, and rest from his travailes, he made suite for licence to depart: neither gave he any care to his owne mother humbly beseeching him to stay; nor to his father in law, who complained also that hee should be forsaken thereby and left desolate in the Senate. Moreover; when they were instant still to holde him backe, hee abstained from all kinde of meate foure dayes together. At length having obtained leave to be gone, he left his wife and sonne behind him at *Rome*, and forthwith went downe to *Ostia*: giving not so much as one word againe to any that accompanied him thither, and kissing very few of them at the parting.

\*In administration of the common weale;

\*To darken their sight

As he sayled from *Ostia* along the coast of *Campanie*, uppon newes that he heard of *AVGVSTVS* weakenesse, he stayed a while and went not forward: but when a rumor began to be spred of him, (as if he lingred there, waiting some opportunitie of greater hopes,) hee made noe more adoe, but even against winde and wether sayled through & passed over to *Rhodes*: having taken a delight to the pleasant and healthfull situation of that lland, ever since he arrived there in his returne from *Armenia*. Contenting himselfe here, with a meane and small habitation, with a ferme house likewise by the Cittie side not much larger nor of greater receite, he purposed to lead a verie civill and private life: walking otherwhile in the \**Gymnase* without \*lictor or other officer, performing acts and duties in maner one for another with the *Greekes* conversing there. It happened uppon a time, when he disposed of the businesses which hee would dispatch one day, that hee gave it out before hand, *He was desirous to visite all the \*sicke in the Cittie*. These words of his were mistaken by those next about him. Whereupon; all the lazars and diseased persons were by commaundement brought into a publike porch or gallerie and placed there in order according to the sundrie sorts of their maladies. At which unexpected sight, being much troubled and perplexed, he wist not for a good while what to do? howbeit he went round about from one to another, excusing himselfe for this that was done even to the meanest, poorest and basest of them all. This onely thing and nothing else beside was noted, wherein he seemed to exercise the power of his Tribunes authoritie. Being daily and continually conversant about the Schooles and Auditories of professors, by occasion that there arose a great braule among the \**Sophisters* opposite in arguing cases and declaiming one against other, there chanced to be one who perceiving him coming betweene and inclining to favorize one part above the other; rayled bitterly at him. With drawing himselfe therefore by little and little, and retyring home to his house, he came forth sodainly againe and appeared with his *Lictours*: where he cited by the voyce of his cryer to appeare judicially before his Tribunall, that foule mouthed rayling fellow, and so commanded him to be had away

11

\*Or rublike place of exercise.

\*He was then Tribune of the Commons and Consul the second time.

\**agros*, some read *agros*, as if he minded to walk the fields.

\**Rhetorians*.



away to prison. After this, he had certaine intelligence, given him that IULIA his wife was convict and condemned for her incontinencie and adulteries; also that in his name (by a warrant directed from AVOVS TVS) she had a bill of divorce sent unto her. And albeit, he was glad of these tidings, yet he thought it his part, as much as lay in him, by many letters to reconcile the father unto his daughter: yea and how ever she had deserved badly at his hands, yet to suffer her for to have whatsoever he had at any time given unto her in free gift. Now, after he had passed through the time of his Tribunes authoritie, and confessed at last, that by this retyring of his out of the way he sought to avoide nought else but the suspicion of Ielousie and emulation with CAIVS and LVCIUS: hee made suite, *That seeing he was now secured in this behalfe, and they strengthened enough and able with ease to manage and maintaine the second place in government, he might be permitted to returne and see his friends and acquaintance againe, whose presence he missed and longed after.* But hee could not obtaine so much: nay, admonished hee was and warned before hand, to lay a side all regard of his friends and kinsfolke, whom he was so willing to leave and abandon before.

12 Hee abode therefore still at *Rhodes*, even against his will: and hardly by the meanes and intercession of his owne mother wrought thus much, that for to cover his ignominie and shame, he might be absent under this pretence, *as if he were AVOVS TVS his Lieutenant.* And then verily, lived he not onely private to himselfe, but also exposed to daunger, and in great feare of some hard measure: lying close and hidden in the uplandish and inward parts of the Iland: and avoyding the offices of them that made faile by those coasts, who had frequented him continually: For as much as no man went into any province that way, as Lord Generall or \*Magistrate, but he strucke a side and turned to *Rhodes*. Besides, other causes there were of greater feare and trouble presented unto him. For when as he crossed the seas to *Samos* for to visit CAIVS, \*his wives sonne, president of the East parts, he perceived him to be more estranged than before time through the slaunders and criminous imputations which M. LOLLIVS companion and governour to the saide CAIVS had put into his head. He was drawn also into suspicion by certaine CENTVRIONS, whom his favour had advanced, & who at the day limited in their passport were returned to the camp, *That he had delivered unto many (of them) MANDATES of an ambiguous & double construction, such as might seeme to found the mindes of everie one and sollicite them to rebellion.* Of which suspicion being certified by AVOVS TVS, hee never rested to call for, and require to have some one of any degree and order what soever, to observe all his deedes and words.

13 He neglected also his wonted exercises of horse and armour: yea and having laid by the \*habite of his native Countrie, hee betooke himselfe to a cloke and \*slippers. In such a state & condition as this, continued hee almost two yeeres throughout, more dispised and hatefull everie day then other: in so much as the *Meniansians* overthrew his Images and statues: and upon a time, at a certaine feast, where familiar friends were met together (by occasion that mention was made of him,) there was one stood up who promised CAIVS, *That in case he did but command and say the word, he would immediatly sayle to Rhodes and fetch*

A.V.C. 751

\*As Prætor, proprætor, præconsul, &c.  
\*The sonne of his wife Iulia by Agrippa.

\*Of his friends.

\*The gowne.

\*Pantofles or cork shoes after the Greekish fashion.

*fetch unto him the head of that exiled person:* For so was hee commonly called. And chiefly upon this which was now no bare feare, but plain perill, enforced he was by most earnest prayers not onely of his owne but also of his mother, to require and seeke for to returne. which he obtained at length with the helpe somewhat of good fortune. AVOVS TVS had fully set downe with himselfe to resolve upon nothing as touching that point, but with the wil & good liking of his elder \*sonne: now was he, as it happened at that time much offended and displeased with M. LOLLIVS, but to his \*father in law (TIBERIVS) well affected, and easie to be by him intreated. By the permission therefore and good leave of CAIVS called home he was; but with this condition. *That he should not meddle one lote in the affaires of State:*

Thus in the 8. yeare after his departure, returned he full of great hopes and nothing doubtfull of future fortunes, which he had conceived as well by strang fights, as also by predictions and prophesies even from his very birth. For LULIA whiles she went with child of him, among many and sundrie experiments which she made, and signes that she observed (and all to know whether shee should bring forth a man child or no?) tooke closely an egge from under an hen that was sitting, and kept it warme sometime in her owne, otherwhiles in her womens hands by turnes one after another, so long, untill there was hatched a cock-chicken with a notable combe upon the head. And when he was but a very babe, SCRIBONIVS the Astrologer gave out and warranted great matters of him, and namely, *That he should one day raigne as Monarch, but yet without the royall \* Ensignes.* For as yet, ye must wote, the soveraigne power of the CÆSARS was unknowne. Also, as he entred into his first expedition, and led an armie into Syria, through Macedonia: it chaunced that the consecrated Altars of the victorious \*Legions in time past at *Philippi* shone out \*sodainly of themselves all on a light fire. And soone after, when in his journey towards *Illyricum* he went to the Oracle of *Geryon* nere unto *Padua*, and drew forth his lotte, whereby he was advised that for counsell and resolution in such particulars as he required after, he should throw golden \*dies (a) into the fountaine *Aponus*, it fell out so that the dies thus cast by him shewed the \*greatest number: And even at this verie day these dies are seene under the water. Some fewe dayes likewise before he was sent for home, an *Ægle*, (never seene afore time at *Rhodes*;) perched upon the very top and ridge of his house: and the verie day before he had intelligence given him of his returne; as he was changing his apparell, his shirt was seene on fire. THRASYLLVS (b) also the Astrologer, whom for his great profession of wisdom & cunning he had taken into his house to beare him companie, he made then most triall of; namely, when upon kenning a \*ship a farr off, he affirmed. *That joyfull newes was comming*, whereas at the verie same instant as they walked together TIBERIVS was fully purposed to have turned him headlong downe into the sea, as being a false prophet, (for that things fell out untowardly and contrarie to his former predictions;) & one besides; who chaunced for the most part to bee privie unto him of all his secrets.

15 Being returned to *Rome*, and having brought his sonne DRVSVS solemnly into the \*Forum, he remooved immediatly out of *Carina* and the house \*of POMPEIVS unto \*Esquilie, and the Hort-yards of MÆCENAS: where he gave himselfe

\*Caius, his nephew or daughters sonne.

\*His mothers husband.

14  
A.V.C. 755.

\*The Diadem.

\*Vnder Iulius Cæsar or Augustus.

\*Scribonius or Subdultus ignibus. When the fire was taken from them \*Or Cockles.

\*Venus or Cow, which is the best chance.

\*which brought the messenger of his returne.

\*There to converse & shewe the first preface of pleading at Barre.

\*Which was in the streete *Carina*.

\*Or Esquilie another Steele in *Rome*.

himself wholly to quietnesse performing private duties onely and not meddling at all in public offices. After that CAIUS and LVCIVS were dead with in the compasse of \* 3. yeares, he together with their brother M. AGRIPPA was adopted by AVGVSTVS, but compelled first himselfe to adopt GERMANICVS his brothers sonne. Neither did he ought afterwards as an \* housholder, nor retained one jot of that right which he had forgon by his adoption. For, he gave no donations, he manumised no person: nor yet made benefite of any \* inheritance or legacies otherwise then in the nature of \* Peculium: and so he did put them downe in his booke of receits. But from that time forward was there nothing pretermitted for the augmentation of his state and Maiestie: and much more after that AGRIPPA once was in disfavour and sent away: wherby the world tooke knowledge for certaine, that the hope of succession rested onely in him.

16. Nowe was the Tribunitian Authoritie conferred a second time upon him, and that for the terme of 5. yeeres; the honorable charge and commission likewise, for to pacifie the State of *Germanie* was assigned unto him: and the *Parthian* Embassadours, after they had declared their message at *Rome* unto AVGVSTVS, were commanded to repaire unto him also \* into his province: But upon the newes that ILLYRICVM revolted, he remooved from \* thence to the charge of a new warre, which, being of all foraine warres the most dangerous since those with the *Carthaginians*, he managed with the power of 15. Legions, & equal forces of *Auxiliaries*, for the space of 3. yeares in great extremitie of all things, but especially in exceeding scarcetie of Corne. And notwithstanding that he was oftentimes revoked from this service, yet persisted he unto the end, fearing least the enemy so neere a neighbour and so puissant with all, should make head and come upon them, if they first did quit the place and retire. And verily, passing well paid and rewarded was hee for this perseverance of his; as having thereby fully subdued and brought under his subiection all ILLYRICVM, as farre as reacheth and spreadeth betweene *Italie*, the kingdom of *Noricum*, *Thracia*, and *Macedonie*: betweene the river *Danubius* also and the gulfes of the *Adriaticke* sea.

Which glorious exploit of his was yet more amplified and encreased by the opportunitee of an occurrent that fell betweene. For, about the verie same time QVINTILIUS VARVS together with 3. Legions was overthrowne and defeated in *Germanie*: and no man made any doubt, but that the *Germanes* following the traine of this their victorie, would have ioyned with PANNONIA in case ILLYRICVM had not bene subdued before. For these his noble Acts, a triumph with many great honours was decreed for him: Some also delivered their sentence, that he should be furnamed PANNONICVS; others would have had the addition of *Invincible*: and some againe of PIVS, in his Style; But as touching any such surname, AVGVSTVS interposed his negative voyce, promising and undertaking in his behalfe, that he should rest contented with \* that, which he was to assume after his death: As for the Triumph, himselfe did put it off unto a further day, by occasion that the whole \* state, sorrowed for the overthrow and losse above saide of VARVS: Nevertheless, he entred the City in his rich Prætecta or imbrodred purple Robe, with a chaplet of lawrell upon his head: and so mounted up to the Tribunal erected for him in the (e) *Septa*, whiles

\* Of 3. yeeres rather: by *Valerius* and *Dionysius* and as himselfe hath written in *Augustus*.

\* One that was *suus iuris*.

\* Falling unto him by the Testaments of his friends.

\* A stocke given & granted unto one by him under whose tuition he is, be hee father or master.

A.V.C. 717.

\* *Germanie*.

\* Out of *Germanie*.

A.V.C. 760.

A.V.C. 762.  
17

\* *i. Augustus*.

\* Of *Rome*.

whiles the Senate stode to give attendance: and there, together with AUGUSTUS, in the mids betwene the two Consuls hee tooke his place and sat downe: From whence, after he had saluted the people, hee was honourably conducted round about all the Temples.

18

The next yeere following, being returned into *Germanie*, when hee perceived that the *Varian* defeature aforesaid hapned through the rashnesse and negligence of the Generall, he did nothing at all without the opinion of his Counsell of warre. And whereas hee had used also before, to stand upon his owne bothom, and to rest in his selfe-iudgement alone; then, contrary to his manner hee conferred with many as touching the menagement of the warre: yea, and he shewed more care and precisenesse in every point than his wont was afore-time. Being about to passe over the *Rhene*, all his provision of victuals strictly reduced to a certaine rate and stint, hee would not send over the water before he had considered (standing upon the very banke of the river) the lode of every Waggon, that no cariages might bee \* discharged or unloaden, but such as were by him allowed and thought necessary. When hee was once on the other side of *Rhene* this course and order of life he held: Namely to sit upon a bare banke of turf, and so to cate his meate: to lie abroad all night, and take his rest oftentimes without tent: to deliver all directions for the day following, as also what suddaine service or businesse was to bee enioyned, by writing; with this caveat and admonition, *That whereof any man doubted, hee should repaire unto him at all houres of the night, and seeke for no other expositor but himselfe.*

Martiall discipline he required most sharply, bringing againe into ure and execution certaine kindes of chastisements and ignominious disgraces which had bene used in auncient times: in so much, as he branded with open shame the Lieutenant of a Legion, for sending a few Souldiours with his owne freed-man over the other side of the river a hunting. As for battailes, albeit hee did put as little as might be upon the hazard of Fortune and chaunce: yet entred he upon them with much more resolution, so often as whiles hee watched or studied by a candle, the light suddainly fell downe and went out, when no body forced it: trusting confidently (as hee said) upon this signe, which both hee and all his Auncestors had tried and found to be infallible during all their warlike conducts and regiments. But howsoever hee sped well and had good success in this Province, he escaped very faire that hee had not bene killed by a certaine \* *Rhene* (e), who being among those that were next about his person, and detected by his timorous gesture, was apprehended, and with torture forced to confesse his prepened designment.

20

Being after two yeeres returned out of *Germanie* to *Rome*, hee rode in that triumph which he had differred, accompanied with his Lieutenants, for whom he had obtained (e) triumphall Ornaments. And ere hee turned into the Capitoll hee alighted from his Chariot, and bowed himselfe to the knees of his \* Father, sitting then before him as President. A Captaine and Commander of PANNONIA named BATON, hee rewarded first, with exceeding great Presents, and then remooved him to *Ravenna*, in thankfull requitall for

K

A.V.C. 763.

\* *Deponerentur, vel deportarentur*, transported and carried over.

19

\* A *Rhene* quodam.

A.V.C. 765.

\* *Augustus* Caesar.

for suffering him upon a time, when with his Armie hee was enclosed within the streights, to passe forward and escape. After this, hee bestowed upon the people (of Rome) a solemne dinner, where they sat at a thousand tables: and gave besides to them three thousand Sesterces a peece for a Congiarie. Hee dedicated also the temple of *Concord*: likewise that of *Pollux* and *Castor* in his owne name & his brothers, all out of the spoile woone from the enemies.

21  
A.V.C. 766. And not long after, when by vertue of an Act preferred by the Consuls, That hee should administer the Provinces jointly with AUGUSTUS: and likewise hold the generall review and muster of the people, hee had performed the same and finished it with a solemne purging called *Lustrum*, hee tooke his journey into *Illyricum*. And being incontinently called backe out of the very way, he came and found AUGUSTUS dangerously sicke, howbeit yet breathing and alive: with whom he continued in secret talke, one whole day. I wote well, it is commonly received and beleaved, that when TIBERIUS after private conference was gone forth, these words of AUGUSTUS were overheard by the Chamberlaines. *Miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit. O unhappie people of Rome, that shall be under such a slow (a) paire of chawes.* Neither am I ignorant of this also, that some have written and reported of AUGUSTUS, How openly and in plaine termes without dissimuling, hee disliked his churlish behaviour and harshnesse of manners so much, as divers times being in pleasant discourse and mery talke, he would breake off when TIBERIUS came in place: Howbeit, overcome by his wives intreaty and earnest praier, he refused not to adopt him; or rather was induced so to doe, upon an ambitious humor and conceite of his owne, that leaving such a successour, himselfe might another day be more missed and wished for againe. Yet cannot I be perswaded otherwise, but to thinke, that AUGUSTUS a right circumspect, considerate and prudent Prince did nothing, especially in so weighty a businesse, hand over head and without advise: but having duly weighed the vices and vertues of TIBERIUS, esteemed his vertues of more worth: and namely seeing that both he sware solemnly in a generall assembly of the people, That hee adopted him for the (b) good of the Common-weale: and also commendeth him in certaine Epistles for a most expert and martiall warriour, yea the onely Defender and Protectour of the people of Rome. Out of which, I have thought good to quote some places heere and there for example. *Farewell most sweet TIBERIUS, and God blesse your conduct and proceeding, warring as you doe for mee and the Muses.* Again, O most pleasant, and (as I desire to bee happy) right valiant man, and accomplished Captaine, with all perfections, adieu. Also,  *Astonishing the order and manner of your Sommer-campe, for mine owne part verily, my TIBERIUS, I am of this minde, That considering so many difficulties and distresses: in regard also of so great sloath and cowardise of Souldiours, no man in the world could performe the service better than you have done. And even they of your traine, who were with you doe all confesse, that this verse may be applied fitly unto you.*

(c) *Vnus homo nobis viglando resistit rem.*

One man alone by watchfull sight

Our tott'ring state hath set upright.

And whether, quoth he, there fall out any occurrent to be considered upon with more care and diligence, or whether I bee displeased and angry at any thing, I have a great

great misse, I assure you, of my TIBERIUS: and evermore that verse of HOMER commeth into my remembrance:

(d) *Τὸς δὲ ἐς πομπῆ' οἶο καὶ ἐν πυρὸς ἀβυλῶϊο,*  
*ἀμφὶ νοστήσασκε, ἐπὶ περὶ δόλε νοήσαι:*

\* *Iliad. ii.*

Whiles this man beares me company (so well he doth fore-see)

We may ev'n out of flaming fire returne, both I and hee.

When I beare say and read that you are weakened and growne leane with uncessant and continuall labour, God conjoinde me, if my body doe not quake and tremble. I pray you therefore spare your selfe: least if it come to our eares, that you are sicke, both I and your mother also die for sorrow, and the people of Rome beside, hazard the Empire. It makes no matter, whether I be in health or no: \* if you be not well; The Gods I beseech, to preserve you for us and vouchsafe your health both now and ever, unlesse they hate the people of Rome to death.

\* *Simon. 74. libis: or, firm modo valebit. So you countur will.*

The death of AUGUSTUS hee divulged not abroad, before that young AGRIPPA was slaine. This AGRIPPA was killed by a militarie \* Tribune, set and appointed to guard him, so soone as hee had read the writ\*, whereby hee was commaunded to doe the deede. This writ, whether AUGUSTUS left behind him when hee died, thereby to take away all matter that might minister tumult after his death: or whether LIVIA in the name of AUGUSTUS endited it, and that with the privy of TIBERIUS, or without his knowledge, it resteth doubtfull. Certaine it is, that when the saide Tribune brought him word, that the thing was dispatched which he had commaunded, he made answer, *That he gave no such commaundment*, and added moreover, *That he should answer it before the Senate*: Declining no doubt the envie and hard conceit of men for the present: for within a while after he buried the matter in silence.

Having nowe assembled the Senate by vertue and authority (a) of his Tribuneship, and begun to make a \* speech unto them by way of \* Consolation: \* Which hee had penned. \* For the death of Augustus. all on a suddaine, as unable to maister his griefe, he fell into a fit of sighing and groaning. Yea he wished, *That not onely his voice, but his vitall breath also might faile him*: and therewith gave the booke unto his sonne DRUSUS to read it out. After this, when the last will or testament of AUGUSTUS was brought in, and none of the witnesses admitted to come in place, but those onely who were of Senatours degree, the rest standing without the Curia & there acknowledging their hands and seales, hee caused it to be read and pronounced by his freed man. The will began in this manner. *For as much as sinister fortune hath bereft me of CAIUS and LUCIUS, my sonnes, I will that TIBERIUS CÆSAR be mine heire, in the one moiety and a sixth part.* By which very beginning, their suspicion was augmented who thought thus, that seeing he forbore not after this sort to make his preface, hee ordained TIBERIUS to be his successour upon necessity, rather than any iudgement and discretion.

\* That is to say, in 8 parts of twelve, or 2 third parts

Albeit hee made no doubt to enter upon his imperiall government immediately and to menage the same, and that by taking unto him a strong guard of Souldiours about his person, that is to say maine force & the very forme of absolute rule & dominion: yet notwithstanding, he refused it a long time: & putting on a most impudent & shamelesse mind, one while he seemed to rebuke his friends that encouraged him thereto, as those who knew not, what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was: and otherwhiles with ambiguous answers

and crafty delays holding the Senate in suspense when they besought him to take it upon him, yea and humbly debased themselves before his knees: in so much as some of them having their patience moved therewith, could endure him no longer: and one among the rest in that tumult cried aloude, *Let him either doe it at once, or else give over quite*: and another openly to his face upbraided him in these words, *Whereas other men be slacke in doing and performing that which they have promised, he was slacke in promising that which hee did and performed*. In the end, as if forsooth he had bene compelled, and complaining withall, that there was imposed upon his shoulders a miserable and burdensome servitude, he tooke the Empire upon him: and yet no otherwise, than giving hope, that one day he would resigne it up. His very words are these, *Untill I come unto that time, wherein yee may thinke it meete to give some rest unto mine aged yeeres*.

25

The cause of this holding of & delay that he made, was the feare of imminent dangers on every side, in so much as he would often say, *Hee held a Wolfe by the eares*. For there was one of AGRIPPAS slaves named CLEMENS, who had levied & gathered together no small power, for to revenge his Maisters death: and L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, a noble man, secretly complotted sedition and rebellion: yea, and a two-fold mutinie of the Souldiours arose, in *Illyricum* and in *Germanie*. Both the armies called hard upon him for performance of many matters extraordinarily: but above all, that they might have equall pay with the (a) Pretorian souldiours. And as for the (b) Germanician souldiours, they verily refused him for their Prince and Sovereigne, as not by them ordained: and with all their might and maine urged GERMANICUS, who then was their General to take upon him the government of the State, albeit he withstood & denied them stoutly, Fearing therefore the issue and danger of this occurrent most of all, he required for himselfe to have that part of the Common-weale in charge, which it should please the Senate to lay upon him: seeing that no man was sufficient to weld the whole, unlesse he had another or many assistants rather ioyned with him. Hee feigned himselfe also to be sickly, to the end that GERMANICUS might with the better will and more patience abide in expectation either of speedy succession after him, or at least waies of fellowship in the Empire with him. Well, after hee had appeased those mutinies, CLEMENS likewise by a fraudulent wile he over-raught, and brought to his devotion. As for LIBO, because he would not be thought at his entrance newly into the Empire for to proceede rigorously, two yeeres after and not before he charged & reproved him before the Senate, contenting himselfe all that meane space to beware of him onely, and to stand upon his guard. For, as the said LIBO was together with him among other Pontifices sacrificing, hee tooke order, that in stead of the (yron) cleaver, there should be closely laid for him a chopping knife of Lead: And when the same LIBO requested upon a time to have secret talke and conference with him, he would not graunt it, without his sonne DRUSUS might be by: and so long as he walked up & downe with LIBO, he seemed to leane upon his hand; and so, held it sure enough all the while until their communication was ended.

\* Paulo minus  
quod privatum  
est: or, little  
better than the  
port, &c.

26 But being once delivered from this feare he caried himselfe at the beginning very orderly and after a civill sort, yea and somewhat \* under the port of a private

vate

vate person. Of very many dignities and those right honourable, which by publique decree were presented unto him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest kind. His birth-day-mind, falling out in the time of the Plebeian (a) games and plaies exhibited in the Cirque, hee hardly would suffer to be celebrated and honoured so much as with the addition extraordinarily of one chariot drawne with two Steedes. Hee forbade expressly, any temples Flamins or Priests to be ordained for him, yea and the erection of Statues and images in his honour, without his leave and permission: the which ranne with this onely clause and condition, *That they should not be set up among the images of the Gods, but stand with other ornaments of the house*. Hee prohibited also by his negative voice the solemne oath of observing and keeping his ACTS inviolably: as also to call the moneth \* September, TIBERIUS; or \* October, LIVIUS. The forename also in his stile of (b) IMPERATOR; the surname likewise of PATER PATRIÆ; as also a (c) Civick Coronet at the fore-gate or porch of his Palace he refused. Nay, the very name of AUGUSTUS, hereditarie though it were, he would not put as an addition to any of his Epistles, but those onely which he sent unto Kings and great Potentates. Neither bare hee more than three Consulships: the first but a few dayes; the second three moneths; the third in his absence no longer than unto the \* Ides of May.

Hee detested flattery and obsequious complements so much, as that hee would admit no Senatour to his Liſter ſide either by way of dutifull attendance, or otherwise about any businesse whatsoever. When a certaine \* Consulare person was about to make satisfaction unto him, and humbly to entreate and crave pardon by a reverent touching of his knees, he started and fled from him so, as hee fell therewith and \* lay along upon his backe. Yea, and that which more is, if in any talke or continued speech there passed words of him smel-ling of flatterie, hee would not sticke to interrupt the speaker, to checke him, and presently to alter and correct such termes. One there was who called him DOMINUS, that is, \* S<sup>r</sup>. but hee gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chaunced to say, *His sacred busineses*: and a third againe, *That he went into the Senate, auctore* i. by his warrant or auctoritie. Hee caused them both to change those words, and for auctore to say *Senatore*, that is, by his advise and counsell: and in steede of *Sacred*, to put in, *Laborious* and painfull.

Moreover, against railing taunts, bad reports and rumours, as also flaunderous libels, verses and songs cast out either of himselfe or those about him, he stooode so firme and patient, as that ever and anone he would give out, *That in a free state, folke ought to have both tongue and thought free*. And when upon a time the Senate called earnestly unto him, *That such crimes, and the offenders themselves might be brought iudicially into question; Wee have not*. quoth hee, *so much leasure as to entangle our selves in many affaires*. If yee open this window once, yee will suffer nothing else to be done: for under pretence hereof yee shall have the quarrels of every man preferred unto \* you. There is besides a passing civill \* Apophthegme of his extant which hee uttered in the Senate. *If so be*, quoth he, *that hee speake otherwise of mee than well, I will endeavour to give an account of my deedes and wordes, but in case hee continue so still, I will hate him for it a-gaine*.

\* Or Novem-  
ber rather, for  
in it hee was  
born, of his own  
name.  
\* Or September  
of his mother's  
\* Fr<sup>o</sup> the Cal-  
lend. or first  
day of January  
to the 15 of  
May.

27  
\* One who had  
beeene Consul,  
Tacitus saith, it  
was Quintus  
Haterius.  
\* Whereby, the  
said Q. Haterius  
had like to  
have bene kil-  
led by the  
guard.  
\* Or Lord.

28

\* Adv<sup>o</sup>. vel  
ad nos, ut to us;  
\* Such as might  
bee come one  
Citizen to  
speake of ano-  
ther, and not a  
Prince of his  
subiects.

K 3

And

29  
\* The Sena-  
tors.

And these things were so much the more remarqueable in him, for that in speaking to them \* either one by one severally, or to all at once in generall, yea and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he dissented one day in opinion from Q. HATERIUS in the Senate: *Pardon mee, I beseech you*, quoth hee, *if I as a Senatour shall speake ought over-frankly against you: and then directing his speech unto the whole house. Both now*, quoth hee, *and many times else, my Lords, this hath bene my saying, That a good and gracious Prince, whom yee have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ought to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times also, yea and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have so said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.*

30

Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their auncient maiestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Counsell-table before the Senatours: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Revenues of the State: of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliarie forces: Finally, who should have their place of commaund and government continued by a new commission? or take the charge of extraordinary warres? as also what, in what forme they thought it good to write againe, & to answer letters sent by Kings? A certaine Captaine over a \* cornet of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robbrie, he compelled to make his answer before the \* Senate. Hee never entred the *Curia* but alone. And being one time brought in sicke within his litter, (a) he caused all his traine and company to void.

\* Or wing  
\* Whereas by  
course he should  
have had his  
triall before  
the Lord Ge-  
neral, or prince  
himselfe.

31

That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates appointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour elect, obtained the favour of a free \* (a) embassage. Againc, when he advised in the \* *Otriculones* behalfe a graunt, that they might bestowe the money in paving a cawse or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevaile but that the will of the Testator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortun'd upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not otherwise: VVherein the Consuls bare so great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of *Africk* repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-off and delayed by CÆSAR unto whom they had bene sent. And no mervail: For evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the saide Consuls and give them the way.

\* *Liberam legationem.*  
\* Or Trebians

32

Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had bene Consuls for not writing

writing unto the Senate of their warre exploitcs: also for consulting with him and asking his advise as touching the graunt of \* militarie giftes, as if it lay not in their owne power to give and dispose all. Hee commended a Pretour for bringing uppe againe the auncient custome, in the entrance of his government, to make an honourable mention and reherfall of his Ancestours before a frequent assembly of the people. The funerall obsequies of certaine Noble personages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the very (a) fire. The like moderation he shewed in meaner persons and matters both when hee had called foorth unto him the Magistrates of the *Rhodiens*, for delivering unto him publike letters from the State without the due (b) subscription, he gave them not so much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to subscribe and sent them away. DIOGENES the professed *Grammariam*, who was wont to \* dispute and discourse at *Rhodes* every \* Sabbath, had put him backe and would not admit him into his schoole comming of purpose extraordinarily to here him, but by his page posted him of untill the 7. day. Nowe when the same DIOGENES stood waiting before his gate at *Rome* to doe his dutie and to salute him, he quit him no otherwise than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7. yeares after: when the presidentes and governours abroad gave him counsell to burden the provinces with heavie tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them. *That it was the part of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe and not to slay them:*

\* As collars,  
Chemes,  
speares, chap-  
lets &c.

\* or reade a  
lecture.  
\* once a weeke  
or every 7. day

By little and little he put himselfe forth and shewed his princely maiesty; how ever for a long time, in some variety, yet for the most part, rather mild and gracious than otherwise, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the first, thus far forth onely interposed he his absolute power & inhibition, *That nothing should be done \* uniusly.* Therefore he both repealed certaine constitutions of the Senate, & also very often, when the Magistrates were sitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himselfe to joine as it were in counsell. and to be assistant with them, or else just over against them in the fore part (of the Tribunall.) And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to escape cleere; all on a sodaine, he would be in place, and either on the (a) ground below, or else from the Tribunall seat of the L. chiefe Iustice, put the other Iudges and lurie in mind of the lawes, of their conscience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they sat. Also if any thing were amisse and faultie in the publike ordinances and manners of the Cittie, forlet by occasion of idlenesse or taken up through evill custome, he undertooke to reforme the same.

\* Beside the  
rule of law.

He abridged and restrained the expenses of Stage playes and \* games exhibited unto the people, by cutting short the wages paid to Actours upon the stage, and reducing the couples of sword fencers to a certaine number. That *Corinthian* vessels & manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, & that three barbels were sold for 30000. festerces, he grievously complained, and gave his opinion, that there should be a gage set, and a mediocritie kept in household furniture: as also that the price of victuals in open market should be ordered yearly at the discretion of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Aediles* for to inhibit victualling houses, tavernes, and thus farre foorth, as they should not suffer any paltry-workes (a) to be set out to sale: And to the end, that by his owne ex-

34  
\* Of sword  
fencers.

K 4

ample



ample also, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himselfe at his solemne and festivall suppers caused oftentimes to be served vp to the bord, Viands dressed the day before and those halfe eaten already, saying, *That the side of a wild Boe had in it all the same that the whole.* He forbade expressly by an Edict, the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken: likewise the intercourse of new yeares gifts sent to and fro: Namely, that it should not continue after the Calends of Ianuarie. He had wont to bestow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the same with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with such as had not bene with him, nor felt his liberalitie uppon the verie feast, hee never gave any againe after the saide day.

Wives of leawd and dishonest life, if their wanted accusers to call them publicly into question, his aduise and sentence was, that their next kinsfolke should, *\* more maiorum.* agree together in common, for to chastice and punish. He dispensed with a gentleman of Rome for his oath (who had sworne before, *never to divorce his wife*) and gave him leave to put her away being taken in adulterie with her *\* sonne* in law. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthinesse, began to professe before the *Aediles* bawderie: to the ende, that having by this base trade and occupation lost the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the *\* lawes (a)* and avoide the penalties thereof. Semblably, out of the youth of both *\* degrees*, the leawdest spendthrifts of all other, because they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts in acting upon the stage, or their devoir *\* within the lists*, wilfully underwent the ignominious not of *\* infamie*. But, as well them, as those light women aforesaid he banished all: that none ever after should by such delusion of the law seeke evasion. He tooke from a *\* Senatour* his robe, after he knew once, that iust before the Calends of *(b)* Iulie hee remooved out of his dwelling house into certaine *\* Hortyardes* and gardens, to the end that when the saide day was past, he might take his house againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Questureship for that having (as it were) by lotterie, chosen and married a wife the one day, he dismissed her on *\* another*.

36 All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the *Aegyptian* also and the *Iewish* rites he prohibited: compelling *\* those* who were given to that Superstition, for to burne all their religious vestiments: the instruments likewise & furniture whatsoever thereto belonging. The serviceable youth of the *Iewes*, under colour of a militarie oth he sent into sundrie provinces which were in a pestilent *(a)* and unhol-some aire above others: the rest of that Nation or such as were addicted to the like religiō, he banished out of Rome, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled also Astrologers: but upon their earnest intreatie and promise to give over the practise of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

37 As speciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preserve the state frō outrages & robberies, as also from licentious mutinies & seditions. The set guards and garisons of soldiers, hee disposed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all Italie. Hee obtained a standing *\* Campe* at Rome, wherein the

the *Prætorian* Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time & dispersed in diverse Innes and *Hospelries*, might be received. All Insurrections of the people he punished most sharply: hee tooke likewise much paines to prevent such commotions. There happened upon some discord and variance to be a murder committed in the *Theatre*: But the principal heads of the factiō, as also the actours themselves for whose sake the quarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and restore them. When the Commons of *Pollentia* would not suffer the dead corps of a certaine principall *Centurian* to be carried with funerall obsequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the setting out of a game of Fencers with unrebated swords, he tooke one Cohort from Rome, and another out of K. *\* COTIVS* Kingdome, dissimuling the cause of this journey, and sodainely discovering their armes and weapons which they closely carried, and giving alarum with sound of trumpets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner displayed at fundrie gates and so cast into perpetuall prison the greater part of the Commons and *\* Decurions*. The priviledge and custome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he abolished. The *Cyzicenes* who had committed some notorious out-rage & violence vpon *Romaine* Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedom, which in the warre against *MITHRIDATES* they had by their good service gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repressed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himselfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingring delayes, and driven thereto of necessitie. Kings that rebelliously tooke armes, or were suspected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwise by force and open hostilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire words and large promises hee never sent home againe: as by name *MARABODUUS* the *Germane*, *THRASYPOLIS* a *Thracian*: and *ARCHELAVS* the *Cappadosian*, whose kingdome also he reduced into the forme of a province.

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never set foote once out of Rome gates. And the time ensuing, hee absented not himselfe in no place unlesse it were in townes neere adioyning, or as farre as *Antium* when he trauailed farthest: and that was verie seldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promised and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would visite the provinces also and armies abroad: yea and everie yeare almost hee made preparation for a journey, taking up all the waines and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying provision of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes & Colonies by the way, yea and at the last suffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in so much as commonly by way of a jest and byworde, hee was called *(a)* *CALLIPPIDES*, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward.

But being bereft of both his sonnes, of which *\* GERMANICVS* died in Syria, and *\* DRYVS* at Rome, he withdrew himselfe into *Campania*, as to a retiring place: and all men well neere, were fully perswaded and spake it as constantly, that he would never returne but die soone after. Both which had like

35

\* According to the manner and custome of their auncestours.

\* That married her daughter.

\* Iulix &c. de Aduersis.

\* As well Senatours as gentlemen.

\* In sword-fights: the sharpe.

\* By committing some leawd parts.

\* Hee deprived him from his Senatours place.

\* Without the Citie.

\* i. The more: his leuitie was notable as well in making choice so slightly, as in casting her of so quickly, making but a game of marriage.

\* Romaine Citizens.

\* Neere unto the walls thereof.

as *Plinie* writeth.

Lib. 4. cap. 5.

Nat. Hist.

\* A petie king about the Alpes.

\* Senatours, or Aldermen.

38

39

\* Adopted: \* Natuall. A.V.C. 779.



like indeede to have come to passe. For, in truth he never came againe to Rome: and within some few dayes, neere unto *Tarracina*, in a certaine part of his manour house (built especially for his owne lodging) and called *spelunca*, as hee sat there at supper, a number of huge stones from above chaunced to fall down: whereby many of his gueses at the Table and servitours there waitinge were crushed and squized to death; but hee himselfe beyonde all hope escaped,

40 Having made his progresse over *Campania*, when he had dedicated a Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of *AVGVSTVS* at *Nola*, which hee pretended to have beene the motive of his journey, he betooke himselfe to *Caprea*: delighted especially with that Iland because there was but one way of access unto it and the same by a small shore and landing place: as being otherwise enclosed round about, partly with craggy rockes & steepe cliffs of an exceeding height; and in part with the deepe sea. But soone after, when the people called him home, and uncessantly besought him to returne, by occasion of an unhappie & heavy accident, whereby at *Fidenyxx*. \* thousand folke and more, at a solemn fight of sword players petished by fall of an Amphitheater, he passed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he first set forth and went out of *Rome*, he had given streight comandement by an Edict that no man should trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were comming towards him.

\*Strangers that could owed thither to see the shewes

41 Being retired againe into the said Ile, he cast aside all care verily of Common weale; so farre forth as never after he did so much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horse men: Hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any presidents and Governours of Provinces. He held *Spaine* and *Syria* both, for certaine yeares, without Consulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected *Armenia* and suffered it to bee overrunne and possessed by the *Parthians*: *Mesia* to be waisted and spoyled by the *Dakes* and *Sarmatians*, as also *Gaul* by the *Germanes*, to the great shame and no lesse daunger of the whole Empire.

42 To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this secret place, and being as one would say remooved from the eyes of people: at length hee poured forth and shewed at once all those vices which with much ado for a longe time he had cloked and dissimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained souldier, for his excessiue greedinesse of wine bibbing, hee was for (a) TIBERIVS named BIBERIVS; for CLAVDIVS, CALDIVS: for NERO, MERO: After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was busie in reforming the publike manners and misdemeanour (of the Cittie) he spent with POMPONIVS FLACCVS and L. PISO one wholenight and two dayes in \*gluttonie and drunkenesse, unto the former of these twaine he presently gave the government of the province *Siria*: upon the other hee conferred the Provostship of *Rome*, professing even in all his letters and writings; That they were most pleasant companions and friends at all affaires. To \*SEX: CLAVDIVS a Senex fornicatour and prodigal dingthrif, who had in times past been by AVGVSTVS put to ignominie and shame, yea and by himselfe some fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he sent word, that hee would take a supper with

\*In eating and drinking.

\*Or Sessius Galus.

with him: upon this condition, that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinary and customed manner: and namely, that wenchers all naked should serve at the Table. He preferred one to be a competitour for the Questorship, who was a most base and obscure person, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carousing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole (b) Amphor of wine when he \*dranke unto him Vnto ASPELLIVS SABINVS he gave 2 0000. Sesterces for a diologue of his making, in which he brought in a combate or disputation, betweene the *Musbrume*, the (c) *Fiscuda* the *Oyster* and the (d) *Thrusb*. To conclude, he instituted a new office, forsooth, \*a voluptatibus, wherein he placed PARSUS a gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had beene Censor.

\*Or tendered it unto him.

\*For the devising of new pleasures. &c.

But during the time of his private abode in *Caprea*, he devised a roome with seates and benches in it, even a place of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. To furnish it there were sought out and gathered from all parts, a number of young drabbes and stale Catamites, sorted together: such also as invented monstrous kinds of libidinous filthinesse, whom he termed *Spintria*: who being in three rankes or rowes linked together should abuse and pollute one anothers bodie before his face: that by the verie sight of them he might stirre up his owne cold courage and fainting lust. Hee had bed chambers besides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: representing in the one sort, most lascivious pictures, and in the other as wanton shapes and figures. He stored them likewise with the bookes of *Elephantis*: that none might be to seeke for a pattenne of the semblable forme and fashion, in that beastly businesse performed in everie kind. He devised in the woods also and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venereous Acts: wherein he had within caves and holow rockes youthes of both sexes standing at recit readie prostitute, in habit of *Pansker* and *Nymphes*; In so much as now men in open place, abusing the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him usually, \*Caprimens.

\*Or Caprinicus or Caprinus.

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more shamefull filthinesse, such as may not well be named or heard, and much lesse beleevd: to wit, that hee should traine up and teach fine boyes the tenderest and daintiest that might be had (whom he called his little fishes) to converse and play betweene his thighes as he was swimming, and pretily with tongue and teeth seeme to make unto his secret parts, and there to nibble. Whom likewise, as babes of good growth and strength, howbeit as yet not weaned, he should set unto his privie member as unto the nipple of a breast, to sucke. And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to lust in this \*kind. Therefore, where-as a certaine painted table of PARRASIVS making, (in which ATALAVTA yeldeth her mouth unto MELAGER in that beastlinesse) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter represented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Sesterces, hee not onely preferred the saide picture before such a summe of monie, but also dedicated it in his owne bed chamber. It is reported besides, that being at sacrifice upon a time, he casting a fانسie to the beautifull and well favoured face of a youth and servitour as he carried before him the \*Censor, could not containe, but immediatly and before the complements of sacrifice were well

\*Irrumatio.

\*Or incense pan.

well and fully performed, even there and then, take him a side out of the place and so abuse his bodie: and together with him a brother of his, the minstrel: yea and soone after, for that they twitted and upbraided one another for this abominable act, he brake their legges both.

45 Moreover, in what fort he was wont to offer abuse unto the very heads of women, and those nobly borne and of good reputation, appeared wofull evidently by the wofull end of one dame named MALLONIA. For when shee was by force brought unto his bed, and most resolutely to die for it, refused to suffer any more, than naturally a woman was to suffer: hee suborned certaine promoters falsly to accuse her: and evermore as she pleaded in her owne defence asked her still, *whether shee repented not yet of her Obsinacie?* which hee followed so long, untill at length shee left the Court, made hast home to her house, and there ranne her selfe through with a sword: after shee had openly and aloud reproched the shaghaired and rammish old churle with his filthy & beastly mouth. Whereupon in a by-enterlude called, *Atellanum Exolium*, this infamous and shamefull Note, received with exceeding great accorde, was rife and currant abroad in everie mans mouth, *That the olde bucke-goat was licking the nature of the does (or females.)*

\*Or dagger.

\*Or shape, as the kind of such beasts to do.

46

Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journies and expeditions with any wages or set salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needes say, that once out of his father in lawes Indulgence and bounty, he bestowed upon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three ranks, he dealt among those of the first 600000. sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000: And the same called he the \*companie, not of his friends but \*Gratorū, i. of his thankfull favourits.

\*In monie.

\*Or ranke.  
\*Some read Gratorum, i. of Greeks by way of contempt

47

\*At Rome:

All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes: (For the verie temple of AVGVSTVS, and the reedification of POMPEIUS Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other set out, he was very seldome present, and all for feare least some thing should be demanded at his hands: & namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the Comedian \*Aclius. Having releved the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities By which deece of his, he frighted the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: & among the rest, one ORTALVS, the nephew of Q. HORTENSIVS the professed Oratour, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes \*and perswasion of AVGVSTVS.

\*An Actour in a Comedie.

\*He had married a young wife upon hope of maintenance by vertue of the lawes Papia Poppæ, and Julia.

48 As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lone for 3. yeares of an hundred millions of Sesterces: & againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount Calvus, were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly for

for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Usurers should lay out two (third) parts of their \*Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable: the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts; and yet the thing \*was not done and dispatched accordingly: The other, for to mitigate the greivousnesse of those \*heavie times. Howbeit this (latest) beneficence of his he so highly prized, that he commaunded the name of Mount Calvus to be changed and called AUGUSTUS. The Legacies given by AUGUSTUS in his last will unto the Souldiours being once \*published, he never after bestowed any Largeesse upon them: saving that among those of the \*Pratorium hee dealt one thousand Deniers a peece; in & to the Legions in Syria certaine gifts, for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no \*image at all of SEIANUS. Moreover, he made very seldome any \*discharges of olde Souldiours: as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountifull hand, except it were Asia by occasion that certaine Cities \*therein were by earthquake overthrowne.

49 Afterwards, and in proceesse of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, That C. N. LENTULUS the Augur, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare & anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and wearinesse of his owne life: and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe: That dame LEPIDA likewise, a right noble Lady was condemned by him, to gratifie \*QUIRINUS, one that had beene Confull, but passing (4) rich and \*childlesse withall: who having before time put her away beeing his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her iudicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe she had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of Gaule, Spaine, Syria and Greece, forfeited their estates upon so slight a slander and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was objected but this, That they had part of their substance and wealth \*lying in money: yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that VONONES a King of the Parthians who beeing driven out of his kingdome by his owne subiects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into Antiochia, under the protection, as it were, of the people of Rome, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother DRAVUS by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling AUGUSTUS to restore the common Libertie: afterwardes, in others also. As for his wife JULIA, so farre was he from shewing any courtesie or kindnesse unto her when shee stode confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of dores, and enjoy the Societie of people and worldlie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little stocke and houtholde-stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenance:

\*Or patrimonie  
\*That thereby their money might come abroad.

\*i. d. his paid.  
\*For then it was that xx thousand were killed at Fideney by the fall of a Theater.  
\*Publicate.  
\*Or Guard.  
\*As of their General.

\*With allowance of lands, fees or yearly Pensions for their service.  
\*In number in Plin. lib. 2. cap. 24. Euseb. Chron. 133.

\*Her husband  
\*And therefore he hoped to be his heires

\*more than by law they might

50

and all, forsooth, under a colour of common right and law; because AUGUSTUS in his last will and testament had not expressly provided in this behalfe. Being notable well to endure his mother Livia, as challenging to her selfe equall part with him in power and authority, hee avoided both to keepe ordinary and daily company, and also to entertaine long speech or secret conference with her; because hee might not be thought ruled and directed by her counsailes; which otherwhiles notwithstanding he was wont both to stand in neede of, and also to use. Semblably, he tooke to the very heart the passing of this Act in the Senate, *That in his stile as he had the title, sonne of AUGUSTUS, so this addition should runne withall sonne of LIVIA.* And therefore it was, that he would not suffer her to be named \*PARENS PATRIÆ, nor to receive any remarkable honour in open place and by publique decree. Oftentimes also he admonished her to forbear intermedling in greater affaires, and such as were not meet for women; especially after he perceived once, that when the Temple of *Vesta* was on fire, she also came thither in person among others, & there encouraged the people and souldiours both, to doe their best and help all what they could, as her manner was to doe in her husbands dayes.

\* Mother of her Country.

51

By these degrees he proceeded even to secret rancour & malice against her, but chiefly upon this occasion, as men report. She had been very earnest with him many a time to enrolle one in the (a) Decuries of the Iudges who was made free Denizen & Citizen of *Rome*: but he denied flatly to choose and admit the party, unlesse it were upon this onely condition, That she would suffer a clause to be written & annexed to the Instrument \* or Roll, in these words, *This graunt was by my mother wrung and wrested from me.* Whereat she highly displeased and offended, brought forth out of her Closet & Cabinet certaine old letters of AUGUSTUS (written) unto her, as touching his perverse, bitter and intollerable manners; and those she openly read. He againe tooke the matter so greivously, that she had both kept those writings so long by her, and also cast them in his dish so spitefully, that some thinke this was the greatest cause of his departure from the Citie. And verily, for the space of three yeeres compleat, during which time hee was absent and his mother living, hee sawe her but once: and that was no more than one day, and very fewe howers of the same. And afterwards as little minde hee had to be by her lying sicke: and when shee was dead, suffering her corps by staying so long above ground (whiles men hoped still of his coming) to corrupt at length and putrifie: after shee was entered, he forbade that she should be canonized and registred in the Catalogue of Saints: pretending as if she herselfe had given that order. Her will hee annulled, all her friends and familiars, even those unto whom upon her death-bed she had committed the charge of her Funerals, within a short time he persecuted and plagued, yea and one of them, to wit, a worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, he condemned to the \* pump.

\* Or wheele & bucket: in Antiquity: Some read, in Antiquity, or Antiquity, an Island: or else Latunum, a dungeon in the common prison.

\* Of Drusus.

52

Of his two sonnes, hee loved neither DRUSUS that was by nature, nor GERMANICUS by adoption, as a father should doe; as taking offence at the vices of the \* one. For DRUSUS was of an effeminate minde; given to a loose and idle life. Therefore was not TIBERIUS so neerely touched and grieved for him being dead; but presentlie after his funerall, returned to his

his ordinarie and accustomed businesse prohibiting vacation \* of Iustice to continue any longer. Moreover, when the *Iliensian* Embassadors came somewhat with the latest to comfort him; he, (as if now by this time the memorie of his sorrow had bene cleane worne out,) scoffed at them and made this answer, *That hee likewise was sorie in their behalfe for the losse they had of HECTOR, so noble and brave a Citizen.* As for GERMANICUS, he deprived and disgraced him so, as that not onely he did extenuate and diminish all his worthy exploits as mere vaine and needlesse, but also blamed his most glorious victories, as daungerous and hurtfull to the Common-wealth. Also, for that without his advise, hee went unto *Alexandria*, (by occasion of an extreame and suddaine famine) hee complained of him in the Senate: yea, and it is verily beleevied, he was the cause of his death, and used the meanes of CN. PISO, Lieutenant of *Syria*; who soone after being accused of this crime, would (as some thinke) have uttered abroad those directions and warrants that hee had so to doe: but that SEIANUS secretly withstood it. For which, TIBERIUS was oftentimes and in many places much \* blamed, and in the night season commonly called upon with this crie and note, *Redde Germanicum.* GIULIUS GERMANICUS againe. The suspition whereof himselfe afterwards confirmed and made good, by afflicting in cruell manner the wife also and children of the said GERMANICUS.

\* Iustitium, as the manner was in any mournfull time.

\* Ni Scianus secreta oblatet: or, Nisi ea secreta oblatentur: but that they were in secre delivered, and therefore could not be proved.

\* Imcrepitum: others read inscription. This inscription is in many places set upon his Statues.

\* Germanicus his adopted sonnes wife, & daughter to Agrippa and Julia.

53

Furthermore, his daughter \* in law AGRIPPINA, for complaining overboldly of him after the death of her husband, he tooke by the hand, and recited unto her a (a) Greeke verse to this effect, *If thou hast not soveraine Rule and Dominion, quoth he, Thinkest thou pretty daughter that thou art wronged? and so vexed her no speech at all after.* Also, because upon a time, when shee durst not at supper tast of those appels which he had reached unto her, he forbore to invite her any more; pretending, that she charged him with the crime of attempting her with poison: when as in deede, it was of purpose plotted & packed beforehand, both that himselfe should by the offering of such fruit tempt her, and she againe beware most present and assured death. At the last, having untruly accused her, as if shee minded to flie one while to the Statue of AUGUSTUS, and another while to the Armies, hee confined and sent her away to the Isle *Pandataria*; and as shee railed at him, hee by the hands of a Centurion with whipping and lashing her over the face strucke out one of her eyes. Againe, when as shee was fully determined to pine her selfe to death: hee caused her mouth perforce to bee opened, and meate to be crammed into her throat: Yea, and after that by continuance in this minde shee consumed quite away and died in the end, hee inveighed against her in most odious and reproachfull termes: having opined first in the Senate, that her birth-day also should bee reckoned among the dismall and unlucky dayes. Furthermore, he expected thanks, as for an high favour done unto her, in that hee strangled her not before with a cord, and so flung her to the \* (b) *Gemonia*, and in regard of such a singular clemencie as this, hee suffered a Decree to passe, *That thanks should be given unto him, and a Present of Golde consecrated unto IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.*

\* Scale:

Whereas by GERMANICUS he had three nephewes, NERO, DRUSUS & CAIUS;

L 2

CAIUS;

54

Caius; by DRUSUS one, to wit TIBERIUS, when he was left destitute and fatherlesse by the death of his children, the two eldest sonnes of GERMANICUS, namely NERO and DRUSUS, he recommended to the LL. of the Senate; and celebrated the day of both their Commencements with giving a \* Congiarie to the people: But no sooner understood he, that upō New-yeeres-day there had beene publique vowes made by the Citie for their life also and preservation, but he gave the Senate to understand, *That such honours ought not to be conferred upon any persons, but those that were experienced and farre steep in yeeres*. Thereby, having discovered the inward character and canker of his hart, from that day forward hee exposed them to the slaunders and imputations of all men: When also, by sundry subtle devises hee had wrought so, that they might bee both provoked to give railing taunts, and also beeing so provoked come to mischief and destruction; he accused them in his letters, heaped most bitterly upon them hainous reproaches, caused them to be iudged enemies to the State, and so hunger-starved them to death; NERO, within the Isle Pontia, and DRUSUS at the very foote and bottome of Palatium. Men think that NERO was driven to \* worke his owne death, what time as the \* Hangman, as sent by a warrant from the Senate, presented unto him halters \* and hookes. As for DRUSUS, kept he was from all foode and sustenance: in so much as hee gave the attempt to eate the very flockes that stuffed the \* mattresse whereupon hee lay: And the \* reliques of them both, were so dispersed and scattred abroad, that hardly they could be ever gathered together.

55

Over and above his olde friends and familiars, hee had demaunded twenty out of the number of the best and principall Citizens, as Counsaillours and Assistants unto him in publique affaires. Of all these, hee could hardly shewe twaine or three at the most alive: the rest, some for one cause and some for another he brought to confusion and killed: among whom (with the calamity and overthrow of many more) was ÆLIUS SEIANUS, whom hee had to the highest place of authoritie advanced, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument and right hand, by whose ministerie and fraudulent practises he might circumvent the children of GERMANICUS, and so establishe as heire apparent in succession of the Empire the Nephew he had by DRUSUS, as his naturall sonne.

56

No milder was he one iote unto the Greeke Professours and Artists, living and conversing daily with him, and in whom hee tooke most contentment. One of them named ZENO, as hee reasoned and discoursed very \* exactly of a question he asked, *What harsh Dialect \* that was, wherein he spake?* and when hee answered, *It was the Dorick*: he confined him for his labour into Cynaria, supposing that he twitted and reproached him for his olde vacation and absence from Rome because the Rhodians spake Dorick. Semblably, whereas his manner was out of his owne daily readings, to propound certaine questions as hee sate at supper: having intelligence, That SELEUCUS the Grammarian enquired diligently of his Ministers and Servitours, what Authors at any time hee had in hand, and so came prepared to asloile the saide questions, first hee forbad him his house and ordinarie Societie, afterwards hee forced him even to death.

His

His cruell, close and unpliant nature was not hidden nor not in his verie childhood: the which THEODORUS GADARÆUS his teacher in Rhetorick, seemed both at first to fore-see most wisely, and also to expresse and relemble as fitly, when by way of chiding and rebuke hee called him ever and anone *Pelon Haimati Pephuramenon*; .i. \* clay soaked \* in bloud. But the same brake out & appeared somewhat more, when he became Emperour, at the very beginning: what time as yet he lay for to win the love and favour of men, with a pretence of civill moderation. A certaine \* Buffon there was, who as a Funerall passed by, had willed the party whose body was caried forth, to report unto AUGUSTUS, *That his Legacies were not yet payed and delivered, which hee had left for the Commons of Rome*. Him, he caused to be haled and brought unto his presence, to receive also the debt which was due: and then commaunded him to be led to execution, and so to relate the truth unto his father (AUGUSTUS). Not long after as he threatened to send unto prison one POMPEIUS a Romaine Knight, for stoutly denying some thing, hee assured him, *That of a POMPEIUS he would make him a POMPEIANUS*, glauncing by this bitter and biting taunt, both at the mans name & also at the old infortuny of \* that side.

58 About the same time, when the Pretour came to know of him, whether his pleasure was to holde the iudiciall Affizes, as touching the case of \* Maiestie, or no: he made answer, *That the Lawes must have their course and be put in execution*: and in very truth he executed them with extreame rigour. There was one who from the Statue of AUGUSTUS had taken away the head, for to set the same upon the Statue of another. The matter was debated in the Senate: and because some doubt arose, Who did the deed? inquisition was made by torture. The party delinquent being condemned; this kind of Calumniation by little and little proceeded so farre, that such points as these also were made capitall crimes: Namely, to have beaten a slave, about the \* image of AUGUSTUS. Item, if a man had shifted his (a) apparell & put on other clothes (about the said Image). Item to have brought into any privie or brothelhouse \* his image imprinted either in money or ring. Lastly, to have empaiied any word or deede of his, in the least credite and reputation that might bee. To conclude, it cost one his life, for suffering in his owne Colonie, honours to be decreed unto him, upon the same day, that they had in times past beene decreed for AUGUSTUS.

Many parts besides under the colour of gravity and reformation, but rather in deede following the course of his owne nature; hee used to play, so cruelly and with such rigour, that some there were, who in verses both upbraided by way of reproach the calamities present, and also gave warning of the future miseries, in this manner.

*Asper & immitis. Breviter vis omnia dicam?*

*Dispeream, si te mater amare potest.*

Harsh and unkind, (In brieve wilt thou I should say all:) thou art:

God me confound, if mother thine can love thee in her hart.

*Non es eques; quare? non sunt tibi millia centum;*

*Omnia si queras: et Rhodos exilium est.*

No Knight thou art; and why? for hundred thousands none;

(Search all) thou hast in store: & now at Rhodes exil' d' do'st wone.

L 3

Aurea

57

\*Or Largeffe.

\*To famish his owne selfe wilfully.

\*Or executioner.

+ To strangle him, and drag him to the Scale Gemonie.

\*Or b:d.

\*Bones and ashes which was done by him of spight.

\*Or mire?  
\*Clay to tempered become  
meth verse  
strong, tough  
and stiffe.

\*A scolding iester.

\*Elato mortuo, or clare mortuo, .i. with a loud voice called upon the dead man, &c.

\*The Pompeiani, that took part with Pompeius against Julius Cæsar.

\*High treason.

\*Fled thither for refuge as unto a Sanctuarie, or otherwise how so ever.

\*Either of Tiberius or Augustus. Rec'd Seneca de beneficijs lib. 3 cap. 26

59

*Aurca mutasti Saturni secula, CÆSAR;  
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.*

Of Saturne King thou changed hast that age resembling gold,  
For while thou, CÆSAR, liv'st, the world of yron shall ever hold.  
*Falsidit vinum quia iam sitit iste cruorem:*

*Tam bibit hunc auide, quam bibit ante merum.*  
Wine doth he loath, because that now of bloud he hath a thirst,  
He drinketh that as greedily, as wine he did at first.

(a) *Aspice salutem sibi non tibi, ROMULUSULLAM;*

*Et MARIUM, si vis, aspice; sed reducem,*

*Nec non ANTONI civilia bella moventis.*

*Nec semel infectas, aspice cade manus.*

*Et dic, Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo,*

*Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

See SULLA, happy for himselfe, O ROMULUS not for thee:

And MARIUS, in case thou wilt, but new returned, see;

Likewise behold of ANTONIE those hands in bloud embrew'd

Not once, I meane of ANTONIE, who civil warres renew'd.

The say, Rome goes to wrack. And he with blud-shed much wil raig

Who to a Kingdome-state is come, from banishment againe.

Which verses at first, he would have had to be taken and construed as made by them who were impatient of any Lordly rule and absolute dominion at Rome: and as if they had bene framed and deuiled, not so much with any considerate iudgement, as upon Stomach and Choler. And evermore his saying was, *Oderint dum probent.* Let them hate me, so long as they suffer my proceedings to passe. But afterwards, even himselfe proyed them to be very true and most certaine.

60

Within few dayes after hee came to Caprea, when a Fisher-man, suddainly and unlooked for presented unto him (as hee was in a secret place doing somewhat by himselfe) a Barble of an extraordinary bignesse, he caused his face to be rubbed all over with the same fish: as put in a fright, no doubt, for that from the backe side of that Iland, he had made meanes thorough the rough thickets and by wayes, to creepe and get unto him where he was. And when the poore fellow amid this punishment seemed to reioyce yet, and said, *It was happy that he had not offered unto him a lopstar also* (which he had caught) of an huge greatnesse, hee commaunded that his face should be grated and mangled likewise with the said Lopstar. A Souldiour, one of his owne guard, for filching and stealing a Peacock out of an Orchard hee put to death. In a certaine journey that he made, the Litter wherein he was caried chaunced to be entangled and somewhat stayed with briars and brambles: Whereupon a Centurion of the formost cohorts in the Vaward, that had in charge to try and cleere thee waies, he caused to be laid along upon the ground, and there he all to beat him \* untill he was well-neere dead.

61 Soone after, hee brake out into all kindes of cruelty; as one who neuer wanted matter to woork upon: persecuting the familiar friendes and acquaintance of his owne Mother first, then, of his Nephewes and daughter in lawe, and at the last of SEIANUS: after whose death hee grewe to be

\* Being skaly and having a couple of barbeis.

\* Or garden.

\* With cudgels: which punishment was called *Fustigium*.

be most cruell. Whereby especially it appeared, that himselfe was not wont so much to be provoked and set on by SEIANUS: as SEIANUS to serve his turne and feede his humour, seeking as he did all occasions: howsever in a certaine commentarie which he composed summarily and briefly of his owne life he durst write thus much, *That he executed SEIANUS*, because he had found that hee raged furiously against the children of GERMANICVS his sonne. Of whom to say a truth, the one himselfe murdered, after he had first suspected SEIANUS, and the other, not before he had killed him. To prosecute in particular all his bloudie deedes would require a long time. It shall suffice therefore to reherse in generall the patternes as it were and examples of his crueltie. There passed not a day over his head, no not so much as any festivall and (a) religious holieday, without execution and punishment of folke. Some suffred even upon Newycares day. Accused and condemned there were many together, with their children, and very wives. Straight commaundement and warning was giuen, that the nere kinsfolke of such persons as stood condemned to die, should not mourne and lament for them. Especially rewardes were by decree appointed for their accusers: otherwhiles also for bare witnesses. No informer and promoter was discredited, but his presentmēt taken. And everie crime and trespasse went for Capitall, and so was received: were it but the speaking of a few simple words. Objected it was against a Poet, that in a tragædie hee had reviled and railed upon (b) \* AGAMEMNON; as also it was laide to an *Historians* charge, for saying, (c) that \* BRUTVS and CASSIVS, were the last of all the *Romains*. Presently were the Authors and writers punished, and their writings called in and abolished: notwithstanding certaine yeares before they had bene recited even in the hearing of AVGVSTVS, with his good liking and approbation. Some committed to ward, were deprived not onely of their Solace and comfort in studying, but also of the verie use of talking with others. Of such as were cited peremptorily by writ and proceffe to answer at the barre, some gave themselves (mortall) wounds at home in their houses (as sure to be condemned, onely to avoyd torments and ignominy) others in the open face and middest of the Court dranke poyson: and yet were they with their wounds bound up, and whiles they yet panted betweene alive and dead, haled away to prison. There was not one executed but hee was throwne also into the *lemonia*, and drawne with the drag. In one day were there (d) twentie so throwne and drawne: and among them boyes and women. As for young girles and maidens of unripe yeares, because by auncient custome and tradition, unlawfull it was to strangle Virgins. (e) First deflowred they were by the hang-man and afterwards strangled. Were any willing of themselves to die: such were forced violently to live. For he thought simple death so light a punishment, that when he hard, how one of the prisoners, \* CARNVLIVS by name, had taken his death voluntarily before, he cryed out in these wordes. CARNVLIVS *hath escaped my hands*. Also in overseeing and perusing the prisoners in Gaole, when one of them besought to have his punishment with speed, he made him this answer: *Nay marry, thou art not yet reconciled unto me, that I should shew thee such favour*. A certaine \* Confular writer hath inserted this in his Annales: *That upon a time at a great feast (where himselfe also was present.) TIBERIVS being on a sodaine asked, and that openly with a lowd voyce*

\* *Quæ Selamem gnarvens occasiones submissas.*

\* The soverain Captaine and Generall of the Greeces at Treze.

\* *A. Crematius Cordus*, read Seneca *Consolat. ad Marium*, cap 22 \* who slew Iulius Cæsar and were accomplices.

*Tyrannoclonis*

\* Or *Carnilius*

\* Who had bene sometime conful, and therefore to be credited.



by a dwarf standing at the Table among \* other Buffons and Iesters, *Wherefore*  
 \*Inter Caprea: PACONIVS being attaint of treason lived so long? For that instant verily chid the  
 partie for his faucie and malapert tongue: but after a few daies wrote vnto the  
 Senate, to take order with all speede for the execution of PACONIVS.

62

\*Daughter of  
 Germanicus &  
 Agrippina, and  
 wife to the said  
 Drusus.

\*among other  
 examiners.  
 \*Done vnto  
 h. m.

\*The Astro-  
 loger,

63

\*Fortunes or  
 chaunces.  
 \*In manner of  
 a Lottery.  
 \*Of Fortune  
 at Preneste.  
 \*L. Annius La-  
 mus and L. Ar-  
 runtius.  
 \*Or Prefides  
 that had bene  
 Consuls.

He increased and strained still more and more this crueltie, by occasion that  
 he was galled and fretted at the newes of his sonne DRVVS his death: For,  
 having bene of opinion, that he died upon some sickenes & intemperate life,  
 so soone as he understood at length, that he was poysoned & so made away by  
 the villanous practise of his wife \* LIVILLA and SBIANVS together, he spar-  
 red not to torment and execute any one whomsoever, so bent and addicted  
 whole daies together to the inquisition and tryall of this onely matter, as that  
 when word came unto him how an host of his an inhabitant of Rhodes (whom  
 by familiar letters he had sent for to Rome) was come, he commanded him out  
 of hand to be put to \* torture, as if he had bene some neere freinde present at  
 the forsaide examination: but afterwards, when his errour was discovered, and  
 seeing how he had mistaken, he caused him also to be killed, because he should  
 not divulge and make knowne the \* former injury. The place is yet to be  
 seene at Capree of his butcherly carriage: From which he caused condemned  
 persons after long and exquisite torments to be flung headlong before his face  
 into the sea: where were readie to receive them a number of mariners, who  
 with their spits, poles, and oares should beate and batt their carkasses: to  
 the end that none of them might have any breath or wind remaining in the bo-  
 die: He had devised moreover, among other kinds of torment, what time as  
 men by deceitfull meanes had their lode with large drinking of strong wine,  
 sodainely to knit fast and tie their privie members with (Lute) strings, that hee  
 might cause them to swell and be pent in most dolorous paines occasioned at  
 once as well by the streight strings, as the suppression and stoppage of vrine.  
 And had it not bene that both death prevented and \* THRASYLLVS also en-  
 forced him of purpose, (as men say) to put of some designs in hope of longer  
 life, he would haue murdered a good many more (as it is fully beleaved) and  
 not spared those verie nephewes of his that remained yet alive; considering  
 he both had CAIVS in suspition, and also cast of TIBERIVS, as conceived in  
 adulterie. And it soundeth to truth, that he was minded thus to do. For, ever  
 and anon, he called PRIAMVS happie in that he overlived all his sonnes and  
 daughters.

But, how amid these pranks he lived not onely odious and detested, but ex-  
 ceeding timorous also & exposed to the contumelious reproches of the world,  
 there be many evidences to shew. That any soothsayers should be sought unto  
 and consulted with a part without witnesses by, he forbad: As for the Oracles  
 neere adjoining to the Citie of Rome, he attempted to subvert them all. But  
 being terrified with the maiestie of those \* answeres which were delivered \* at  
 Preneste, he gave over: namely, when as he could not finde them, (sealed up  
 though they were and brought downe to Rome) within the chist until the same  
 was carried backe againe unto the \* Temple. And not daring to send away &  
 dismishe from him one \* or two Consulare \* L. L. deputies, after hee had offered  
 provinces unto them, he detained them so long, untill after certaine yeares ex-  
 pired, he ordained others to succcede them: whiles the other remained present  
 with

with him: whereas in the meane time, reserving still the title of the office: he  
 assigned unto them many commissions and matters of charge: and they con-  
 tinually gave order for execution thereof, by the ministerie of their Legates,  
 Liuetenants and Coadiutors.

His \* daughter in law, and Nephewes, after they were once condemned, he  
 never remoooved from place to place otherwise than chained and in a close co-  
 vered lickerfowed up fast: setting his soldiers to prohibite all passengers that  
 met with them, and waifaring persons travailing by, once to looke \* backe thi-  
 ther, or to stay their pace and stand still.

65 When SBIANVS went about seditiously to worke alteration in the state:  
 albeit he saw now that both his birth day was publicly solemnized, and also  
 his Images of gold worshipped everie where: he overthrew him (I must needs  
 say) at length: but with much adoo, by craftie sleights and guile, rather than by  
 his princely authoritie and Imperiall power. For first, to the end that he might  
 dismishe the man in shew of honour, he assumed him to be his Colleague in the  
 fifth Consulship, which in his \* long absence he had taken upon him for that  
 verie purpose. Afterwards when he had deceived him with hope of \* Affi-  
 nitie and the Tribunes authoritie, he complained of the man (looking for noe  
 such matter) in a shamefull and pitious Oration: beseeching the L. L. of the  
 Senate among other requests. To send on of the Consuls to conduct him an aged and  
 desolate man with some garde of soldiours into their sight. And yet neverthelesse,  
 distrusting himselfe and fearing an \* uprore, he had given commandements  
 that his nephew DRVVS, whom still he kept in prison at Rome: should be let  
 at libertie (if need did so require,) & ordained generall captain. Yea & whiles  
 his ships were readie rigged and prepared to what Legions soever he ment for  
 to flie, hee stood looking ever and anon from the highest cliffe that was, to-  
 ward the markes and signes, which he had appointed (least messengers might  
 stay too long) for to be reared a great way of: thereby to have intelligence, as  
 any occurrent (good or bad) fell out. Nay, when the conspiracie of SBIAN-  
 VS was now suppressed, he was never the more secure and resolute: but for  
 the space of 9. moneths next ensuing he stirred not out of the \* village called  
 Iovis.

Beside all this, diverse and sundrie reprochfull taunts from all parts netled  
 and stung his troubled minde. For there was not a person condemned, that  
 reviled him not in all sorts openly to his face, yea and discharged upon him  
 opprobrious termes by libels laid for the nonce in the verie \* Orchestra, with  
 which contumelies verily, affected he was after a most divers and contrarie  
 manner: so that, one while he desired for verie shame of the world, that all  
 such abuses might be unknowne and concealed: otherwhiles, hee contemned  
 the same, and of his owne accorde broached and divulged them abroad. Fur-  
 thermore, rated he was & railed at in the letters also of ARTABANVS K. of the  
 Parthians, who charged him with parricides, murders, cowardise and luxurious  
 riot: who gave him counsell likewise with all speede possible, to satisfie  
 with a voluntarie death the hatred of his Citizens, conceived against him in  
 the highest degree and most iustly. At the last, being even wearie of him-  
 selfe, in the beginning of such an Epistle as this, hee declared and confessed  
 in manner the verie summe of all his miseries. What shall I write? my L. L. of the  
 Senate,

64

\*Agrippina, his  
 adopted scame  
 Germanicus  
 wife & widow,  
 or Livilla be-  
 fore named,  
 wife to Drusus  
 his naturall  
 sonne.  
 \*Because they  
 should not aske  
 who was within

\*For here-  
 mained still as  
 Caprea.  
 \*To be mar-  
 ried in mari-  
 age with one of  
 his neipces.  
 \*Or Epistle  
 rather written  
 up to the Senat,  
 \*in Rome, about  
 Seianus who  
 was so highly  
 honored there.

\*Or ferme  
 house, in the  
 Isle Caprea.

66

\*Where the  
 Senators sat  
 to behold the  
 plaies.

*Senate, or how shall I write? Nay, what is it, at a word, that I shall not write at this time? The Gods and Goddesses all plague and confound me utterly at once, feeling as I do my selfe dayly to perishe.*

67  
\*For he was  
wonderfully  
addicted to the  
study of Astro-  
logie and such  
curious Arts:

Some thinke, that he foreknew all this by the skill he had of \* future events: that he foresaw also long before how great a calamitie and infamie both, would one day betide him: And therefore it was, that he refused most obstinate-ly to take upō him the Empire & the name of PATER PATRIÆ, as also stood against the oath, to maintaine his Acts: for feare least within a while after, to his greater disgrace and shame he might be found inferiour, and unworthie of such speciall honours, which verily may be gathered out of the speech hee made as touching both those points, when he saith but thus. *That hee would be alwaies like to himselfe, and never change his manners, so long as he continued in his sound witt. Howbeit, for example sake, provided it would be that the Senate binde not themselves to keepe and ratifie the Actions of any one, who by some chance might bee altered.* And againe, *Marie, if at any time, quoth hee, yee shall make doubt of my loyall behaviour and devoted mind unto you (which before it ever happen, I wish my dying day to take me from this minde and opinion of yours, once conceived of me and afterwards changed) the bare title of PATER PATRIÆ will adde no honour unto me, but upbraide you either with inconsiderate rashnesse, for imposing that Surname upon mee, or else with inconstancie, for your contrary iudgements of mee.*

68

Corpulent he was, big set and strong, of stature (a) above the ordinarie, broad betweene the shoulders and large breasted: in all other parts also of the bodie (from the crowne of his head) to the verie sole of his foote, of equall making and congruent proportion. His left hand was more nimble & stronger than the right: and his ioynts so firme, that with his finger he was able to bore through a greene and sound Apple: with a fillop also to breake the head of a boy, yea of a good stripling and big youth. Of colour and complexion he was cleere and white: wearing the haire of his head longe behind, in so much as it covered his very necke: which was thought in him to be a fashion appropriateto his linage and familie. He had an ingenuous and well favoured face: wherein notwithstanding appeared many small (b) tumours or risings: and a paire of verie great gogle eyes in his head, such as (whereat a man would marvaile) could see euen by night and in the darke: but that was onely for a litle while and when they opened first after sleepe: for in the ende they waxed dim againe. His \* gate was with his (c) necke stiffe and shooting \* forward: with a countenance bent and composed lightly to severitie: for the most part he was silent: Seldome or never should you have him talke with those next about him: and if hee did, his speech was exceeding slowe, not without a certaine wanton gesticulation and fumbling with his fingers. All which properties being odious and full of arrogancie, AVGVSTVS both observed in him, & also went about to excuse & cloke for him before the Senate and people, assuring them, they were the defects and imperfections of nature, and not the vices of the mind. He lived most healthfull. And verily all the time well neere that he was Emperour not once in manner crasie: albeit from that he was thirtie yeares old he (d) governed his helth after his owne order and direc-tion, without any helpe or counsell at all of Physicians.

As

\*The cloudy.

\*For such pro-  
minent eyes  
are not com-  
monly quicke  
of sight.

\*Manner of  
going.  
\*Or downe-  
ward into his  
bosome:

As little respect as hee had of the Gods, or had sence of any religion, (as one addicted to astrologie and calculation of nativities, yea and fully perswa-<sup>69</sup>ded, that all things were done and ruled by \* fatall destinie) yet feared he thun-<sup>\*The course</sup>der exceedingly: and were the aire or wether any whit troubled, hee ever<sup>of the stars,</sup> carried a chaplet or wreath of lawrell \* about his necke: because<sup>\*Or por his</sup> that kinde of greene \* branch is neuer, as they say blasted with light-<sup>head in manner</sup>ning.<sup>of a Coronet.</sup>

The liberall Sciences \* of both sorts he loved most affectionatly, in the<sup>70</sup> latine \* speech he followed CORVINVS MESSALLA; whom being an aged<sup>\*as wel grecke</sup> professor he had observed from his verie youth: but with overmuch affectari-<sup>as Latine.</sup>on and curiositie he marred all and darkened his stile: so as he was thought to<sup>\*Prose.</sup>do somewhat better \* *ex tempore*, than upon studie and premeditation. He<sup>\*Of a sodaine;</sup> composed also a poem in lyricke (a) verses, the title whereof is, *a complaint*<sup>\*One of An-</sup>of \* D. CÆSARS death. Hee made likewise Greeke poemes in imitation<sup>gusts sonnes,</sup>of EUPHORION, RHIANVS and PARTHENIVS: In which Poets being much<sup>yet some ex-</sup>delighted, their writings and Images he dedicated in the publike Libraries a-<sup>peund it of la-</sup>mong the auncient and principall authors. A number therefore of learned<sup>lius Cæsar</sup>men strove a vie to put forth many pamphlets \* of them, and to present him<sup>Disfator.</sup>therewith. But above all he studied for the knowledge of \* fabulous historie, eve<sup>\*delight. haply</sup>unto meere fooleries, & matters ridiculous. For, the verie Grāmarians (which<sup>of their doing.</sup>kind of professours as we have said, he affected especially) he would assay and<sup>\*Wherein ma-</sup>apose commonly with these and such like questions: namely, *Who was Hæ-*<sup>ny tales or</sup><sup>ables are in-fer-</sup>*cyraes mother? What name ACHILLES had among the \* Virgin? What it was that*<sup>ter of King</sup>*the Mer-maides werewont to sing?* The verie first day, (after the death of A V-<sup>Lycomedes in</sup><sup>the Isle Scyros</sup><sup>where hee</sup><sup>saigned him</sup><sup>selfe to bee a</sup><sup>maiden.</sup><sup>\*Androgens.</sup>GVSTVS) that he entred into the Curia, as if he minded once for all to performe<sup>71</sup>the dutie of pietie and religion: following the example of MINOS he sacrific-<sup>72</sup>ed indeede, as the manner was with Frankin-cense and wine. but with-<sup>\*With three</sup>out a minstrell, as the saide MINOS sometime did at the death of his<sup>ranks of oares;</sup>sonne.

In the Greeke tongue, howsoever he otherwise was readie enough and spake it with facilitie, yet he used it not every where, but most of all forbare it in the Senate house: in so much verily, as when he came to name (a) MONO-POLIVM, he craved leave before hand: for that he was to use a strang and so-<sup>73</sup>raine worde; yea & in a certaine decree of the Senatours, when this word (b) EMBLEMA was red, he gave his opinion, that the saide word should be chan-<sup>\*Ad Septimium</sup>ged, and insteede of that strang terme some latine vocable sought out: and if<sup>lapidem.</sup>such an one could not be found, then to utter and declare the thing, though it were in more words and by circumlocution. A certaine Greeke souldier also, being required for to depose and deliver his testimonie, he forbade to make an-<sup>74</sup>swer, (c) unlesse it were in Latin.

All the time that he was retired and lived from the Cittie of Rome, twice<sup>75</sup>and no more he assaied to returne thither: once he came by water embarked<sup>\*With three</sup>in a \* gallie, as farre as to the hort-yards and gardens adioyning to the (a) *Nau-*<sup>ranks of oares;</sup>*machia*: but he had set guardes along the banks of *Tibre*, for to void & put backe<sup>\*Ad Septimium</sup>such as went forth to meete him. A second time, by the streete or part way<sup>lapidem.</sup>*Appia*, so farre as the (b) 7. miles end from Rome: but when he had onely seene<sup>76</sup>the walles a farre of, without approching neerer unto the Cittie hee returned.

For

\* when he came  
by the River,  
\* when he iour-  
nied by land.

\* Penat, for Ar-  
series by the  
trope Cat-cher  
for they one  
ly beca-.

\* Who waited  
upon him.  
\* or upon whom  
he leaned.

\* Valere dicentes  
or as they fa-  
luted him, after  
the Greeke  
phrase *thairin*  
*Kaisopratia*.  
*Gaudere & bene*  
*rem gerere: Ho-*  
*ist. All haile*  
*and faire*  
*cheere you.*

\* With full in-  
tent as it should  
seeme to bee  
revenged of  
the Senate.  
\* Or manner  
house.

\* Of Lucullus,  
who either  
built it, or there  
dwelt.

\* 16. of march.  
A. V. C. 790:  
Caligula, Em-  
peror after  
him.

\* Some leave  
out this clause,  
and read thus,  
as he desired  
meat &c. a  
pillow was &c.

\* Or cushion:  
\* *Intellecta de-*  
*fectione.* Some  
expound this  
of the sinking  
away of his  
familiar and  
those that were  
about him.  
\* Upon which  
he wore the  
ring.

For what cause he did so \* at first, it was not certainly knowne: afterwards, affrighted he was with this prodigious picture and straung sight. Among other delights he tooke great pleasure in a Serpent (or) Dragon, which, when according to his usuall manner, he would haue fed with his owne hand and found eaten by pismires, he was warned thereupon to beware the violence of a multitude. In his returne therefore speedily into *Campa* he fell sicke at *Astura*: but being eased a little of that maladie he went forward as farre as to *Circeij*: and because he would give no suspicion of sicknesse, he was not onely present himselfe at the games exhibited by the garison souldiers there, but also, when there was a wild bore put forth into the open shew-place for to be baited, he launced darts at him from above, where he was: And presently therewith, by occasion of a convulsion in his side: and for that he had taken the cold aire upon an exceeding heat, he fell backe by (d) relapse into a more dangerous disease: Howbeit, he bare it out a pretie while: notwithstanding that after he was come downe so farre as to *Misenum*, he pretermitted nothing of his ordinary and daily manner, no not so much as his feasting and other pleasures: partly upon an intemperate humour of his owne, and in part to dissimule and palliate his weakenesse. For, when *CHARICLES* his Physician, who by vertue of a passport was licensed to depart and be absent, went forth from the table and tooke hold of his hand to kisse it, he supposing that he had felt his pulse, desired him to stay & sit downe againe, and so drew out the supper longer. Neither, gave he over his usuall custome, but even then standing in the midst of the banquetting roome with a licitor \* by him he spake to every one by name \* as they tooke their leave.

73

Meane while, when he had read among the Aets passed in the Senate that certaine prisoners were enlarged and dismissed, but not so much as once heard: concerning whom he had written very breifly and no otherwise than thus, *that nominated they were by an appeacher*: chafing and frowning hereat, as if he had bene held in contempt, he fully purposed to go againe into \* *Caprea*, as one who lightly would attempt nothing, but where he was sure enough and without all daunger. But being kept backe, as well by tempest as the violence of his disease that grew still upon him hee died soone after in a \* village bearing the name \* (a) *Luculliana*, in the 78. yeare of his age: three & twentieth of his Empire, and the \* seventeenth day before the Calends of Aprill: when *Cn. ACERRONIUS PROCVLVS* and *C. PORTIUS NIGER* were Consuls. Some thinke that \* *CAIUS* had given him a poyson of slow operation: which should by little and little consume him. Others are of opinion, that when hee desired meat in the remission of an ague fit wherein he had swowned (\* it was denied him) and therewith a \* pillow throwne upon his face to smoulder him & stop his breath. Some againe, *that it was* when coming soone to himselfe, he called for his Ring which was plucked fro his finger whiles he fainted. *S. N. R. c* a writeth that perceiving himselfe drawing on \* and readie to die, he tooke of his Ring, as if he minded to give it unto some one, and so held it a pretie while: then afterwards did it upon his finger againe: and so keeping down and gripping close his left \* hand, lay still a long time without once stirring: but suddenly calling for his gromes and servitours, when none made aunswere, rose

rose up, and not farre from his pallet, his strength failing him, fell downe dead.

Vpon the last Birth-dayes-feast of his that ever he saw, him thought as hee lay a sleepe, that *Apollo Temenites* (an Idol of exceeding bignesse and most artificially wrought) which was newly brought from *Saracoe* to be set up in the librarie of his new temple, assured him, *That he could not possibly by him be dedicated.* And some few daies before his death, the watch-tower that gave \* light at *Caprea* by an earthquake fell downe in the night: and at *Misenum*, the ashes remaining of the embers and coales brought into heate his refection parlour, being quenched quite and continuing cold a long time, suddainly brake forth into a light fire, at the shutting in of the evening, and so shone out a great part of the night and gave not over.

The people ioyed so much at his death, that running up and downe at the first tidings thereof, some cried out in this note, (Fling) \* *TIBERIUS* into *Tiberis*: others in their prayers besought the Mother Earth & the infernall Gods *To vouchsafe him now dead no place, but among impious wretches*: And a sort there were, who threatened his lifelesse carkasse the *Drag* and the *Gemonia*: as who, over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty in times past, were provoked to anger with a fresh outrage newly committed. For whereas by an Aet of Senate it was provided, *That the execution of condemned persons should be put off unto the tenth day after (sentence given)*, it happened so, that the day on which some of them were to suffer, fell out to be the very same, wherein newes came of *TIBERIUS* death. These poore foules, notwithstanding they piteously called for mans help (because in the absence yet of *CAIUS* no man was known, who might (in such a case) be repaired unto and spoken with) the Goalers, for that they would do nothing against the Constitution aforesaid strangled them and flung their bodies into the *Gemonia*. Heereupon, I say, the peoples hatred against him encreased, as if the Tyrants cruelty remained still after his death. His corpes, so soone as it began to bee removed from *Misenum*, notwithstanding the most part cried with one voice, To carie it rather to (a) *Asella*, & there to (b) halfe-burne it in the (c) Amphitheatre, yet was brought to *Rome* by the Soldiours and burnt in a publick funerall fire.

A two-fold \* will he made two yeeres before: the one written with his own hand: the other by his freed-man: but both of them were of the same tenour: \* *He meant* & signed he had them with the seales of most base persons. By vertue of which will and testament, he left coheires and equall in portion *CAIUS* his nephew by *GERMANICUS*, and *TIBERIUS* by *DRUSUS*. These he substituted & appointed to succeed one another. He gave legacies also to manie more, and among the rest unto the uestall Virgins, and to the Souldiers of all sorts in generall: as also to the commons of *Rome* by the poll: yea and to the Masters of everie Street by themselves severally.

M

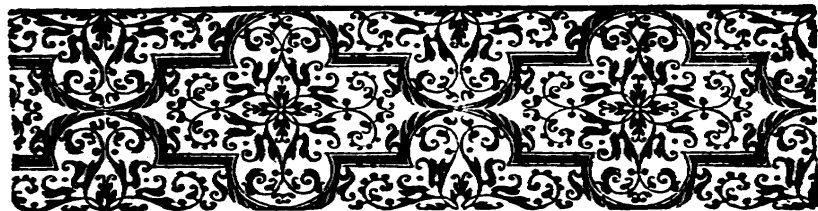
74

\* Vnto Sea me  
and passengers  
by night.

\* *Tiberium* in  
*Tiberim.*  
Into *Tiberis*  
with *Tiberius*.

76

\* *He meant*  
I suppose a  
counterspaire  
intended.



# THE HISTORIE OF Caius Cæsar Caligula, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



Chap. I  
A.V.C. 717  
765  
\* Daughter of  
Antonius the  
Triumvir, by  
Octavia, Au-  
gustus sister.  
\* Annia.  
\* 7 yeeres after.  
A.V.C. 767  
770  
771

\* From the said  
armie, where  
with he was  
acquainted.

**G**ERMANICUS father of CAIUS CÆSAR, sonne of DRU-  
sus and \* ANTONIA, no sooner was adopted by his Un-  
kle TIBERIUS, but forthwith he bare the office of Que-  
stureship five yeeres before hee might by the \* Lawes (a),  
and after it, the \* Consulate. And being sent into *Germa-*  
*nie* to the Armie, when upon newes brought of AUGU-  
STUS death, the Legions all throughout stode out most  
stiffly & refused TIBERIUS for their Emperour, offering unto him the absolute  
government of the State (whether their constant resolution or kinde affection  
herein were greater it is as hard to say) he stikled & repressed the, yea & soon af-  
ter having subdued the enemy, triumphed. After this, being created Consul the  
second time, and (b) driven forth \* perforce, (before he entred into that ho-  
norable place) to compose the troubles and to quiet the State in the East parts: when

when hee had \* deposed the King of *Armenia*, and brought *Cappadocia* into the  
forme of a Province, in the 34 yeere of his age, he died of a long diseale at *Ant-*  
*iochia*, not without suspicion of poison. For, besides the blackish and swert  
spots which were to be seene all over his body, and the frothie slime that ranne  
forth at his mouth: his heart also (after he was burnt,) they found among the  
bones all sound and not consumed: the nature whereof is thought to be such,  
that if it bee infected with poyson, it checkes all fire and cannot possibly bee  
burnt.

But, as the opinion of the world went, his death contrived by the wicked  
plot of TIBERIUS, was effected by the ministerie and helpe of C. N. PISO:  
who about the same time being President of *Syria*, and not dissimuling that hee  
was to offend either father or \* sonne (as if there were no other remedie but  
needes he must so doe) made no spare, but beyond all measure dealt with GER-  
MANICUS (sicke as hee was) most rigorously, both in word and deece. For  
which, so soone as he was returned to *Rome*, hee had like to have beene pulled  
in peeces by the people: and by the Senate condemned he was to die.

It is for certaine knowne and confessed, that there were in GERMANICUS  
all good parts and gifts as well of body as mind: and those in such measure, as  
never to any man befell the like: to wit, for shew full of passing beauty, favour  
and feature; with strength & valour answerable thereto: & for wit excellently  
well seene in eloquence and learning of \* both kinds: The very attractive ob-  
iect, he was of singular \* benevolence, endowed with a wonderfull grace and  
effectuall desire to win mens favour and deserve their love. The onely defect  
that he had in his making and personage, were his slender shankes: and yet the  
same also by little and little became replenished with continuall riding on \*  
horseback after (a) his meate. Many a time wounded hee his enemy in close  
fight hand to hand. He pleaded causes of great importance, even as touching  
the \* Decree of Triumph. And among other monuments of his studies he left  
behind him in Greeke, Comedies also. Both at home and abroad (b) civile he  
was, in so much as he would goe to free and confederate Cities without any  
\* Liectors. Where ever he knew any Sepulchers of brave and worthy men to be,  
there his use was to offer unto their ghosts. Being purposed to enterre in one  
tombe the olde reliques and bones dispersed of those that were slaine in that  
great overthrow with VARUS, he first gave the assay with his owne hand to  
gather and carie them together into one place. Moreover, to his slanderers  
and backbiters (if he lighted upon them); of what quality so ever the persons  
were, or how great cause so ever they gave, so milde, so remisse and harme-  
lesse hee was: that notwithstanding PISO reversed and canceled his Decrees,  
plagued and persecuted a long time his Dependants, yet could he not finde in  
his heart to be angry with him, before he had for certaine knowne, that hee  
attempted his person with poysons and forcerous execrations: and even  
then verily, hee proceeded no farther against him, but, *more maiorem* to  
renounce all friendship with him, and to give his domesticall friendes in  
charge to bee revenged, if ought happened to himselfe otherwise than  
well.

Of these vertues hee reaped most plentifull fruite; so liked and loved of his  
kinsfolke and friendes, (for I let passe all other affinities and acquaintance

M 2

of

\* Deceitful:  
A.V.C. 771

\* Tiberius him-  
selfe, or Germa-  
nicus: his adop-  
ted sonne.

\* Greeke and  
Latine,  
\* The good will  
and affection  
of men, counte-  
ted among the  
gifts of fortune  
\* For they used  
the no litrope  
and therefore  
the blood and  
humours would  
descend to the  
legges

\* Triumphant,  
some made  
Triumphall: as  
if, he gave not  
over pleading  
when he had  
triumphed, or  
received trium-  
phall Orna-  
ments,  
\* Sergeants or  
officers.

of his) as that AUGUSTUS after hee had continued a long time in suspence, whether he should ordaine him for his Successor or no: recommended him at length unto TIBERIUS for to be adopted: so highly favoured of the Common people, as that many doe report and write; whensoever hee came unto a place or departed from thence, divers times by reason of the multitude flocking to meete him and to beare him companie, he endangered his owne life in the preasse. As he returned out of *Germanie*, after the suppressing of seditious tumults and mutinies there, all the *Prætorian* cohorts every one went out to encounter him upon the way: albeit warning was given before hand by proclamation, *That no more than twaine of them should goe forth.* But as for the people of *Rome*, of all sexes, ages, and degrees, they ran out by heapes to meet him xx miles from *Rome*.

Howbeit, farre greater, and more assured testimonies of mens iudgement touching him appeared at, and after his death. The very day wherein he left this life, The \* temples (a) were peited with stones: the altars of the Gods cast downe: the Domestickall (b) Lares, by some flung out of dores into the street; yea, and new-borne (c) babes of wedded parents throwne forth to be destroyed. And, that which more is, the report goeth, That the very Barbarians, notwithstanding they were at variance and civill warre among themselves, yea and had taken armes against us, yet, as it were in some \* domesticall and common sorrow, agreed all to make truce and a cessation of armes for a time. Some of their Princes also and Potentates, to declare their extraordinarie mourning and regret, did cut off their owne beards and shaved their wives heads: Yea, the very King (d) of Kings himselfe, gave over his exercise of hunting: and dissolved the Societie of his great Peeres and Princes at his table: which among the Parthians is as much as a (e) \* Law-steed.

At *Rome* verily, when as the Citie upon the first rumour of his sicknesse, in amazement and heave chere expected the messengers that came after; and all of a suddaine in the evening the voice went curreant, (although the Authors were unknowne,) that now at length he was recovered: running there was every where from all parts with \* lights and sacrifices into the Capitoll: yea the very dores of the temple were like to have been burst open, that nothing might stand in their way & hinder them, so desirous and earnestly bent with ioy to pay their vowes. In so much as TIBERIUS was awakened out of his sleepe with the shoutes and voices of the people reioycing, and from every side with one accord resounding this Note,

*Salva Roma, salva Patria, saluus est Germanicus.*

*Safe is Rome, safe is our Country, safe is GERMANICUS.*

Also, when now at the last it was knowne abroad that he was departed this life, the publick sorrow by no comfortable words nor edicts & proclamations could be repressed, but continued still even all the festivall daies of (a) the moneth December. His glory and the misse of him thus deceased, was much augmented also, by the outrages of the times ensuing: whiles all men were of opinion (and not without good reason) That the fiercenesse of TIBERIUS which soone after brake forth, was held in and kept downe by the reverent respect & feare that he had of him.

He wedded AGRIPPINA, daughter to M. AGRIPPA and IULIA: by whom he

5  
\* Or, the images of the Gods within the temples.

\* Touching them all and every one privately.  
\* At *Rome*, i. a stay of all Courts and Pleas, in token of a publick sorrow.

6  
\* Torches, Tapers, &c.  
\* Which they had made, to salute *Germanicus*, i. for the health and welfare of *Germanicus*.

he had nine children: of which faire issue twaine being yet Infants were taken away by untimely Death: one died when he was now waxen a iolly boy, passing full of lovely mirth and pretty talke; whose counterfaint in the habite of CUPID, \* LIVIA dedicated in the Chappell of *Venus Capitolina*: and the same \* AUGUSTUS was wont to kisse while it stood in his bed-chamber, so often as he entered into it. The rest survived their father: three of the female sex AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA and LIVIA, borne all one after another in the space of three yeeres: likewise as many male children, NERO, DRUSUS and CAIVS CÆSAR: As for NERO and DRUSUS, the Senate upon imputations laid by TIBERIUS, iudged them to be enemies unto the State.

CAIVS CÆSAR was borne the day next \* preceding the Calends of September, when his Father and C. PONTIUS CAPITO were Consuls. The place of his Nativitie, by the disagreement of writers, is left uncertaine. C. N. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS writeth, that hee was borne at *Tibur*: PLINIUS SECUNDUS, within the Country of the *Treviri*, in a towne called \* *Ambiatum*, upon the very \* Confluents. For evidence and prooofe wherof hee farther saith, That certaine Altars are there to be seene carying this Inscription, \* *For the child-birth and deliverie of AGRIPPINA*. But these verses following, divulged soone after that he came to be Emperour, do plainly shew, that borne he was in the very Camp, where the Legions wintered.

*In castris natus: patrijs nutritus in armis,  
Iam designati principis, omen erat.*

Borne in the Camp, in Fathers warres with souldiours rear'd was he;

A signe, that then ordain'd he was an Emp'our for to be.

I my selfe do find among the Records, that *Antium* was the place of his birth. PLINIE refelleth GÆTULICUS, as if he made a lie by way of flattery, because to the praise of a young and glorious Prince, hee would fetch some argument & matter even out of a Citie consecrated to HERCULES: and was the bolder, as he saith to abuse the said Lie, for that, indeede, a yeere almost before, GERMANICUS had a sonne borne at *Tibur*, named likewise CAIVS CÆSAR: of whose amiable childhood and untimely death we have spoken before. And as to PLINIE himselfe, confuted he is by the Calculation of the times. For, they who have recorded the Acts of AUGUSTUS doe all agree, That GERMANICUS was sent into *Germanie* after the time of his Consulship expired, when as CAIVS was already borne. Neither can the Inscription of the Altar one iote make good his opinion: considering that AGRIPPINA was delivered of daughters twice in that Country. And what child-birth so ever it was, without respect & difference of sex, called it is *Puerperium*: For that in old time folk used to name little girles also PUERÆ, like as little boyes PUELLI. There is besides, an Epistle of AUGUSTUS written, not many moneths before he died unto AGRIPPINA his Niece as touching this CAIVS, (for there was not now living any other Infant of the like name) in these wordes. *I have no longer agoe than yesterday taken order with TALARIVS and ASELLIUS, that with the leave of God they bring the boy CAIVS upon the 15 \* day before the Calends of Iune.* I send besides with him of mine owne servants a Physician whom GERMANICUS (as I have written unto him) may if he will retaine & keepe with him still. Farewell my AGRIPPINA and endeavour to come well & in health to thy GERMANICUS. It appeareth I suppose sufficiently that CAIVS could not in that place be borne

8  
\* The last of August.  
A.V.C 765  
\* Or *Ambiatum*.  
\* The meeting of two rivers.  
\* Ob *Agrippina puerperium*.

\* 18 of May.



borne, unto which he was conveied from *Rome* not before he was well-neere two yeares old And as for those verses, these selfe same evidences likewise discredite them: and the rather, because they have no Author. We are to follow therefore the onely authority that remaineth, of the Records & publick Instrument: seeing especially that CAIVS evermore preferred *Antium* before all other retiring places, and loved it no otherwise than his native soile: yea, and by report, was fully minded once (upon a tedious wearinesse that he had of *Rome* City), to transerre thither even the very seat and habitation of the Empire.

9 He gat his surname CALIGULA by occasion of a merry word taken up in the Camp, because he was brought up there in the habit of an ordinarie (a) and common souldiour among the rest. With whom, how much besides he was able to doe in love and favour by meanes of his education & daily feeding with them, was most of all knowne; when after the death of AUGUSTUS, he onely (no doubt) with \* his very sight & presence quieted them; what time they were in an uprore & at the very point of furious outrage. For they ceased not to mutinie, untill they perceived that he was about to be sent out of the way for danger of the sedition, and appointed to the next City adioyning<sup>1</sup>. Then and not before, turning to repentance, they staied and held back his coach, and so by prayer averted the displeasure that was toward them.

\*He was then but a child, about 3 or 4 yeeres old.

10 He accompanied his Father also in the Expedition into *Syria*: From whence being returned, first hee abode in house with his Mother: and after that shee was banished and sent away, hee remained with his great Grandmother Livia AUGUSTA: whom deceased hee praised in a funerall Oration at the *Rossra*, when hee was as yet but a very youth in his *Pratexta*: and then removed he to his Grandmother ANTONIA. From her in the twentieth yeere of his age hee was sent for to *Caprea* by TIBERIUS, and upon one and the selfe same day, he did on his virile (a) gowne and withall cut the first downe of his beard, without any honourable solemnitie, such as his brethren before him had at their Commencements. Heere, notwithstanding hee was tempted by all the deceitfull traines that they could devise, who would have drawne and forced him to quarrels, yet gave hee never any occasion, having rased out and quite forgotten the fall and calamity of his mother, brethren and neere friends, as if nothing had befallen to any of them: passing over all those abuses which himselfe had endured with incredible dissimulation: so obsequious and double diligent besides, to his Grandfather and those about him, that of him it was said and not without good cause, \* *A better servant and a worse Mr. there never was.*

\*Passeus was the Author of this Apophthegm.

11 Howbeit, the cruell disposition and villainous nature of his owne, hee could not even then bridle and hold in: but both at all castigations and punishments of such as were delivered over to execution, most willing he was to be present: and also would haunt Tavernes and Brothel-houses, mens wives also suspected for adulterie, going about from place to place disguised under a (a) peruke of false haire, and in a fide (womans) garment: yea, and most studiously gave his minde to learne the artificiall feate of dauncing and singing upon the Stage. And verily TIBERIUS was well content to winke heereat and suffer all, if haply thereby his fierce and savage nature might have been mollified and become tractable. Which the old man (as he was a Prince right prudent and one most quick offend) had foreseene well enough long before: in so much as divers times he gave out & said openly, *That CAIVS lived to the destruction of him and them*

them all: likewise, *That hecherished and brought up a verie \* Natrix, which is a kind of Serpent, for the people of Rome, and another (b) Phaethon to the whole world.*

Not long after, he took to wife IVNIA \* CLAVDILLA, the daughter of M. SILANVS a right noble gentleman. And then, being nominated to succeede AUGUR in the rounge of his brother DRVSVS, before his inuecture & installation therein, he was aduanced to the sacerdotall dignitie of a Pontife; a notable testimonie of his pietie, and towardnesse, when as *The royal line and imperial Court being desolate and destitute of all other \* helper; SEIANVS also suspected and soone after overthrown, he should thus by small degrees arise to the hope of succession in the Empire.* Which hope, the rather to confirme, after his wife aforesaid IUNIA was dead in childbirth, he solicited unto filthie wantonnesse dame ENNIA the wife of NÆVIUS MACRO, then captaine of the guard and Pretorian cohorts: hauing promised her marriage also, in case he ever attained to the Empire: and for assurance hereof he bound it with an oath and a bill of his owne hand. By her meanes being insinuated once into the inward acquaintance of \* MACRO, hee attempted, as some thinke, TIBERIUS with poison: and whiles he was yet living, but labouring for life, commanded his \* ring to be plucked from his finger: but perceiving, that he gave some suspition of holding it fast, hee caused a pillow to be forced vpon his mouth, and so with his owne hands stifled and strangled him: yea, and when \* his freed-man made an outcrie at this cruell and horrible act, he gaue order immediatly to crucifie him. And verily this soundeth to truth, considering there bee some Authors who write, That himselfe afterwards professed, if not the murder done, yet at leastwise his intention, one day to doe it. For, hee made his boast continually, in reporting his owne pietie, *That to reuenge the death of his Mother and brethren, hee entred with a dagger into TIBERIUS bed-chamber whiles he lay asleepe, and yet upon meeke pittie and commiseration bethought himselfe, flung away the weapon, and so went backe againe.* Neither durst TIBERIUS although hee had an inkling and intelligence of his disguise, make anie inquisition at all of the matter or proceede to reuenge.

\* Commonly taken for a water-snake.

12

\*For Claudia: as Livillator Livia, after his ordinary manner, to name women Hypocritiques, by their Diminutives

\*A Bishop. \*Iffew Male, except himselfe, and Tiberius a very child the son of Drusus. \*Enniam, (a) Enj Macronis, who wrought the fall of Senatus.

\*Signet.

\*Tiberius freed-man.

\*Rapior or spud.

Thus having obtained the Empire he procured unto the people of *Rome*, or (as I may so say) to all mankind their hearts desire: being a prince of all that ever were, most wished for of the greatest part of provinciall Nations & of the souldiours, because most of them had known him an infant: and generally of the whole cominality of *Rome*; in remembrance of his father GERMANICUS, & upon compassion they took of that house in manner ruinate & extinct. As he removed therefore from *Misenum*, albeit he was clad in mourning weed & reuerently did attend the corps of TIBERIUS, yet went he among the altars, (a) sacrifices and burning torches in a most thick throng & ioifull traine of such as met him on the way: who beside other luckie & fortunate names called him SIVUS. i. their starr: Pullum. i. their chick, Pupum. i. their babe, and Alumnus. i. their nurceling.

13 A.V.C. 790.

No sooner was he entred into the citie of *Rome*, but incontinently with cōsent of the senate & the multitude rushing into the *Curia*, after they had annulled the wil of TIBERIUS, who in his testament had adioyned coheire unto him another of his Nephews \* under age, & as yet in his pretexta, permitted he was alone, to have the full & absolute power of all, & that with such an vniversal ioy, that in three moneths space next ensuing & those not fully expired, there were by report above 160000. Beastes slaine for sacrifice. After this, when as within some fewe dayes

14 \*Tiberius the son of Drusus.

he passed over by the water but to the next Ilands of *Campania*, vowes were made for his safe returne: and no man there was who did let slip the least occasion offered, to testifie what pensive care he tooke, as touching his health and safetie. But so soone as he was once fallen sicke, they all kept watch by night about the Pallace: neither wanted some, who vowed to fight armed to the very outrance for his life thus lying sicke, yea and devoted\* their (a) verie lives for him if hee recovered, professing no lesse in written bills set uppe in publike places. To this surpassing love of his owne Citizens and Countrey men, was adjoynd the notable favour also of foraine states. For, *Artabanns* King of the *Parthians*, professing alwaies his hatred and contempt of *Tiberivs*, sought of his owne accord to him for amirie: yea he came in person to a conference with one of his legates (or Lieutenants) that had bene Consul, and passing over *Euphrates*, adored the \* *Aegles*, and other militarie ensignes of the *Romaines*, as also the Images of the *Cæsars*.

\* Offered to lay down their owne lives.

\* The maine standards.

15

Himselfe also enkindled and set more on fire the affections of men by all manner of popularitie. When he had with many a teare praised *Tiberivs* in a funerall Oration before the bodie of the people, and performed the complement of his obsequies most honorably, forthwith he hastened, to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, for to translate from thence the ashes of his mother & brother, and that in foule & tempestuous wether, to the end that his pietie & kindnes might the more be seene. And being come to their reliques, very devoutly himselfe with his owne hands bestowed them in severall pitchers with no lesse shewe in pagent wise, having waisted them first to *Ostia* with a flag (or streamer) pitched in the poupe or sterne of a galley guided by two rankes of Oares and so forth to *Rome* up the *Tiber*, by the ministerie of the most worshipfull gentlemen of *Rome*: he conveighed them within two *Fercules* (or frames) devised for the purpose into the *Mausoleum*; even at noone day whē people were assembled there in great frequencie. In memoriall likewise of the he ordained yeerely dirges & sacrifices to be performed with religious devotion to their ghosts by the whole Citie. And more thē that, he instituted for his mothers solemn games within the Cirque; and a sacred Chariot withal wherein her Image to the full proportion of her bodie should be carried in the pompe. But in remembrance of his father he called the moneth September, *GERMANICVS*. These ceremoniall duties done, by vertue of one sole Act of the Senate, he heaped upon his grand-mother *ANTONIA* whatsoever honours *LIVIA AVGVSTA* had received in her whole time. His Vnkle *CLAVDIVS*, a knight of *Rome* untill that time and no better, he assumed unto him for his Colleague in the Consulship. His brother \* *Tiberivs* be adopted the verie day that he put on his Virile growne, and stiled him *Prince of the youth*: As touching his sisters, hee caused in all Oaths this clause to be annexed, \* *Neither shall I prise my selfe and children more deere, than I do CAIVS and his sisters*. Item, he ordained that in mooving and propounding of matters by the Consuls unto the Senatours, they should begin in this forme, *Quod bonum, &c. i. That which may be to the good and happy estate of CAIVS CÆSAR and his sisters &c.* In the semblable veine of popularitie, he restored all those that had bene condemned, confined and exiled, yea he freely dispensed with them, pardoning whatsoever crimes or imputations remained still behinde\* from before time. All the bookes and registers pertaining

\* His cousin germane for such are called brethren.

\* The forme of oath, that any man tooke.

\* As we say, from the beginning of the world to this day.

pertaining to the causes of his mother and brethren, because no informer or witnesse should afterwards neede to feare, he \* brought together into the *Forum*: where protesting before hand, and calling the Gods to record with a lowd voice, that he had neither red ought nor medled once therewith, he burnt them. A certaine pamphlet presented unto him concerning his life and safety, he received not, but stood upon this point. *That he had done nothing wherefore he should be odious to any person*: saying withall, *That he had no eares open for informers and Tale-bearers.*

\* *Convellus*.

16

The *Spintrie*, inventers of monstrous formes in perpetrating filthie lust, he expelled forth of *Rome*, being hardly & with much ado intreated not to drown them in the deepe sea. The writings of *TITVS LABIENVS*, *CORDVS CREMUTIVS* and *CASSIVS SEVERVS*, which had bene called in and abolished by divers Acts of the Senate, he suffered to be sought out againe, to be in mens hands extant, and usually to be red: seeing that it concerned him principally and stood him upon most, to have all actions and deedes delivered unto posteritie. The Breviarie of the Empire, that by *AVGVSTVS* had bene wont to be proposed openly, but was by *Tiberivs* intermitted, he published: Vnto the Magistrates he granted free Iurisdiction, and that there might be no appealing to himselfe. The Gentrie and knighthood of *Rome* he reviewed with severity and great precisenesse: yet not without some moderation of his hand. Hee openly tooke from them their \* horses, in whome was found any foule reproch or ignominie: as for those, who were culpable in smaller matters, hee onely passed over their names in reading the Roll. To the end, that the Iudges might bee eased of their labour, unto the foure former decuries hee added a fifth. Hee gave the attempt likewise to bring up againe the auncient manner of Elections, and to restore unto the people their free voices. The legacies due by the last will and testament of *AVGVSTVS* (although the same was abolished): as also of *LIVIA AVGVSTA*, which *Tiberivs* had suppressed, he caused faithfully and without fraud to be tendred and fully paid. The exaction called (a) *Ducentesima* of all bargaines and sales, he remitted throughout *Italie*. The losses that many a man had sustained by fire he supplied: & if to any princes he restored their kingdomes, hee adjoynd withall the fruite and profits also of their rents, customes and imposts growing to the Crowne in the middle time between: as namely, unto *ANTIOCHVS COMAGENVS* who had beene confiscate and fined in an hundred millions of Sesterces. And that he might the rather be reputed a fauourer of all good examples, hee gave unto a woman, (by condition a libertine) \* 800000 Sesterces, for that she being under most grievous and dolorous torments, concealed yet & would not to die for it, utter a wicked fact committed by her Patron. For which things, among other honours done unto him there was decreed for him a (b) shield of golde, which upon a certaine day everie yeare, the colledges of the Priestes should bring into the Capitoll, with the Senate accompanying them, and Noble mens children as well boyes as girles, singing the praises of his vertues in muscalle verse tuned sweetely in meeter. Moreover, there passed a decree, that the day one which hee beganne his Empire, should be called (c) *Palilia*, imploying thereby, as it were a second foundation of the Citie.

\* Publike houses of service.

\* Some read Centesimam.

\* *Offingens* (sestertia). Some read *Offingens*: i. 80000, and this commeth nearer to the truth.

He

17 He bare foure Consulships: the first, from the Calends of Iulie for ij. monethes: the second from the Calends of Ianuarie, for 30 dayes: the third unto the Ides of Ianuarie: and the fourth unto the seventh\* day before the said Ides. Of all these, the ij. last he held joyntly together. The third, he alone entred upon at \* *Lions*: not, as some deeme, upon pride or negligence: but because, being absent, he could not have knowledge that his Colleague died just against the very day of the Calends. He gave a \* largesse to the people twice, to wit, 300 sesterces to them a peece, and a most plenteous dinner he made as oft unto the Senate and degree of gentlemen, as also to the wives and children of them both. In the latter dinner of the twaine, he dealt over and above, among the men garments to be worne abroad: unto the women and children, \* gardes welts, or laces, of purple and violet colour. And to the ende, he might augment the publike ioy of the Cittie with perpetuitie also; hee annexed unto the feast *Saturnalia* one daye more, and named the same *Invencialis*.

\* *Fascia*: Some expound these to be ribbands garters and gorgets.

18 He set forth games of Sword-fencers, partly in the Amphitheater of *TAVRVS*, and partly within the *Septa in Mars field*, into the which he inserted and brought in, certaine troupes of *African* and *Campane* Champions to skirmish by companies. even the very best, selected out of both Countries. Neither was he alwaies himselfe president at these solemnities and publike shewes, but otherwhiles enjoined the Magistrates or else his freinds to take the charge of presidencie. As for stage plaies, he exhibited them continually in diverse places and in sundrie forts: once also in the night season, burning lights throughout the Cittie. He skattered likewise and flung (among the common people) muffils, of many and sundry kinds to skamble for: and dealt man by man, panners with viandes therein. At which feasting, to a certaine gentleman of *Rome* who over against him plyed his chawes full merily, and fedde right hartily with a greedie stomacke, he sent his owne part: as also to a Senator for the same cause, his letters patents, wherein he declared him extraordinarily, Praetour. He represented besides, many Cirq-games, which held from morne to euen: interposing one while, the baiting of \* *Panthers*; another while the Troie-justing and Turnament. But some especiall sports there were above the rest, and then the Cirq-place was laide all over with \* *vermillion* and \* *Borax Minerall*: Where none but of Senators degree ruled and drave the Chariots. Some also he put forth upon a sodaine, namely when as he beheld from out of the house *GELOTIANA*, the preparation and furniture of the Cirque, some few from the (a)next\* open galleries jettying out, called unto him for the same.

\* *Misilia* (small gifts:

\* Or Leopard

\* Red & greene

\* *Manianis*.

19 \* An arme of the sea

Furthermore, he devised a new kind of sight, and such as never was hearde of before: For, ouer the middle \* Space betweene *Baia* and the huge piles or dammes at *Puteoli* containing three miles and 600 paces well neere, hee made a bridge: having gotten together from all parts ships of burden, and placed them in a duple course at *Anchor*, with a banke of earth cast thereupon, direct and straight after the fashion of the high way *Appia*. Vppon this bridge he passed to and fro for two dayes together: the first day mounted one a courser richly trapped, himselfe most brave and goodly to be seene with a chaplet of Oke-brances: armed with a battaile axe, a light sargnet and a sword, clad

clad also in a cloke of gold: the morrow after he appeared in the habit of a Chariotier, ryding in a chariot drawne with two goodly steedes of an excellent race: carrying before him *DARIVS* a boy, one of the *Parthian* hostages with a traine of the *Pretorian* souldiers marching after in battaile raie: and accompanied with the Cohort of his minions in \* *Brittish* wagons, Most men I wote well, are of opinion that *CAIVS* inuented such a kind of bridge, in emulation of *HERCULES*, who not without the wonder of the world, made a bridge, of planks over *Hellesponte* an arme of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: others, that by a bruite blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous peece of worke, hee might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, upon which countries hee meant to make warre. But I remember well that beeing a boy, I heard my Grandfather report and tell the cause of this worke, as it was deliuered by his owne Courteours, who were more inward with him than the rest: namely, That *THRASYLLUS* the great *Astrologer* assured *TIBERIUS* when hee was troubled in minde about his successour, and more enclined to his naturall and lawfull \* nephew indeede by lineall descent, That *CAIVS* should no more become \* *Tiberius*, the Emperour than able to runne a course to and fro on horse-backe, through the gulfes of *Baia*.

\* *Effediv*, *Belick* or French.

\* *Tiberius*, the sonne of *Drusus*. *Tiberius* the Emperours son.

He set forth shewes also euen in forraigne parts, to wit in *Sicilie* at *Saracose*, the games called \* *Actiati*: Likewise at *Lions* in *France*, playes of a mixt nature and argument: as also a solemne contention for the prise in Eloquence both *Greeke* and *Latine*. In which tryall of maisteries, the report goeth, that those who were foiled and ouercome, conferred rewards upon the winners, yea and were forced to make compositions in their praise. But looke who did worst, they were commanded to wipe out their owne writings, either with a sponge or els with their tongues, unlesse they would chuse rather to be chastized with ferulars or els to be ducked ouer head and eares in the next riuer.

\* *Rhodanus* *Rhifne*.

21

The buildings left halfe vndone by *TIBERIUS*, namely, the Temple of *AUGUSTUS*, and the Theatre of *POMPEIUS*, he finished. He began moreover a conduit in the Tiburtine territorie: and an Amphitheatre neere unto the Enclosure called *Septa*: Of the two works, the \* one was ended by his successor *CLAUDIUS*, the other was forlet and given over quite. The wals at *Saracose* by the injurie of time decayed and fallen downe were by him reedified: and the temples of the gods there, repaired. Hee had fully purposed also to build a new the palace of *Polyrates* at *Samos*: to finish *APOLLOES* temple called *Didymeum* at *Miletum*: as also to found and build a Cittie upon the top of the *Alpes*: but before all to dig through the Isthmus in *Achaia*: and thither had he sent alreadie one of purpose, who had beene a principall Captaine of a Cohort in the Vaward to take measure of the worke.

\* The Conduit

Thus farre forth as of a Prince: now forward, relate we must as of a Monster. Having assumed into his Stile many surnames, For called he was *PIVS*. i. kind. *CASTRORUM filius*. i. the sonne of the camp. *Pater exercituum*. i. Father of hosts, and *Optimus Maximus CÆSAR*. i. the most gracious and mightie *CÆSAR*, when he hapned to heare certaine \* *Kings* (who were come unto the Cittie for to do their duties and to salute him) contend as they late with him at supper, about the Nobilitie of their birth and parentage, hee cryed forth

\* *Vsarping* the Attributes of *Jupiter*. \* *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*

22

Εἰς νόμῳ ὁ ἑστῶ, εἰς βασιλεύς :

One Soueraine Lord, one King let there be.

\*Vnder Cæ.  
sare,  
\*Principum, for  
the Romaine  
Emperours  
were called  
Principes.

\*The portraict  
an i propor-  
tio of his owne  
\*The Palace in  
that Mount,  
that stood in  
Forum Roma-  
num.  
\*To his Pal-  
lace.  
\*Sacrifices,

From the Pala-  
cium to the Ca-  
pitoll.

23

\*Agrippa.  
\*Agrippina sup-  
posed to be the  
daughter of M.  
Agrippa and  
Julia.  
\*Siculaeq; not  
Siculaeq;

and there lacked not much but that presently he had taken the *Diademe* upon him and conuerted wholly the shew of \* Empire, into the (b) forme of a *Kingdome*. But being told that he was mounted already above the heighth and state both of \* Emperours and also of *Kings*, thereupon from that time forward hee began to challenge unto himselfe a diuine Maiestie : and having given order and commission, that the images of the gods, which either for deuout worship done unto them, or for curious workmanship seene upon them, excelled the rest, (among which was that of *IUPITER OLIMPICUS*) should bee brought out of *Greece* unto *Rome*, that when their heads were taken of, he might let his \* owne in the place: he enlarged the \* *Palatium* and set out one part thereof as far as to the *forum*. Transfiguring likewise and turning the *Temple* of \* *Castor* and *Pollux* into a \* porch or entrie, he stood manie times in the middle between the said two gods, brethren, and so exhibited himselfe to be adored of all comers. And somethere were who saluted him by the name of *IUPITER LATIALIS*. Moreover he ordained a *Temple* peculiarly appropriate to his owne godhead as also priests and most exquisite \* *Ofts*. In his saide *Temple* stood his owne image all of gold, lively portraied and expressing his full proportion : the which was daily clad with the like vesture as himselfe wore. The masterships of the priest-hood by him instituted, the richest men that were, every time of vacancie purchased : such as made greatest suite and offered most therefore. The *Ofts* or sacrifices afore said were these foules. (b) *Phenicopteri*, *Peacocks*, (d) *Tetraones*, (e) *Numidica*, (f) *Meleagrides* and (g) *Pheasants*, and those to be sorted by their kinds; and so every day killed. And verily, his usuall manner was in the night to call unto the Moone when she was at full and shining bright out for to come and ly with him in his armes : but in the day time, he talked secretly and apart with *IUPITER CAPITOLINUS* : one while by whispering and rounding one another in the eare, otherwhiles speaking more lowde and not without chiding : For he was heard in threatening wife to utter these words Εἰς πόλιν δαμάων περὶ σε, I will remove and translate thee into the lande of the *Greeks* : untill such time as being intreated (according as he tolde the tale himselfe) and inuited first by him for to cohabite, he made a bridge over the temple of *AUGUSTUS* of sacred memorie and so ioyned the *Palatium* and *Capitol* together. And soone after, to the end that he might be neerer unto him hee layed the foundation of a newe house in the voide base-court of the *Capitoll*.

Hee could in no wife abide to be either reputed or named the nephew of *AGRIPPA* by reason of his base and obscure parentage: yea and angrie hee would be, in case anie man either in *Oration* or *Verse* inserted \* him among the images of the *CÆSARS*. But he gave it out openly, that his \* owne mother was begotten by incest which *AUGUSTUS* committed with his owne daughter *IULIA*. And not content with this infamous imputation of *AUGUSTUS*, the *Ætiack* and \* *Sicilian* victories by him achieved, hee streightly forbade to be celebrated yeerely with solempne holidiaies, as beeing vnluckie and hurtfull to the people of *Rome*. As for *LIVIA AUGUSTA* his great Grand-mother, he called her ever and anon *VLISSES* in a womans habite: yea and in a certaine

Epistle

Epistle unto the Senate he was so bold as to lay unto her, \* Ignobility as descended from a *Decurian* \* of *FUNDI* who was her Grandfire by the mothers side; whereas it is evident and certaine by publick records that *AUFIDIUS* \* *LIN* \* *Aufidius Lin* \* bare honourable Offices in *Rome* When his Grandame \* *ANTONIA* \* *Or Lucra* requested secret conference with him, he denied her, unlesse *MACRO* *Captaine* of the Guard might come in betweene to heare their talke. And so, by such indignities and discontentments as these, hee was the cause of her death: and yet, as some thinke, he gave her poison withall. Neither when shee was dead daigned hee her any honour, but out of his dining chamber beheld her funerall fire as it was burning. His brother *TIBERIUS* he surprised suddenly at unwares, sending a *Tribune* (e) of *Souldiours*, who rushed in upon him and so slew him. Likewise \* *SILANUS* his Father in law hee forced to death, even to cut his owne throate with a *Razour*, picking quarrels to them both and finding these causes: to wit, that the \* one followed him not when hee tooke sea beeing very rough and much troubled, but staid behind in hope to seize the *Cite* of *Rome* into his owne hands, if ought hapned but well unto him by occasion of tempests: \* the other smelled strongly of a *Preservative* or *Antidote*, as if hee had taken the same to prevent his poisons. Whereas, in very truth *SILANUS* avoided thereby the unsufferable paine of being Sea-sick and the grievous trouble of sayling; and *TIBERIUS* for a continuall cough that grew still upon him used a medicine. For, his Vnkle \* *CLAUDIUS* he reserved for nothing else but to make him his laughing-stock.

24

With all his sisters, hee used ordinarily to be naught: and at any great feast hee placed evermore one or other of them by turnes beneath himselfe, while his wife sat above. Of these sisters (as it is verily thought) he deflowered *DRUSTRA* being a virgin; when himselfe also was yet under age and a very boy: Yea, and one time above the rest hee was found in bed with her and taken in the manner by his Grandmother *ANTONIA*; in whose house they were brought up both together. Afterwards also when shee was bestowed in marriage upon *LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS*, a man of Consulare degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if shee had beene his owne lawfull wife. Also when he lay sicke, he ordained her to be both heire of all his goods and *Successour* also in the Empire. For the same sister deceased, hee proclaimed a generall cessation \* of *Law* in all Courts. During which time, a capitall crime it was for any man to have laughed, bathed, or supped together with parents, wife or children. And being impatient of this sorrow, when hee was fled suddenly and by night out of the *Citie*, and had passed all over *Campania*, to *Saracoe* hee went; and so from thence returned speedily againe with his beard and haire of head overgrowne. Neither at any time ever after, in making a speech before the people or to his *Souldiours* concerning any matters were they never so weighty would hee swear otherwise than by the \* name of *DRUSILLA*. The rest of his sisters, (*LIVIA* and *AGRIPPINA*) hee loved neither with so tender affection nor so good respect: as who he oftentimes prostituted & offered to be abused by his own stalle catamites. So much the more easily there-

N

and commaunded that she should be worshipped as a Goddesse; and as *Dion* writeth, named she was *Pampha*, and wottinge were compelled to swear by her, as by *Iuno*.

\* J. Balence of  
birth,  
\* Aufidius Lin-  
go, or Lucra.  
\* Or Lucra.  
\* By the father  
side, to wit, the  
mother of Ger-  
manicus.

\* VVhose  
daughter hee  
had married.  
\* Silanus.

\* Tiberius;

\* His Succes-  
four in the  
Empire.

\* To signifie a  
solempne moun-  
ting.

\* Per nomen,  
some reade  
Nomen, the  
godhead or di-  
vine power:  
For he equalled  
her with *Penne*.

fore condemned he them in the case of *ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS*, as adulteresses and privie to his treasons and waite-layings addrested against his person. And he not onely divulged the hand-writings which were fought out by guile and adulteries, but also consecrated unto *MARS REVENGER* those three daggers prepared \* for his death, with a title over them, containing the cause of his so doing.

25

As for his mariages, a man may hardly discern, whether hee contracted, dissolved, or held them still with more dishonesty. *LIVIA ORESTILLA*, what time she was wedded unto *C. PISO*, himselfe, (being one who came in person to the Solemnization of the mariage), commaunded to be brough home unto him as his owne wife: and having within few daies cast her off, two yeeres after he banished and sent her away; because in the middle time betweene, shee was thought to have \* had the company againe of her former husband. Some report, that being an invited guest at the Nuptiall supper, he charged *PISO* sitting over against him, in these termes, *Sirra, see you sit not too close unto my wife*: and so, presently had her away with him from the table: and the next day published by Proclamation, *That hee had met with a mariage after the example of (a) ROMULUS and AUGUSTUS*. Astouching *LOLLIA PAULINA* married already to *C. MAMMIUS*, a man of Consular degree and ruler of Armies: upon mention made of her Grandmother as the most beautifull Lady in her time, he all of a suddaine sent and called her home out of the Province: and taking her perforce from her husband, wedded her and shortly turned her away: forbidding her straightly for ever the use of any mans body whatsoever. *CÆSONIA*, for no speciall beauty and favour of her owne above others; not yet because she was in the flower of her youth, (considering shee had beene the mother already of three daughters by another man): but onely for that shee was a most lascivious woman and of unsatiabie lust he loved with more ardent affection and constancie: in so much as many a time he would shew her to his Souldiours in her haire, clad in a Souldiours \* Cassocke with a light Target and an helmet riding close unto him: but to his friends, \* starke naked also. When she brought him a \* childe, hee vouchsafed her then, the name of his wife and not before; professing and making it knowne, that in one and the selfe same day, he was become both her husband and also father of the Infant of her body borne. This babe he named *IUNIA DRUSILLA*: whom hee carried about with him through the temples of all the Goddesses; and bestowed at length in the lap of \* *MINERVA*, recommending it to her for to be nourished, brought up and taught. Neither had hee any surer signe and evidence to believe she was his owne and of his naturall seede conceived, than her curtnesse and shrewdnesse: and that qualitie had shee even then at the first, in such measure; as that with her perilous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.

26

Vanitie it were and meere folly, to adioine hereunto, how he served his kinnefolke and friends, to wit *P.TOLMÆUS K. IUBÆSON* & his owne cousin \* german

man (for hee also was the Nephew of *M. ANTONIUS* by his daughter *SALLUSTIA* (a): but especially *MACKO* himselfe, yea and *ENNIA* likewise, who were his chiefe helpers & advanced him to the Empire. All of the, in right of their neere affinity, and in consideration of their good deserts were highly rewarded, even with bloody death. No more respective was hee one whit of the Senate, nor dealt in gentler wise with them: Some, after they had borne the highest honours, hee suffred to runne by his \* Wagon side in their gownes for certaine miles together: and as he sat at supper, to stand waiting one while at the head, another while at the foote of the table, girt with a white linnen towell about them. Others, whom hee had secretly murdred, he continued never the lesse calling for, as if they were alive: giving it out most untruly some few daies after, that they had wilfully made themselves away. The Consuls had forgot by chaunceto publish by proclamation his Birth-day: For which, hee deprived them of their magistracie: and so for three daies space the Common-wealth was without the soveraine (b) authoritie. His owne Questour, who hapned to be nominated in a conspiracie against him, hee caused to be scourged: and the clothes out of which hee was stripped to be put under the Souldiours feete, that they might stand more stedily whiles they were whipping him. In semblable pride and violence hee handled other States and degrees of Citizens. Beeing disquieted with the stirre and noise that they kept, who by midnight tooke up their standings in the \* *Cirque*, which cost them nothing; hee drove them all away with cudgels: in which tumult and hurlyburly, there were twenty Knights of *Rome* and above, crowded and crushed to death; as many matrones and wives also; besides an infinite number of the common multitude. At the Stage Plaies, being minded to sow discord, and minister occasion of quarrell betweene the Commons and Gentlemen of *Rome*: he gave his (c) Tallies forth sooner than ordinarie: to the end that the \* *Equestria* might be possessed afore-hand even by the basest Commoners that came. At the sword-fight, he other whiles commaunded the Curtaines to be folded up and drawne together, during the most parching heate of the sunne: and forbad that any person should be let \* forth: and then, removing and sending quite away the ordinarie furniture of shewes provided to make pastime, he put forth unto the people for to behold, poore wild-beasts and *Carian*-leane, to bee baited: the basest sword-fencers also and worne with age, to combat: yea, and appointed \* householders such as were of quality and well knowne, but yet noted for some speciall feeblenesse and imperfection of body to goe under the (d) \* *Pegmes* and carie them. And divers times hee \* brought a dearth and famine among the people, by shutting up the garners and Store-houses from them.

27

The crueltie of his nature he shewed by these examples most of all. When Cattell which were to feede wilde beasts prepared for baiting, grew to be sold very deere, he appointed malefactours found guilty to be slaughtered for that purpose. And in taking the review of Goales and prisoners therein, as they were sorted according to their offences: he, without once looking upon the title & cause of their imprisonment, standing only within a gallerie, commaunded al in the mids, *a calvo ad calvū* (a), i. from one bald-pate to another, to be led forth to execution. He exacted of him the performance of a vow, who had promised

N 2

13

\* By them, to wit *Lepidus* and his two sisters: or by him, for their death.

\* Or sought a-gaine for the company &c. repeats.

\* Where she was with her husband afore said.

\* Short cloake or horsemans coats chlamyde.  
\* Like as *Cædæus* King of *Lydia* did to his friend *Gyges*.  
\* A daughter.  
\* Goddess of good arts and sciences, *Virgil*, *opum* *hæd* *ignora* *minerva*.

\* Removed.

\* Effected, i. carried.

\* Or some place.

\* Or Tickets.  
\* Rooms and seats in the Theater appointed for the Gentlemen.  
\* *Emitti*, some read *amitti*, i. to be covered with Hat, veils, be net or Bonnet or grace against the sunne.  
\* Citizens.  
\* *Pegmatis*, in the dative case, or frames for Pageants.  
\* *Inducio*.

\* *Medius*, a calvo ad calvum.



to doe his devoir in publick sword-fight for the recoverie of his health : and him he beheld fighting at sharpe : neither dismissed he him before he was victour, and after many prayers. Another there was, who for the same cause had vowed to die. This man being not very forward to pay his vow, hee caused to be dight with sacred hearbs, and adorned with \* Infules, like a sacrifice ; and so delivered him into the hands of boyes : who calling hard vpon him for the discharge of his vow, should course and drive him through the streets of the City, untill he were throwne headlong downe the steepe \* Kampier. Many honest Citizens of good calling and estate, after he had first disfigured with markes of branding yrons, he condemned to dig in mines, and to make high-waies, or to encounter with beasts : or kept them creeping with all foure like brute beasts within a cage for the nonce : or else slit them through the mids with a sawe. And those whom hee thus served, were not all of them guilty of any grievous offences : but sufficient it was, if they had a bafe conceite and spake but meanly of some thew that he exhibited : or because they had never sworn stoutly by his \* Genius. Parents he forced to be present at the execution of their owne children. And when one Father excused himselfe by reason of sicknesse, hee sent a Lifter for him : another of them immediately after the heave spectacle of his sonne put to death, he invited to his own(e) boud ; made him great cheere, and by all manner of courtesie provoked him to iocundnesse and mirth. The Maister of his sword-fights and beast baitings, he caused for certaine daies together to be beaten with (d) chaines in his owne sight : but killed him not quite, before himselfe could no longer abide the stench of his braine by this time purtrified. A Poet, the Author of *Atellane Enterludes*, for a verse that he made implying a iest, which might be doubly taken, he burnt at a stake in the very middle shew-place of the *Amphitheatre*. A Gentleman of *Rome*, whom he had cast before wild beasts, when he cried out, *That he was innocent*, he commaunded to be brought back : and after hee had cut out his tongue, sent him among them againe, (to fight for his life or to be devoured).

Having recalled one from exile which had been long banished, he demaunded of him, *what he was wont to do there?* who made answer thus by way of flatterie, *I praised* quoth he, *to the Gods alwaies that TIBERIUS (as now it is come to passe) might perish, and you become Emperour*. Hereupon CALIGULA weening that those whom he had banished praised likewise for his death, sent about into the \* Ilands, to kill them every one. Being desirous to have a Senatour torne & mangled peccemeale, he suborned certaine of purpose, who all on a suddaine as he entred into the *Curia*, should call him enemie to the State, & so lay violent hands upon him : and when they had with their (s) writing yrons all to pricked and stabbed him, deliver him over to the rest, for to be dismembred and cut in peeces accordingly. Neither was hee satisfied, untill he saw the mans limmes, ioints and inwards drawne along the streetes, and piled all on an heape together before him.

His deeds most horrible as they were, hee augmented with as cruell words. His saying was, That he commended and approved in his owne nature nothing more, than (to use his own terme) *adiatrepsum* .i. unmoveable rigour. VVhe his Grandmother ANTONIA seemed to give him some admonition, he (as though it were not enough to disobey her), *Go to dame*, quoth he, *remember I may do what I wil against all persons who soever*. Being minded to kill his owne brother, whom

for feare of poison he imagined to be fortified afore-hand with \* Preservatives; *What* quoth he, *is there any Antidote against CÆSAR?* When he had banished his sisters, he threatened them in these termes, saying, *That hee had not (a) Ilands onely at command but swords also*. A certaine Citizen of Pretours degree, desired oftentimes fro the retiring place where he was at *Anticyra*, (b) (into which Ile he went for his health sake) to have his licence \* continued. But hee gave order he should be killed outright: adding these words therewith, that *Bloud-letting was necessary for him, who in so long time had found no good by* \* HELLBOR. Once every ten daies, his manner was to subscribe and write downe a certaine number out of the Goale to be executed, and said withall, That hee cast up his reckonings, and cleared the booke of accompts. When hee had at one time condemned a sort of French-men and Greekes together, hee made his boast *That he had subdued* \* GALLOGRÆCIA.

He would not lightly permit any to suffer death, but after many strokes given and those very softly ; with this rule and precept evermore, which now became rife and well knowne, \* *Strike so, as they may feele that they are dying*. Hee executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to die, by error onely and mistaking his name : *But it makes no matter*, quoth he, *for even he also hath deserved death*. This speech of the \* Tyrant out of a Tragædie, hee often repeated *Oderint dummetuant .i. Let them hate me so they feare me*. Many a time hee inveighed bitterly against all the Senatours at once, as the Dependants and adherents of SEIANUS, or the Informers against his mother and brethren ; bringing forth those evidences which hee had made semblance before were burnt. And therewith excused & iustified the cruelty of TIBERIUS as necessary : seeing he could not otherwise chuse but beleve so many that made presentments unto him. The degree of Gentlemen he railed at continually, as devoted wholly to the Stage and shew-place. Being highly displeased upon a time with the multitude favouring as they did the contrary \* faction to \* his, *Would God*, quoth he, *that the people of Rome had but one neck*. And when TETRINIUS (s) LATRO was by them called forth to fight at sharpe, he said, *That they also who called for him were* \* TETRINII every one. It fortuned that five of these \* RETIARI, fighting in their single coates, and \* together by companies, had without any combat yeelded themselves as overcome to as many other Champions or Fencers called \* *Secutores*. Now when commandement was given (by the people) *That they should be killed*, one takes me up his Trout-speare againe into his hand and slew all the other five who were thought the Conquerours. This slaughter he both bewailed in an Edict as most cruell, and also cursed them that endured to see the sight.

31 Hee was wont moreover to complaine openly of the condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowned by any publick calamities : Whereas the raigne of AUGUSTUS was memorable for the overthrow of VARUS : that of TIBERIUS ennobled by the fall of scaffolds in the Theater at *Fidene*. As for himselfe, like hee was to be forgotten, (such was the prosperity in his daies). And evermore he wished the carnage and execution of his armies : Famine, Pestilence, and Skarfires, or some opening chinks of the ground.

32 Even whiles he was at his recreations and disports, whiles he set his mind upon gaming and feasting, the same cruelty practised he both in word & deed.

\* Or Counter-poisons.

\* By letters or friends that he made.

\* Renewed.

\* By purging

\* A Nation mixt of French and Greekes.

30

\* Itaferi, &c.

\* Atreut.

\* Of chariotiers For he favoured the greene Liverie.

\* Worthy and meet to be put to sword-fight.

\* So named of a net that they used in fight to catch their adversarie with : they handled also a weapon with three tines or pikes like a Trout-speare.

They were called Thracon.

\* Gregasim dicantes : for destruction of those that were called Monomachi, & imployed in single fight.

\* Otherwise, Minillones.

These were armed, whereas the Retiari, were lightly appointed, and Tunicati, traversing their greed nimble, and seeming otherwhiles to flie whereupon the others took their name, Secutores, as following them.

\* Ribbands.

\* Of Tarquinus, as some thinke,

\* These Genij, are of a middle essence, between men & Gods, called therefore, Me diocum. It signifies here, the Demon, Tactful angel or spirit of the Prince : For the manner of the manner was in flatterring wise, thus to sweare, as also by the blith the life, the honour of their Emperours.

28

\* Who had banished him.

\* Where they were wont to live banished.

29

Oftentimes as hee sat at dinner or banquetted, were serious matters examined in his very sight by way of torture: and the Souldiour that had the skill and dexterity to behead folke, then and there used to cut off the heads of any prisoners indifferently without respect. At *Puteoli*, when he dedicated the bridge, which as we noted before, was his owne invention: after hee had invited many unto him from the shore and strand, suddainly hee turned them all headlong over the bridge into the water. And seeing some of them taking hold of the helmes for to save themselves, hee shooved and thrust them off, with poles and oares into the sea. At a publick feast in *Rome*, there chaunced a servant to pluck-off a thin plate of silver from the table: and for this, immediatly hee delivered him to the hang-man for to be executed; namely to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck iust before his brest with a written Tide caried before him declaring the cause of this his punishment; and so to be led round about all the companies as they sat at meate. One of these Fencers called *MIRMILO* *NAS*, comming out of the Fence-schoole plaied at wooden waiters with him; and there tooke a fall for the nonce, and lay along at his feete: him he stabbed for his labour, with a short yron skeine that hee had: and withall, after the solemne manner of Victors, ranne up and downe with his garland of Date tree branches. There was a beast brought to the Altar ready to be killed for Sacrifice: he comes girt in habite of these *Beast slayers*, and with the axe head that he lifted up on high, knocked downe the Minister himselfe, who was addrested to cut the said beasts throat, and so dashed his braines out. At a plenteous feast where there was great cheere, he set up all at once an unmeasurable laughter: And when the Consuls who sat iust by him asked gently and with faire language, *Whereat he laughed so? At what else*, quoth hee, *but this, That with one nod of my head, I can have both your throats cut immediatly.*

33

Among divers and sundry iests and merie conceites of his, as he stoode once hard by the image of *IUPITER*, he demaunded of *APRILUS* an actour of Tragedies, whether of the twaine he thought to be the greater and more stately, *IUPITER* or himselfe? And whiles he made some stay ere he answered, he all to tare and mangled him with whipping cheere, praising ever and anone his voice crying unto him for mercy, as passing sweet and pleasant, even when he groned also under his lannes. So often as he kissed the neck of wife or concubine, he would say withall, *As faire and lovely a neck as this is, off it shall goe if I doe but speake the word.* Moreover, he gave it forth many a time, *That he would himselfe fetch out of his wife CÆSONIA, though it were with Lute-strings, what (a) was the reason that he loved her so entirely?*

34

Neither raged he with lesse envie and spirefull malice, than pride and cruelty, against persons, in manner, of all times and ages. The Statues of brave and worthy men brought by *AUGUSTUS* out of the Capitoll Courtyard for the straightnesse of the place, into *Mars*-field, he overthrew and cast here and there in such sort, as they could not be set up againe with the Titles and Inscriptions whole: forbidding that ever after there should be any where Statue or Image erected unto any person living, without his advice asked and graunt passed. He was of minde also to abolish *HOMER*s verses: *For why may not I*, quoth he, *doe that,*

that which *PLATO* lawfully did? who banished him out of the Citie that he framed and ordeined. The writings likewise and images of *VIRGIL* and *T. LIVIUS*, he went within a little of removing out of all libraries. The one of these he carped, as a man of no witte and uerie meane learning: the other, for his verbosity and negligence in penning his Historie. Moreover, as touching Lawiers, (as if he meant to take away all use of their skill and knowledge) he cast out these words many times, *That he would surely bring it to passe, They should bee able to give none other answer nor counsell than according to reason and equitie.*

He took from the noblest personages that were, the olde armes and badges of their houses: *FRONTORQUATUS* the collar: *INCINNATUS* the curled lock of haire: & from *CN. POMPEIUS*, of an ancient stocke descended, the surname of *MAGNUS* belonging to that linage. As for King *PTOLEMÆUS*, (of whom I made report before) whē he had both sent for him out of his realme and also honorably intertained him he slew e all of a sodaine, for no other cause in the World but for that as he entred into the Theatre to see the shewes and games there exhibited, hee perceived him to haue turned the eyes of all the people upon him, with the resplendent brightnesse of his purple cassocke. All such as were faire, and caried a thick bush of haire growne long, so often as they came in his way, he disfigured by shaving their heads all behind. There was one *ESCIUS PROCLUS* (whose father had bene a principall captaine of the formost cohort) for his exceeding tall personage and louely fauour withall named (a) *COLOSSOS*, Him hee caused sodainly to be pulled downe from the scaffold where he sat, and to be brought into the plaine within the lists: where he matched him in fight with a sword-fencer of that sort which be called *threces*, and afterwards with another, all armed: Now when he had giuen the foile twice, & gotten the upper hand, he commanded him forthwith to be pinniond & bound fast, & being put into foule and overworne clothes to be led round about the streets to be shewed unto womē, & so to have his throat cut in the end. To conclude there was none of so base & abiect condition, nor of so mean estate, whose commodities & good parts he depraved not. Against the great Prelat stiled by the name *K. NEMORENSIS*, because he had many yeares already enioyed his sacerdotall dignitie he suborned under hand a concurrent and aduersarie mightier than himselfe. When as vpon a certaine day of publike games, there was greater applaude & more clapping of hands than ordinarie at *PORCIUS* the fencer, manumising his slave for ioy of the fortunate cōbate which hee had made, he flung out of the Theatre in such hast, that treading vpon his own gown skirt he came tumbling down the staires with his head forward: chafing and turning yea and crying out *That the people of Rome, Lords of all nations, yielded more honour, and that out of a most vaine and frivolous occasion unto a sword-fencer, than to consecrated Princes, or to himselfe there in personall presence.*

No regard had he of chastitie and cleannesse, eyther in himselfe or in others. *M. LEPIDUS MNESTER* the *Pantomime*, yea & certain hostages he kept and loved as the speech went, by way of reciprocal commerce in mutuall impunity, Doing & suffering against kind. *VALERIUS CATULLUS*, a yong gentleman descended from a familie of Consuls degree, complained & openly cried out, that

N 4

hee

\*Being a Poet.

\*Virgil.  
\*Livy.35  
\*Or Ensignes.  
\*Or Chaine.  
\*Who afterwards, married the daughter of *Clæmus* the Imperour.\*Hoplomachus,  
with shield and helmet.  
\*To the *Threces*  
& *Hoplomachus*.

\*To wit, sword fight.

\*Escleris, or Champion that vsed to fight at play his prizes out of a British or French Chariot called *Escleris*.36  
\*A player counterfeiting all partes, and kindes of gesture.\*For this bridge was made of barks.  
\*A great dinner.\*Waiting at the bord.  
\*Or lease.  
\*For tables in those dayes were laid & covered ouer with silver plates. *Plin. lib. 33.*

\*Or sacutores, asforesaid.

\*As sacrifice.

\*Or Pantomime.

\*By cramping and torturing her therewith.

hee was unnaturally by him abused; and that his uerie sides were wried, and tyred out with his filthie companie. Over and above the incests committed with his owne sisters, and his love so notorious of *PIRALLIS* that common and prostitute strumpet, there was not lightly a dame or wife of anie worship and reputation, that hee forbore. And those for the most part would he inuite together with their husbands to supper: and as they passed by at his feete, peruse and consider curiously; taking leasure thereto after the maner of those that cheapeen and buy wares in ouvert market: yea and with his hand chocke them under the chin and make them to looke up, if happily any of them in modesty and for bashfulness held downe their faces. And then so often as he lifted, out he goes from the refectiōn roome, and when he had called her unto him apart that liked him best, hee would within a little after: (even whiles the tokens were yet fresh testifying their wanton worke) returne: and openly before all the companie, eyther praise or dispraise her: reckoning up everie good or bad part of bodie and action in that brutish businesse. To some of them, himselfe sent bills of divorsement in the name of their husbands absent and commanded the same to be set upon the file and stand in publike record.

37

In riotous and wastfull (a) expence, he outwent the wits and inuentions of all the prodigal spendthrifts that ever were; as having devised a new found manner and use of baines, together with most strange and monstrous kinds of meats and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold \*oiments: to drinke off and quaffe most pretious and costly pearles dissolved in vinegar: to set upon the board at feastes loaves of bread and other viands to them before his guests, all of golde, saying commonly withall, That a man must either be frugall or els *CÆSAR*. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he flung and scattered among the common people from the Louer of the stately Hall *LULIA*, mony in pecces of no meane ualew. He built moreover tall galiaces of cedar (b) timber, with poupes and sternes beset with precious stones, carying sailes of fundrie colours conteyning in them barnes large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receipt: with vines also and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would sit feasting in the very day time among quires of musicians and melodious fingers, and so saile along the coasts of *Campania*. In building of stately Pallaces and mannor houses in the countrey he cast aside all rules and orders as one desirous to do nothing so much as that which was thought impossible to be done. And therefore he laid foundations of piles where the sea was most raging and deep withal, and hewed rocks of most hard flint & rag: plains also he raised even with mountaines & by digging down hill tops levelled them equall with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as punishing those who wrought but slowly even with death. In summe, (and not to reckon vp euerie thing in particular) That infinite wealth and masse of Treasure which *TIBERIUS CÆSAR* left behind him valued at \*2700. millions of Sesterces, hee consumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

\*Vicies ac septies  
millies.

38

Being exhaust therefore and growen exceeding bare, he turned his mind to rapine and polling by fundrie and most nice points: of forged calumnation, of sales, of imposts and taxes. He affirmed plainly, that those held not by lawe and rightly the freedome of Rome Citie, whose Aunccestours had obtained the

the grant thereof in these tearmes, *to them and their posteritie*: unlesse they were sonnes: For, by *Posteriti*. i. *Posterity* quoth he, ought to be understood none beyond this degree of descent. And when the Letters-patens and graunts of *LULIUS* and *AUGUSTUS*, (late Emperours of sacred memorie) were brought forth as evidences, he \*bewailed the same as olde, past date and of no validitie. Hee charged those also with false valuation and \*wrong certificate of their estates, unto whom there had accrued alterward (upon what cause soever) any encrease of substance. The last willes and testaments of such as had beene principall *Centurions* of the formost Cohorts, as many I say, as from the beginning of *TIBERIUS* Empire, had left neither the sayd *TIBERIUS*, nor himselfe Heire, he canceled for their unthankfulness: of all the rest likewise, he held the wils as void, and of none effect: in case any person would come forth and say, that they purposed and intended, at their death to make *CÆSAR* their Heire. Vpon which feare that hee put men in, beeing now both by unknown persons unto him, nominated Heire among their familiar friends, and also by parents among their children, he teamed them all mockers and counsellers, for that after such nuncupative wils they continued stil alive: and to manie of them he sent certaine \*dainties empoisoned. Now such causes as these above-saide he heard judicially debated: having before hand set downe a certaine rate and summe of money, for the raising whereof he sat iudicially in Court: and when that summe was fully made vp, then and not before hee would arise. And (as he was one who in no wise could abide any little delay) he condemned vpon a time by uertue of one definitive sentence above fortie persons, liable to judgement for divers and sundry crimes: making his boast withall unto his wife *CÆSONIA* newly wakened out of her sleepe, *What a deale he had done, while she tooke her noones repose*. Having published an open port sale of the residue remaining of furniture provided to let out all shews and games, he caused the said parcels to be brought forth and sold: setting the prices thereof himselfe and enbausing the same to such a prick, that some men enforced to buye certaine things at an extreame and exceeding rate (whereby they were empoverished and stript of all their goods) cut their owne veines and so bled to death. Well knowne it is that whiles *APONIUS SATURNINUS* tooke a nap and slept among the seats and stauls where these sales were held; *CÆLIUS* put the \*Bedell in mind not to let slip and overpasse such an honorable person of Pretours degree as he was: considering quoth he, that with his head he had so often nodded and made \*signes unto him, and thus taking that occasion, he never rested raising the price whiles he sat and nodded stil, untill there were fastened upon the man, (ignorant God wote, altogether of any such matter) thirteene sword-fensers, at nine millions of Sesterces.

\*Deflebas, or  
deflebas 3, he  
relected and  
despised.  
\*Perperam edi-  
ti Confus

\*Mallus or  
Maltus, such  
as Marchpanes

\*Or Criteri

\*As it were, to  
buy this & that

In *Gaul* likewise, when he had sold the jewels, ornaments, and household-stuffe of his \*sisters by him condemned; their seruants also and uerie children at excessive high prices: finding sweetnesse in the gaine growing thereupon and thereby drawn on to proceede in that course, looke what furniture belonged to the old imperiall Court, hee sent for it all from the Citie of *Rome*. For the cariage whereof, hee tooke vp even the passengers wagons that usually were hired, yea the very jades which serued \*mills and backe-houses: In so much, as manie times there wanted bread in *Rome*; and a number of Termers,

39  
\*Lrvilla and  
Agrippina.

\*In grinding  
Corne, and  
carrying bread  
such

such as had matters depending in lawe, for that they could not make their appearance in Court at their dayes appointed, by absence lost their suits. For the selling of which furniture, there was no fraude, no guile, no deceitful allurements to be devised that he used not: one while checking each one for their avarice, and rating them because they were not ashamed to be richer than he: otherwhiles making semblance of repentance, in that he permitted persons to have the buying of such things as belonged to the Empire: Intelligence was given unto him, that a certaine wealthy and substantiall man in that province, had paid 200000. sesterces unto his officers (who had the bidding of guests unto his owne table) that by some suttile shift, himselfe might be foisted in among other guests: neither was he discōtented that the honor of supping with him was prized so high. The morrow after therefore, as this provincially man was sitting at a publike portsale, hee sent one of purpose to tender and deliver unto him some frivolous trifle (I wot not what) at the price of 200000 sesterces: and withall to say unto him, *That take a supper he should with CÆSAR, as a guest invited by his owne selfe.*

40

He levied and gathered new tributes and imposts, such as never were heard of before: at the first by the hands of Publicanes; and afterward (by reason of the excessive gaires that came in) by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts. For he omitted no kind of thing, no manner of person, but he imposed some tribute upon them. For all cates that were to be solde throughout the Citie, there was exacted a certaine taxation & set paiement. For actions for suits, for judgements whosoever cōmenced or drawn in writing, the fortieth part of the whole summe in suite went to his share in the name of a tribute: not without a penaltie, in case any one were convinced, to have eyther grown to composition or given the thing in question. The eighth part of the poore porters and Carriers daies-wages: out of the gets also and takings of common strumpets, as much as they earned by once lying with a man, was payed *nomen-tributi*. Moreover to the chapter of the law, this branch was annexed, that there should bee liable to this tribute, not onely the parties themselves that by trade of harlotry gat their living, but even they likewise who kept houses of bawderie: As also that \*wedded persons should paye for their vse of marriage.

\*Nec dum et  
matrimonia ob-  
noxia essent.  
Some interpret  
this of wedded  
folke playing  
false & commit-  
ting adulterie.

41

After these and such like taxes were denounced by proclamation, but not yet published abroad in writing, when as through ignorance of the written lawe (a) many trespasses and transgressions were committed: at length, upon instant demand of the people, he proposed indeede the act, but written in very small letter and within as narrow a place, so that no man might exemplifie the same or copie it out. And to the end that there might bee no kinde of spoile and pillage which he attempted not, he set up a stews and brothelhouse in the verie Palace, with many roomes and chambers therein distinguished asunder, and furnished according to the dignity and worth of that place. In it there stood to prostitute themselves, married wives, youths and springals free borne. Then sent he all about to the frequented places as well markets as Halls of resort, certaine *Nomenclatours*, to invite and call thither by name, young men and olde, for to fulfill and fatisfie their lust. All comers at their entrance payde money (as it were) for usurie and interest. Certaine persons also were appoint-  
ed

ted to take note in open sight, of their names, as of such as were good friends increasing the revenewes of CÆSAR. And not disdeining so much as the lucre and vantage arising out of hazard and dice-play, hee gained the more by cogging, lying, yea and forswearing (of gamesters). And upon a time, having put over to his next fellow gamester his owne course, to cast the dice for him in his turne: out he goes into the court-yard and foregate of the house: where, having espied two wealthy gentlemen of Rome passing by, he commanded them to be apprehended incontinently, and condemned in the confiscation of their goods: which done he returned in againe, leaping for joy & making his vaunt, *That he never had a luckier hand at dice.*

But when he had once a daughter borne, complaining then of his povertie and the heavie charges that lay upon him not onely as Emperour, but also as a father, he gently tooke the voluntarie contributions and benevolence of men toward the finding of the girle her food, as also for her Dowry another day. He declared also by an edict, that he would receive new yeares gifts: and so he stood the first\* day of Januarie, in the porch or entrie of his house PALATINE, readie to take what peeces soever of money came, which the multitude of all sorts and degrees, with full hands and \*bosomes poured out before him. Finally, so farre was he incensed with the desire of handling money, that oftentimes he would both walke bare-footed up & down, yea & wallow also a good while with his whole body upō huge heapes of coyned gold peeces, spread here and there in a most large and open place.

\*Or a Kalendis,  
i. the first day,  
&c.  
\*Or laps of  
their clothes

In militarie matters and warlike affaires he never dealt but once: and that was not vpon any intended purpose: but what time as he had made a progresse to *Mevania*, for to see the sacred grove & river of *Clitumnus*; being put in mind to supply & make up the number of the *Batavians* whom he had about him for his guard, it tooke him in the head to make an expedition into *Germanie*. Neither deferred he this disignement, but having levied from all parts a power consisting of legions and auxiliarie forces; and taken musters most rigorously in every quarter, as also raised & gathered together victuals & provision of all sorts in that quantity, as never any other before him the like, he put himselfe on his journey. Wherein he marched, one while in such hurrie and haste, as that the Pretorian cohorts were forced (against the manner and custome) to bestowe their ensignes vpon the sumpter beasts backs & so to follow after: otherwhiles, after such a slow and delicate manner, as that he would be carried in a litter vpon eight mens shoulders, and exact of the common people inhabiting the neighbour cities adioyning, that the high waies might be swept & watered for the dust, against his coming.

After that he was arrived once at the campe, to the end that he might shew himselfe a sharpe and severe Captaine. Those Lieutenants who had brought aid with: he latest, out of divers and dissituate parts, he discharged with ignominie and shame. But in the reuiue of his armie the most part of the Centurions who had already served out their complete time, yea and some whose terme within very few dayes would have beene fully expired, he deprived of their places: to wit, the leading of the formost bands, finding fault forsooth with the olde age and feebleness of every one. As for the rest, after hee had given them a rebuke for their avarice, he abridged the fees and availes due for  
their

42

43

44

their seruice performed; and brought that same downe to the valew of 6000. sesterces. And having achieved no greater exploit, than taken to his mercie, **ADMINIUS** the sonne of **CINOBELINUS** King of the \*Britains, who being by his father banished, was fled over sea with a small power and traine about him, he sent magnificent and glorious letters to *Rome*; as if the whole Isle had bene yielded into his hands: warning and willing the carriers euer and anon, to ride forward in their wagon directly into the market place and the Curia, and in no wise to deliver the sayd messives but in the Temple of **MARS** vnto the Consuls, and that in a frequent assembly of the Senate.

Soone after, when there failed matter of warre, he commanded a few *Germanes* of the \*Corps de guard, to be transported & hidden on the other side of *Rhene*, and that news should be reported unto him after dinner in most tumultuous manner, *That the enemy was come*: which done, he made what haste hee could, and together with some of his friends and part of the Pretorian horsemen he entred the next wood: where after he had cut off the heads of trees and adorned their bodies in manner of *Tropæes*, hee returned into the Campe by torch-light. As for those uerily who followed him not in this seruice; he re-proved and checked them for their timorousnesse and cowardise: But his companions and partners in this doury uictorie, he rewarded with a new kind and as strange a name of *Coronets*: which being garnished and set out with the expresse forme of *Sunne*, *Moon*, and *Stars* he called (a) *Exploratorias*. Againe, when as certaine hostages were had \*away perforce out of the *Grammer* schoole, and privily sent before, he suddenly left his supper, and with his men of armes pursued them as runawaies, and being overtaken and caught againe he brought them backe as prisoners bound in chaines; shewing himselfe even in this enterlude also, beyond all measure insolent and intemperate. Now after he was come backe to supper, those who brought him word that the bartayles were rallied and come forward in safetie, hee exhorted to sit downe to meate armed as they were in their Corselets: yea and aduertised them out of that most vulgar Verse of **VIRGIL**. *Durarent, Secundi que rebus se ferarent.* i.

*Still to endure in all assayes*

*And keepe themselves for better dayes.*

Moreover, amid these affaires, he rebuked most sharply in a proclamation, the Senate and people both, in their absence: For *that whiles CÆSAR fought battayles and was exposed to so many perils, they could so unseasonably celebrate feastes, haunt also the Cirque, The Theatres, and their resyring places of solace and pleasure.*

Last of all, as if he meant now to make a finall dispatch for ever of the warr having embattailed his armie upon the Ocean shore, planted his balists and other engins of Artillerie in their severall places, (and no man wist the while or could imagine what he went about) all at once he commanded them to gather fith-shels, and therewith to fill their headpeeces and laps, tearing them the spoiles of the Ocean, *due to the Capitol, and the Palatium*. In token also and memoriall of this brave uictorie, he raised an exceeding high turret, out of which as from a watch-towre, there might shine all night long lights and fires for the better direction of ships at sea in their course. And after hee had pronounced

nounced publicly a donative to his Souldiours, even an hundred good Deniers a peece; as if thereby hee had surmounted all former precedents of liberality, *Now goe your waies*, quoth hee, *with joy, Goe your waies I say, enriched and wealthy.*

47

Turning his minde after this to the care of his Triumph, hee selected and set apart for the pompe (over and above the Captives and runnagate Barbarians) the tallest men of Stature also that were to be found in Gaule: and euerie one that (as hee saide himselfe) was *axiothriambentos*, that is, worthy to be seene in a Triumph, yea and some of the Nobles and principall persons of that Nation. Whom hee compelled not onely to colour the haire of their heads yellow like burnished gold, and to weare the same long: but also to learne the Germanes language, and to beare barbarous names. He gave commaundement also; that the Gallies with three rankes of Oares, wherein hee had embarked and entred the Ocean, should bee conuaied to *Rome*, a great part of the way by land. Hee wrote likewise unto his procuratours and Officers, *To provide the furniture of his triumph, with as little cost as might be: but yet the same in as ample manner as never before was the like, seeing they had both might and right to seize all mens goods into their hands.*

48

Before his departure out of that Province, hee intended the execution of an horrible and abominable designement; even to put to sword those Legions, which long agoe upon the decease of **AUGUSTUS**, had made a commotion: because, forsooth, they had beset both his father **GERMANICUS** their Captaine, and himselfe also, then an Infant. And being hardly and with much ado reclaimed from such a rash and inconsiderate proiect, yet could hee by no means be stayed: but stilly persisted in a full minde and will to \*tith them. When hee had summoned them therefore to a publique assembly, unarmed, and without their swords which they had put off and bestowed heere and there, he environed them with his Cavallerie all armed. But seeing once, that many of them suspecting where about he went, slipped away in sundry places for to resume their weapons if any violence were offered, himselfe abandoned the assembly and fled, taking his direct way immediatly to the Citie of *Rome*; diverting all his bitternesse and crueltie upon the Senate: Whom, (to avert from himselfe the odious rumours of so great and shamefull villanies) hee openly threatned; complaining among other matters that he was by them defrauded and put by his iust and due triumph: whereas, himselfe but a little before, had intimated and denounced upon paine of death, that they should not make nor meddle in any matter about his honours.

49

Being encountred therefore and met upon the way by Embassadours from that most honourable \*Order, entreating him to make speed: with a most loud voice, *Come I will*, quoth he, *I will come, I say and this with me heere*, beating oft upon the swords \*hilt which he ware by his side. He made it knowne also by an *Edict*, *That he returned in deede, but it was to them alone who wisbed it*, namely, *The degree of Gentlemen and the comon people. For himselfe would be no longer a Citizen or Prince to the Senate.* He commaunded moreover, *That not one of the Senatours*

O

should

\* As if with  
3 LaS 6 pence;  
they had bene  
made for ever.

\* To kill  
very tenth man  
of them:

\* Of Senatours  
Or haist

\* Betavernum,  
i. the Baravotians.

45  
\* De Custodia,  
or that were  
prisoners and  
in vvard

\* By his means,

46



*should meete him*. And thus, either omitting quite or putting of his triumph, hee entred the Citie riding ovant, upon his very birth-day: and within foure moneths after came to his end, having attempted and done notable outrages and very great villanies, but plotting still and practising much greater. For hee had purposed to remove his imperiall Court to *Antium*, and afterwards to *Alexandria*: but having massacred first the most choise and chiefe persons of both \* degrees. And that no man may seeme to doubt heereof, there were in his secret Cabinet found two bookes bearing divers titles. The one had for the Inscription *Gladus i. the sword*: the other, *Pugio*, that is to say, *the dagger*. They contained both of them the markes and names of such as were appointed to death. There was found besides, a bigge chest full of divers and sundry poisons, which soone after being by *CLAUDIUS* drowned in the Seas, infected and poisoned the same, not without the deadly bane of fishes killed therewith, which the tide cast up to the next shores.

50

Of Stature hee was very tall, pale and wan-coloured: of body grosse and without all good making: his necke and shanks exceeding slender: his eyes funke in his head, and his temples hollow, his forehead broad, and the same furrowed and frowning: the haire of his head growing thinne, and none at all about his crowne: in all parts else hairie he was and shagged. It was therefore taken for an hainous and capitall offence, either to looke upon him as hee passed by from an higher place, or once but to name a Goate upon any occasion whatsoever. His face and visage being naturally sterne and grim, hee made of purpose more crabbed and hideous: composing and dressing it at a looking-glasse, all manner of waies to seeme more terrible and to strike greater feare. He was neither healthfull in body nor stooode sound in minde; Being a child, much troubled with the falling sicknesse. In his youth, patient of labour and travaile: yet so, as that ever and anone upon a suddaine fainting that came upon him, he was scarce able to goe, to stand, to arise, to recover himselfe and to beare up his head. The infirmitie of his minde, both himselfe perceived, and oftentimes also was minded to goe aside (unto \* *Anticyra*), there to purge his braine throughly. It is for certaine thought, that poysoned he was with a Potion given unto him by his wife *CÆSONIA*: Which in deede was a love \* medicine, but such an one, as crackt his wits and enraged him. He was troubled most of all with \* want of sleepe; For, he slept not above three houres in a night: and in those verily hee tooke no quiet repose, but fearefull; and skared with strange illusions and fantastickall imaginations: as who among the rest, dreamed upon a time that hee saw the very forme and resemblance of the sea talking with him. And heereupon for a great part of the night, what tedious wakefulness and wearinesse of lying, one while sitting up in his bed, another while roaming and wandering too and fro in his Galleries (which were of an exceeding length) hee was wont to call upon and looke still for the day-light.

51

I should not doe amisse, if unto this mindes sicknesse of his I attributed the vices which in one and the same \* subiect were of a most different nature: to wit, excessive confidence, and contrariwise, overmuch fearefulness. For,

For, hee that set so light by the Gods and despised them as hee did, yet at the least (a) thunder and lightning, used to winke close with both eyes, to enwrap also and cover his whole head: but if the same were greater and somewhat extraordinary, to start out of his bed, to creepe and hide himselfe under the bedsteede. During his peregrination verily and travaile through *Sicilie*, after hee had made but a scorne and mockerie at the miracles and strange sights in manie parts there, he fled suddainly by night from *Messana*, as affrighted with the smoake and rumbling noise of the top of *Aetna*. And hee that against the Barbarians was so full of threats and menaces, when as beyond the river Rhene he rode in a Germanes Chariot betweene the Streights, and the Armie marched in thicke Squadrons together: by occasion onely that one saide, *There would be no small trouble and hurlyburly*, in case the enemye from any place appeared in fight: forth-with hee mounted on horsebacke and turned hastily to the bridges: but finding them full of Camp-slaves and cariages wherewith they were \* choaked as one impatient of any delay, he was from hand to hand and over mens heads conveyed to the other side of the water. Soone after likewise, hearing of the revolt and rebellion of Germanie, hee provided to flee; and for the better meanes of flight, prepared and rigged shippes: resting and staying himselfe upon this onely comfort; That hee should yet have Provinces beyond sea remaining for him, in case the Conquerours following the traine of their victorie, either seized the Hill tops of the Alpes (as sometimes the Cimbrians), or possessed themselves of the very Citie of *Rome*, as the Senones in times past did. Heereupon I verily beleeve that the murderers of him afterwards devised this shift, namely to hold up his Souldiours with a loude lie when they were in an uprore, and to beare them in hand that hee laide violent hands on himselfe, affrighted at the fearefull newes of the field lost.

52

As for his apparrell, his shooes and other habite, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guise, nor in a civile fashion, no nor so much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, sorting with the state and condition of a mortall wight. Being clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidred with divers colours, and the same set out with pretious stones: in a coate also with long sleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroade into the Citie. Sometime you should see him in his filkes, and veiled all over in a loose mantle of fine \* Sendall with a traine: one while going in Greekish \* slippers, or else in buskins: otherwhiles in a simple paire of broges or high shooes, such as common Souldiours employed in espiallused. Now and then also was heeene shod with womens \* pumps. But for the most part he shewed himselfe abroade with a golden (a) beard carying in his hand either a (b) thunderbolt or a three-tined (c) mace, or else a warder or rod called (d) *Caduceus* (the ensignes all and ornaments of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of *VENUS*. Now, for his triumphall robes and ensignes hee used verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and sometime the cuirace withall of *K. ALEXANDER* the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

Of all the liberrall Sciences, hee gave his minde least to deepe literature and found

O 3

53

\* Or *Alexandria* is *Antiochia*, in old *Asia* *Antiochia*.  
\* Senators & gentleman.

\* An Isle, where grew the best *Ellebor*, a purgative meete for lunaticke & distracted persons.  
\* Or drinke.  
\* *Insomnia*.

\* Or person

\* Or guarded.

\* Lawne or Tiffanie.  
\* Or Pantofles

\* Or pinsons:

\* With three graines like an cle speare:

found learning: but most, to eloquence: \* albeit he was (by nature) faire spoken and of a ready tongue. Certes if it had beene to pleade and declame against one, were he angered once, he had both words and sentences at will. His action, gesture and voice also served him well: in so much as for very heate and earnestnesse of speech, uneth was he able to stand his ground and keepe still in one place, yet might hee bee heard nothlesse of them that stood a farre off. When he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in these termes, Namely, *That he would draw forth and let drive at his adversarie the keene weapon and dart of his night-studie by candle light*; contemning the milder and more piked kinde of writing so farre forth, as that hee said of SENECA, a writer in those daies most accepted, *That his compositions which he made were plaine exercises to bee shewed onely: and was no better himselfe, than sand without lime*. His wont was also, to answere by writing the Orations of those Oratours who had pleaded well and with applause: to meditate and devise as well accusati- ons and defences of great persons and waighty matters in the Senate; and according as his stile framed, either to over-charge and depresse, or to ease and relieve every man with his sentence: having called thither by vertue of his Edicts, the degree also of Gentlemen to heare him speake.

The Arts moreover and maisteries of other kinds hee practised right studi- ously, even those of most different nature. A professed \* Sword-fencer he was and a good Chariotier: A singer withall and a dauncer. Fight hee would even in earnest with weapons at sharpe: and runne a race with chariots in the open Cirque, which he built in many places. As for chaunting and dauncing, he was so hotly set thereupon, that hee could not forbear so much as in the publick Theaters and Shew-places, but that hee would both fall a singing \* with the Tragædian as he pronounced, and also counterfaite and openly imi- tate the gesture of the \* player, as it were by way of praise or correction. And verily, for no other cause proclaimed hee (as it is thought) a wake or *Vigile* all night long, that very day on which hee was murdered, but that by taking the opportunity of the nights licentiousnesse, he might therewith begin to enter upon the Stage. And divers times daunced he by night: But once above the rest, having raised out of their beds three honourable persons that had beene Consuls, and sent for them at the reliefe of the second watch into the Palace; whiles they were much afraid and doubted some extremity he caused them to be placed aloft upon a scaffold, and then suddainly with a great noise of hant- bors and sound of shawlnes or Cimbals, out commeth he leaping forth with a palle and cassocke reaching downe to his ankles; and after hee had daunced out the measures to a song, vanished & went his way againe. Now, this man so apt a schollar as hee was to learne all other feates, had no skill at all in \* swim- ming.

55 Looke, whom he tooke a love and liking unto, he favoured them all ex- ceedingly and beyond all reason. MNESTER the famous \* PANTOMIME he affected so much, as that he bashed not to kisse him even in the open Theater; and if any man whiles \* he was dauncing or acting a part, made never so little noise and interrupted him, hee commaunded the party to be pulled out of his place, and with his owne hand scourged him. A Gentleman of Rome chaun- ced to keepe some sturre whiles the said MNESTER was upon the Stage: unto him

him hee sent word peremptorily by a Centurion to depart without delay, and goe downe to *Ostia* (there to take Sea) and so to carie unto King PTOLOME- us as farre as into *Mauritania* his letters in writing tables, The tenour whereof was this, *To this bearer, whom I have sent hither to you, see you doe neither good nor harme*. Certaine Fencers called \* THRACES hee made Capitaines over those Germanes that were of his Guard and Squires to his body. As for the \* Mir- millones, hee deprived them of their armour. One of them named COLUM- nus, fortune to foile his concurrent, howbeit hee had gotten before some small hurt: He made no more adoe but put poison into the wound, which thereupon he called COLUMBINUM. So much addicted and devoted was he, to the \* greene faction of Chariotiers, that day by day hee would take his sup- pers and make his abode, in their \* hostlerie. Vpon EURYCEUS a \* Chariot- driver, he bestowed in hospitall gifts at a certaine banquet, two millions of se- sterces. To one of their Chariot-steedes named *Incitatus*, for whose sake (be- cause he should not be disquieted), he was wont the day before the games *Cir- ceuses*, by his Souldiours to commaund the neighbours there adioyning to keepe silence, besides a Stable all built of marble stone for him, and a manger made of Ivorie: over and above his caparison also and harnois of purple, to- gether with a brooch or pendant Jewell of pretious stones at his poictrill: he al- lowed an house and familie of servants; yea and household-stuffe to furnish the same: all to this end, that guests invited in his name might be more finely and gaily entertained. It is reported moreover that he meant to preferre him unto a Consulship.

56 As he rioted thus and fared outrageously, many there were who wanted no hart & good will to assault his person. But after one or two conspiracies de- tected, when others for default of opportunitie held off and made stay, two at length complotted and imparted one unto the other their designment, yea and performed it; not without the privitie of the mightiest freed-men about him, and the Capitaines of his Guard. The reason was, for that they also, beeing nominated (although untruly) as accessarie to a certaine conspiracie, perceiv- ing themselves suspected and odious unto him therefore. For, even immedi- atly, by sequestering them a part into a secret place he brought upon them great hatred, protesting with his sword drawne, *That die he would upon his owne hand, if they also thought him worthy of death*. Neither ceased hee from that time for- ward to accuse one unto the other, and to set them all together by the eares. Now when these Conspiratours were resolved and agreed to assaile him du- ring the *Palatine* (a) games, as he departed thence out of the Theater at noone- tide, CASSIUS CHERIA Tribune of the *Preterian* Cohort tooke upon him to play the first part in this Action: even hee, whom being now farre stept in yeeres \* CAIVS was wont to frump and flout in most opprobrious termes as a wanton and effeminate person: and one while, when he came unto him for a watch-word, to give him PRIAPUS or VENUS; another while, if upon any occasion he rendred thanks, to reach out unto him his hand, not onely fashio- ned but wagging also after an obscene and filthy manner.

Many prodigious signes were seene, presaging his future death and murder. The image of IUPITER at *Olympia*, which his pleasure was to bee disioined and translated to *Rome*, did set up all on a suddaine such a mighty laughter that

\* Or *Fetiarj*, as some thinke. Others take it to be a generall name of all Sword-fencers; \* A faction or crew of fencers opposite to the *Thracers* or *Reti- arj*, whom in respect of the *Thracers*, he fa- voured not. \* *Praefus* fac- tionis. \* Or lodging; \* Or that green livery. \* *Incitatus*, cuius equi causa, some interpret o- therwise thus. To *Incitatus*, for whose horse like taking *In- citatus* to be the name of the Maister, & not of the horse, because in the Poet Martiall, there is mentio- on made of *In- citatus* a fa- mous Chariot- rier & a multi- tier. Yet *L. Pe- rus Antoninus* erected an I- mage of gold: fer on horse that he had named *Voluce* whiles he lived: and a sepulcher when he was dead. And why might not this braire-like Prince be as absurd? \* *Caligula*.

\* *Quantumvis* facundus: Or, beeing very faire spoken. &c.

54 \* *Thrac.*

\* Or, to

\* Or Actor.

\* A laudable exercise in Rome, as may appeare before in *Augustus*. \* A Gesturer or dauncer that counterfaited all parts. \* The said Minister.

the workmen about it, let their Engines and Vices slip and so ranne all away. And straight waies came there one in place whose name also was CASSIUS, that avouched, *he had warning and commaundement in a dreame to sacrifice a Bull unto IUPITER.* The (a) Capitoll in Capua upon the Ides of March was smitten with lightning. Likewise at Rome the Porters lodge belonging to the Princes Palace. And there wanted not some who gave their coniecture, that by the one Prodige was portended danger to the Master of the house from his Guard and the Squires of his person: by the other some notable murder againe, such as in times past had beene committed upon (b) the same day. Also, SULLA the Astrologer, when CAIVS asked his counsell and opinion, as touching the Horoscope of his Nativitie, told him plaine, *That most certaine and inevitable death approached neere at hand.* Semblably the Oracle at Antium, gave him a caveat, to beware of CASSIUS. For which very cause, hee had taken order and given expresse commaundement, That CASSIUS LONGINUS Proconsull then in Asia, should bee killed: not remembering that the fore-saide CHERRA had to name CASSIUS. The day before he lost his life, he dreamt that he stood in heaven close unto the throne of IUPITER: and that IUPITER spurned him with the great toe of his right foote, and therewith threw him downe headlong to the earth. There went also for currant prodigies and fore-tokens of his fall; even those occurrences that hapned unto him that very day, a little before he was murdered. As himselfe sacrificed, bespreinct he was with the blood of the foule *Phenicopterus*. And MNESTER the skilfull Actour above named, represented that very \* Tragædie which whilome NEPTOLIMUS the Tragædian acted at the solemnitie of those games, wherein PHILIP \* King of the Macedonians was killed. And when as in the shew or Enterlude entituled (c) LAURBOLUS, wherein the chiefe plaier making hast to get away out of the ruine, vomited blood, many more of the Actours in a second degree strived a vie to give some triall and experiment of the like cunning; the whole stage by that meanes flowed with blood. Prepared there was likewise against night another shew, wherein the darke fables reported of Hell and the Infernall Spirits there, were to be exhibited and unfolded by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

58 Vpon the \* ninth day before the Kalends of Februarie, about one of the clocke after noone: Doubting with himselfe, whether he should rise to dinner or no? (for that his stomacke was yet rawe and weake upon a surfait of meate taken the day before), at last by the perswasion of his friends hee went forth. Now, when as in the very \* cloisture through which hee was to passe certaine boyes of noble birth sent for out of Asia (to sing Himnes, and to skirmish martially upon the Stage) were preparing themselves, he stood still and staied there to view and encourage them. And but that the leader and chieftaine of that crew, said, *He was very cold*, hee would have returned and presently exhibited that shew. But what befell after this, is reported two manner of waies. Some say, that as he spake unto the said boyes, CHERRA came behind his back, and with a drawing blow grievously wounded his neck with the edge of his sword, giving him these words before, *Hoc age. i. Mind this: Wherupon, CORNELIUS SABINUS*, another of the Conspiratours, encountred him a-front, and ranne him through in the brest. Others write, that SABINUS, after the multitude about him was voided by the Centurions (who were privie to the Conspiracie) called

\* *Cherra*,  
\* The sonne of  
Amyntor.  
\* Of some  
house represent-  
ed upon the  
Stage.

\* Fit actours &  
expositours of  
such an argu-  
ment.  
\* 24. of Ianua-  
rie:  
A.V.C. 794.

\* Or Vani.

called for a watch-word, as the maner is of souldiers, and when CAIVS gave him the word, IUPITER, CHERRA cryed out aloud, *Acciperatum. i.* Here take it sure: and with that, as he looked behind him, with one slash cut his chaw quite thorough: Also as he lay on the ground and drawing up his limmes together cryed still, *That he was yet alive*, the rest of their complices with thirtie wounds dispatched and made an end of him. For, this mot, *Repete. i.* Strike againe, was the signal of them all. Some of them also thrust their swords through his privie members. At the very first noise and outcrie, his lister-bearers came running to helpe, with their litter-staves: Soone after, the Germans that were the Squires of his bodie came in: & as they slew some of the murderers, so they killed certaine Senatours also that were meere innocent.

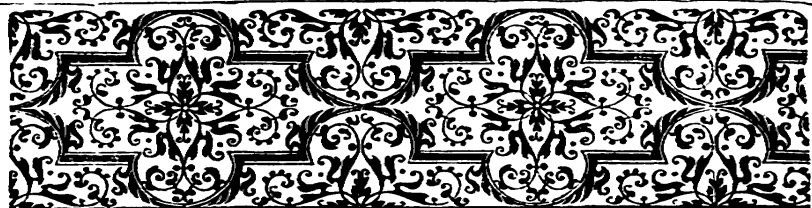
He lived 29. yeares, and ruled the Empire three yeares 10. moneths and 8. dayes. His dead corps was conveyed secretly into the Lamian hortyards, where being scorched onely, or halfe burnt in a tumultuary and hasty funerall fire, covered it was with a few turfs of earth lightly cast over it: but afterwards, by his sisters now returned out of exile, taken up, burnt to ashes and entered. It is for certain known and reputed, that before this Complement was performed, the keepers of those hortyards were troubled with the walking of spirits and ghosts: and in that uery \* house wherein he was murdered there passed not a night without some terror or fearefull object, until the uery house it selfe was consumed with fire. There dyed together with him, both his Wife CÆSONIA, stabbed with a sword by a Centurion, and also a daughter of his, whose braines were dashed out against a wall.

What the condition and state was of those dayes, any man may gather, even by these particulars. For neither, when this massacre was divulged and made known abroad, men gave credite by and by thereto; but there went a suspicion, that CAIVS himselfe had feigned and given out a rumour of this murder, by that meanes to found mens minds, and find, how they stood affected unto him: nor yet had those conspiratours destined the Empire to anie one. And the Senators in recovering their antient freedome againe accorded so, as that the consuls assembled them not at the first into the \* Curia, because it bare the name \* IULIA, but into the Capitoll: yea and some of them, when their turnes came to speake, opined, *That the memorie of the CÆSARS should be utterly abolished and razed out*, giving aduise to pull downe their temples. Moreover, this

hath beene obserued and noted especially, *That the CÆSARS, who had to their forename \* CAIVS, beginning at him first who was slaine in the troublesome dayes of CINNA, dyed all of them a violent death.*

\* Which hee  
called a *vastrum*  
cloyster, be-  
fore.

\* A new Senate  
house in lieu of  
Curia Hostilia.  
\* For now the  
name of the  
Curia and the  
race became or-  
dinary, as oppres-  
sors of the com-  
mon weale.  
\* And yet we  
reade not so  
much of Calig-  
nae or Agri-  
ppa sonne, bro-  
ther of Tiberius.



# THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæ-

far, written by *Caius Suetonius  
Tranquillus.*



I  
A.V.C. 714.



Augustus: and  
not by Tiberius  
Nero his mo-  
thers sonne.

As touching DRUSUS father to this CLAVDIUS CÆSAR, which DRUSUS was in times past forenamed DECIMUS and afterwards NERO; dame LIVIA wedded unto AUGUSTUS even whē she was great with child, brought him into the world within three moneths after the said mariage & folke suspected, that begotten he was in adulterie by his (supposed) \*father in law himself. Certes presētly after his birth, this verse wēt rise in every mans mouth, τοῖς θυγατρὶ καὶ τριμῶν παύσια,  
*On persons great this fortune doth attend,  
That children they may have at three moneths end.*

This DRUSUS in the honorable place of questure and pretureship, being L. Generall of the *Rhatian*, and so soorth of the *Germane* warre, was the first Romane Captaine that sayled in the North Ocean: and on the farther side of *Rhene* calle those trenches of a straung and infinite worke which yet at this

this day be called \*DRUSINÆ. Many a time he put the enemy to sword, and when he had driven him as farre as to the inmost deserts, gave not over chafing and pursuing, untill there appeared unto him the likenesse of a \*Barbarian woman, more portly than a mortall wight, which in the latine tongue forbade him to follow the traine of victorie anie farther. For which acts atchieved, he enioyed the honour of a \*pety Triumph, and had the Triumphall ornaments graunted unto him. After his pretureship, he entred immediatly upon the Consulate: and having enterprised a second expedition thither, fell sicke and dyed in his summer campe, which therupon tooke the name of \*CASTRA (s) SCERERATA. His corps by the principall Citizens and Burgeses of the free-burrowes and colonies, by the decuries also and orders of the \*Scribes (who met them in the way and received it at their hands) was conueied to *Rome* and buried in Marf-fielde. Howbeit the armie reared in honour of him an honorarie \*tombe (or stately herse) about the which every yeare afterwards upō a certain set day, the souldiers should runne at tilt, keepe jousting and turnament: the Citties likewise and States of *Gaule*, sacrifice and make publike supplications to the gods. Moreover the Senate among many other honors, decreed for him a Triumphant arch of marble, with Tropæes thereto in the \*street *Appia*: as also the surname of GERMANICUS to him and his posterity for ever. Furthermore he is thought to have caried a mind no lesse glorious than civil & popular. For over and above the conquests gained of his enemies, he wan also from the \*Royall spoiles: & oftentimes to the uttermost hazard of his life coursed and chaced the General of the *Germans* all over the field: neither dissembled he, but gave it out, that one day he would restore unto the Common-wealth their ancient state and libertie againe. Whereupon, I suppose, some presume to write, that AUGUSTUS had him in jealousie and suspicion: called him home out of his Province: and because he lingred and delayed his returne, made him away by poyson. Which verily put downe I have, because I would not seeme to premit such a matter, rather, than for that I thinke it either true or probable: considering that AUGUSTUS both loved him whiles hee was alive so entirely, as that he alwayes ordained him fellow-heire with his sonnes, (like as he openly professed upon a time in the Senate house) and also commended him after his death so highly, that in a solemne oration before the bodie of the people he prayed unto the gods. To nouthsafe his owne CÆSARS to be like unto him: and to grant himselfe one day such an end as they had given him. And not contented with this that he had engraven upon his tombe an Epiraph in verse which he himselfe composed, he wrot also the historie of his life in prose. By ANTONIA the yonger, he became father verily of many children, but three onely hee left behind him at his death, namely, GERMANICUS, LIVILLA, and CLAUDIUS.

This CLAUDIUS was borne at *Lyons*, in the yeare when IULIUS ANTONIUS and FABIVS AFRICANUS were Consuls, upon the Calends of *August*, that very day on which the altar was first dedicated there unto AUGUSTUS: and named he was TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS: and a while after, when his elder brother was adopted into the family IULIA, hee assumed into his file the surname of GERMANICUS. Being left an infant by his father, all the time in manner of his child-hood and \*youth, piteously handled

\*Or *Drusiane*  
Tacti.  
\*Representing  
Germanie.

\*Called Ora-  
tion

\*The wicked  
and mischie-  
vous camp.  
\*Or Chance-  
lors.

\*Which the  
Greeks call  
*Cenotaphium* .i.  
an empty tomb

\*Or port-way.

\*Which he  
tooke fro their  
cheife generals

2

A.V.C. 744.

\*Or growing  
age.

handled he was with sundrie diseases, and those tough and such as stucke long by him: in so much as being dulled and enfeebled thereby both in mind and bodie, he was not thought in the very progresse of riper age, sufficient and capable of any publike office or private charge: yea and many a day after that hee came to full yeares and had sued out his liverie, hee was at the dispose of another, even under a pedagogue and governour: whom in a certaine booke himself complaineth of, terming him a barbarous fellow, and no better sometime than a \* mulier, set over him of purpose to chaſtice and punish him most cruelly for everie light cause & occasion whatsoever. By reason of this his sickness, both at the sword-play which he and his brother ioyntly exhibited in memoriall of their Father, he sat as president (not after the accustomed manner) lapt in a cloake; and also upon his commensment day, when he was to put on his virile gowne, about midnight without anie honorable attendance and solemne traine, brought he was in a lictor into the (a) Capitoll.

Howbeit, from his very child-hood, he employed no meane studie in the liberall sciences: And oftentimes gave good prooffe even in publike place of his proceedings in them all: yet could he never for all that reach to any degree of dignity, or yeeld better hope of himselfe for the time to come. His mother ANTONIA, was wont to call him *Portentum hominis* i. *The Monster and fantasticall shewe of a man*, as if hee had not bene finished but onely begonne by nature: and if hee reprooved anie one for his foolishnesse she would saie, *Hee was more sottish then her Sonne CLAVDIVS*. His Grandmother \* AUGUSTA thought alwaies most basely of him, as who used neither to speake unto him but very seldome, nor to admonish him, unlesse it were in some sharpe and short writing, or els by messengers going between. His sister LULLIA, when she heard that he should be one day Emperour, openly & with a lowd voice detested and wished farre from the people of Rome so hard and miserable a fortune.

And no meruaile: For to the end that it might be more certainly knowne what opinion his great Vncle AUGUSTUS had of him both \* wayes, I have set downe certaine Articles and principall pointes gathered out of his owne Epistles. *I have quoth he, my good LIVIA talked and conferred with TIBERIUS as you charged me, about this point, namely, What is to be done to your Nephew TIBERIUS, at the solemnity of the \* Martiall Game? Now, wee are both agreed that it must be determined and set downe once for all what course we should take and follow with him: For, if he be \* wert, and as I may so say \* ολδωμεν, what doubts need wee to make, but that he is to bee trained and brought by the same opportunities of time and degree, by which his brother was? But if we perceive him \* ηλαττωμεν, we must not minister matter to men, \* τα παύτα σπάντην και μνησθαι εν εἰσόδῳ, for to deride both him and us. For we shall ever find trouble and vexation enough, in case of every occasion of time presented unto us, we should deliberate, \* μη τὸ εὐπρόκλειον ἡμῶν, whether wee thinke him able to manage honorable Offices in the State or no? Howbeit for the presents (concerning such things whereof youle aske mine advise) I mislike it not, that he have the charge of the Priests dining chamber, during these Martiall solemnities a*

*forefayd*

*forefayd, so that he wil suffer himselfe to be admonished and schooled by SILANUS sonne, a man allyed unto him, that he do nothing, which may be \* noted, or derided. That he should behold the games Circenses from out of the \* Pulvinar, in no wise can I allow. For being exposed so, to the sight of men in the very forefront of the Theatre, he wil be eyed and observed: Neither like we in any hand, that he should goe up the Albane mount, or abide at Rome During the Latine Holy-dayes. For if he be able to accompany and follow his brother to that mountaine, why is he not as wel made Provost of the Cittie the while? Thus, my LIVIA, you have our opinions delivered, as who are fully resolved, that once for all somewhat must be put downe as touching the whole matter, least we be evermore wavering between hope and feare. You may also if it please you impart unto our (niece) ANTONIA thus much of this our letter. Again, in another Epistle. As for young \* TIBERIUS, I for my part whiles you are absent, wil daily invite him to supper, that he may not suppe alone with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus. And I could wish with all my hart that, he would more soundly and lesse \* ετεώρεας make choise of some special one, whose gesture habite & gang, hee might, fully soule as he is imitate*

ΑΤΥΧΗ ΛΙΒΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΩΣΤΕΛΟΙΣ ΠΑΙΝΩ,

*He comes farre short (when he is matched) with men of deepe understanding.*

But looke, when his mind is not wandering out of the way, the generosity of his heart appeareth sufficiently. Likewise in a third letter. Your Nephew TIBERIUS my sweet LIVIA, If I doe not wonder, that when he declaimed that he could please and content me, I pray God I be dead. For how he that in his daily talke speaketh so \* ασφαλῶς should be able when he declameth, to deliver his mind and what he hath to say \* ασφαλῶς I cannot see. Neither is there anie doubt to be made, but that after all this, AVGVSTUS ordained and left him indued with no honorable office, save only the Sacerdottall dignitie of Augurs: nay he nominated him not so much as his Heire, but in a third degree and descent, even among those that were well neere Strangers: and that in a sixth part onely of his substance: and by way of legacie bequeathed unto him not above 800000. sesterces.

TIBERIUS his unkle conferred upon him when he sued for honorable dignities the Ornaments of Consuls. But when he instantly demanded still, not imaginary but true magistracies indeede, he wrote backe unto him in his writing tables thus much onely, *That he had sent unto him \* fortie peeces of golde to spend at the feast Saturnalia, and to bestow in puppets and trifling games, at the same time. Then, and not before, casting aside all hope of preferment and reall dignities, hee betooke himselfe to rest and quietnesse of life, lying close, one while within hortyardes of pleasure and in a manner house without the Cittie: and lurking other whiles in a withdrawing place out of the way in Campania: And by his daily acquaintance and companie keeping with most base and abject persons besides the olde infamous note of fluggardie and foolishnesse hee incurred an ill name for drunkennesse and dice-play: notwithstanding, that all the while he thus led his life, he never wanted the publike attendance and reverent regard of men seeking unto him.*

The order of Gentlemen elected hiu twice for their patrone, in an embassage that was to be sent & delivered in their owne behalfe: once when the Consuls

\* Olim superintendarius, rather a maister of mulitiers.

\* Otherwise called Livia & Julia the mother of Drusus. \* His Grandmothers brother by the mothers side. \* As well good as bad.

\* In honour of Mars Revenger.

\* Sufficient.

\* Sound throughout & perfect.

\* Or steps.

\* To be im paired or disbled and maimed, as well for the sufficiency of body as in secretie of mind.

\* Who are wont to make good game & scoffe at such things.

\* If it be not resolved upon and set downe aforchaed by

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\* Conspicuous desputat.

\* A Bedlost at the Games circenses, whereon the images of the gods are layed.

\* In the absence of the Consuls attending the sacrifice upon the Albard Hill.

\* Claudius.

\* Superficially

\* Darkly and confusedly.

\* Clearly and plainly to be understood.

\* Every one worth 15, s. 7, d. ob, or one hundred sesterces



Consuls required to have the cariage of AUGUSTUS his corps upō their own shoulders to *Rome*: 22. time when they were to cōgratulate with the same Consuls for the suppressing of *Seianus*. Moreover, they were wont in shewes, and in the Theatre, when he came in place, to arise up and lay off their mantels in respectiue honour of him. The Senate also ordained, that to the ordinarie number of the Priests or Guild-brethren called AUGUSTALES, who were by lot chosen, he should be admitted extraordinarily: and soone after, *That his house, which by misfortune of a skare-fire he had lost*, should at the Cities charges be reedified; as also the priuledge to deliver his minde and opinion in the Senate, among those who had beene Consuls; which decree of theirs was reversed & annulled: whiles \*TIBERIUS alleadged by way of excuse his imbecillity, and promised to repaire the foresaid losse out of his owne private purse and liberality. Yet when hee laye upon his death-bed, he both named him among his heires in a third raunge, and in a third part of his estate, and also bequeathed him a legacie of two millions of Sesterces: yea recommended him besides by name unto the armies, to the Senate likewise & people of *Rome* in the ranke of other his especiall friends and kinsfolke.

\*As wee vic to  
veile bonet or  
do of our hats.

\*The Empe  
rou.

\*Caligula.

\*All haile or  
happineffe.  
\*Caligula

At length under \*CAIUS his brothers sonne, who at his first comming to the Empire sought by all manner of enticing allurements, to gaine the good opinion of a bountifull and gracious prince, he began first to beare office of state, and continued Consul together with him for the space of two moneths: and it fortun'd at his first entrance into the *Forum* with his knitches of rods, that an Eagle soaring thereby, settled upon his right shoulder. He was pricked also and allotted unto a second Consulship, against the 4. th yeare following. Divers times he sat as president of the solemne shewes in CAIUS his turne: what time, the people with great applausc \*cryed *Felicitur*, partly to the \*Emperours Vncle, and in part to GERMANICUS his brother.

8

Yet lived hee neverthelesse subiect to the contumelious reproches of the World: For if at anie time, hee came somewhat with the latest and after the houre appointed to a supper, hardly & with much adoe, was there any roome made for to receive him, and not before hee had gone round about the tables where guests were set, for to finde a place: Likewise, whensoever he tooke a nap, and fel a sleepe after meate (which was an ordinarie thing with him) the \*buffons and jesters about him, made good sport, pelling him with olive and date stones: other whiles also they would by way of merriment awaken him with the clappe of a ferula or lash of some whip. They were wont likewise to glove his hands (as he lay snorring a sleepe) with \*his shoes, that as he suddenly awaked hee might rub his face and eyes therewith.

9

Neither verily could he avoide divers dangerous troubles: First in his very Consulship: for, beeing behind hand and over slacke in taking order with the workmen for the making and erecting of NERO and DRAUSUS Statues, who were \*CESARS brethren, hee had like to have beene remooved and put out of that honorable office: afterwards, as eyther anie stranger, or one of his own house informed ought against him, he was continually and sundry manner of wayes

\*A Caprein:  
See Tiberius  
Nero Caesar, cap.  
61. vel a Tropeis  
such as would  
play Bospepe  
and hide them-  
selves when  
they had done  
some unhappi-  
nesse.

\*For whiles  
they sat or lea-  
ned upon pal-  
lets at their  
meat they put  
off their shoes.  
\*Came Caligula  
in.

waies molested. But when as the Conspiracie of LEPIDUS & GBTULICUS came to light, being sent among other Embassadours to congratulate CAIUS in the name of the City, hee was in icopardy of his very life: whiles CAIUS chafed and fumed with great indignation, that his Vncle chiefly of all others was sent unto him, as it were to governe a child: In so much, as some have not stuck to report on writing, that hee was turned also headlong into the river in his cloathes and all as he came appaialed. From which time forward, never spake hee to any matter proposed in the Senate, but last of all those, that had beene Consuls, as being in reproachfull wise and to his disgrace asked his opinion after them all. There was received likewise against him the examination of a forged will, wherein himselfe also had beene a witnesse and put to his seale. Last of all, hee was forced to disburse eight millions of Sesterces for a fine or Income at his entrance into a new Priesthood: by occasion whereof, his estate being so much deciaied, driuen he was to those streights, that for his disability to keepe credit and satisfie the debt due unto the Chamber of the City by an (\*a) Ediēt of the Citie Treasurers according to the law *Prædatoria* hee \*hung up to be sold in *VACUUM*.

\*His lands and  
goods were  
forfeited  
and so were  
published in  
table as void  
and vacant.

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Having passed the greatest part of his time in running thorough these and such like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee attained to the Empire, and that by a strange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conspiratours that layed waite for CAIUS life, what time they voided all the Companie about his person, under a colour as if he desired to be a part himselfe alone in some by-place, this CLAUDIUS had stept aside and retired into a lodging or parlour called *Hermium*: And not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder slyly crept forth and conuered himselfe up into a Solar next adioyning, and there hid himselfe betweene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked close there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, espied his feete, and by earnest enquire and asking who he was? hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) saluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediatly to his other fellow Souldiours, who as yet stood wavering and wist not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he bestowed in a *Lictor*: and for that his owne servants were fled (scattering heere and there they also by turnes one after another supported the said *Lictor* upon their shoulders: and so was he brought into the (*Prætorian*) Camp, all sad and amazed for feare: pitied also by the multitude that met him on the way; as if some innocent had beene haled to execution. Being received within the trench & rampire, lodged he was alnight among the souldiours-watch with lesse hope of his a good deale than confidence. For the Consuls together with the Senate and the cohorts of the citie-souldiers, seized the *Forū* & the Capitol, with a purpose to claime & recover the cōmon libertie: and when himselfe was sent for, by a tribune of the commons into the *Curia* to sit in consultation & give his aduise about those matters that were thought good to be propounded, he made answere; *That detained he was perforce and by constraint*. But the next morrow, when as the Senate grewe more colde and slacke in following and

\*A garret;

A.V.C. 724

P

executing

executing their foresaid proiects, (by reason of their tedious trouble and discord who dissented in opinion) whiles the multitude also standing round about, demaunded by this time one Ruler & \*him by name, he called the Souldiours in \*armour to an assembly, and suffered them to take their oath of allegiance, and sweare to maintaine his imperiall dignity: therewith promised unto them \*1500 Sesterces a peece: the first of all the CÆSARS, that obliged unto him the Souldiours fealty by a fee and reward.

Having once established his Empire, hee thought nothing more deere and behovefull than to abolish the remembrance of those two daies, wherein there was some doubtfull question about the change and alteration of the State. Of all deedes and words therefore, which had passed during that time he made an Act there should be a generall pardon and perpetuall oblivion: which also hee made good and performed accordingly. Onely, some few Colonels and Centurions, out of that crew which conspired against CAIUS, he put to the sword: as well for example sake, as for that he had certaine intelligence, they required to have him also murdered. Then presently turning and bending his minde to the duties of pietie and kindnesse, hee tooke up no forme of oath, either with more devout religion or oftener, than by the name of AUGUSTUS. He gave order, that for his Grandmother LIVIA, there should by Decree be graunted Divine honours; as also in the stately pompe of the Cirque Solennities, a Chariot drawne with Elephants, like unto that of AUGUSTUS: Semblably, for the soules of his owne parents departed, publick Dirges and Funerall feasts: and more than so, particularly in the honour of his father Cirque-Plaies and games every yeere upon his birth day: and in memoriall of his mother, a coach to be led and drawne along through the Cirque: and the surname of AUGUSTA, which by his Grandmother was refused. In remembrance of his \*brother (to celebrate whose memoriall hee omitted no occasion) hee exhibited a Greeke Comædie at the solemne Games held in *Naples*: Where, by sentence of the Vmpiers and Iudges he received a coronet therefore. Hee suffered not so much as M. ANTONIUS to passe unhonoured, nor without a thankfull mention and remembrance: protesting one time, and that by an Edict, *That so much the more earnest he was, to have men celebrate the Birth day of his father DRUSUS, because upon the same day, his Grandfather ANTONIUS also was borne.* The Marble Arch, decreed verily in times past by the Senate to be erected for TIBERIUS \*neere unto the Theater of POMPEIUS, but for let, hee finished. And albeit hee abrogated and repealed all the Acts of CAIUS, yet the day of his death, although it were the beginning of his Empire, he forbade to be registered among feasts in the Kalendar.

But in honouring himselfe he was sparie, and caried a civile modestie. The fore-name of Emperour he forbore: excessive honours hee refused: the \*Espousals of his owne daughter, the birth-day also of his Nephew her sonne, he passed over in silence, onely celebrating it with some private ceremonie and religious complements within house. He restored no banished person, but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. That hee might bring with him into the *Curia*, the Capitaine of the Guard and \*Tribunes of the Souldiours: Item, that those Acts might bee ratified and stand in force, which his Procuratours had set downe in iudging of causes, hee obtained by intreatie.

He

He made suite unto the Consuls for a licence, to hold Faires and Markets, for his owne private Manors and Lands. In Commissions and Examinations of causes held by the Magistrates, he would oftentimes be personally present and sit as one of the Commissioners. To the same Magistrates, when they exhibited any Plaies or Games, himselfe also with the rest of the multitude would arise up, and both with \*hand and \*voice doe them honour. When the Tribunes of the Commons repaired unto him before the Front of his Tribunal, he excused himselfe unto them, for that by reason of straight roome hee could not give audience unto them otherwise than standing upon their seete. Therefore, within a small time hee purchased so much love and favour, as that when newes came (to *Rome*) that forlaied and slaine hee was in his journey to *Ostia*, the people in a great tumult and uprore, fell to banning and cursing both the Souldiours as Traitors, and the Senate also as Paricides: neither ceased they thus to force against them, untill first one messenger, and then another, yea and soone after many more were produced by the Magistrates to the publick ROSTRA, who assured them that he was alive and approached homeward.

\* By applause and acclamation,

Yet continued hee not for all this secured every way from the danger of secret practises and wait-laying: but assailed hee was as well by private persons, as whole factions and conspiracies, yea and fore troubled in the end with civill warres. For there was a man, one of the Commons, taken about midnight neere unto his bed-chamber with a dagger. Found there were likewise twaine of the Gentlemens degree, in the open streete with a staffe having \*a blade in it, and a Hunters wood-knife waiting for him: the one to assault his person when he was gone forth of the Theater: the other as hee sacrificed at the temple of *Mars*. Now there had conspired to make an insurrection and to alter the State, GALLUS ASINIUS and STATILIUS CORVINUS, the Nephewes of POLLIO and MESSALLA the Oratours, taking unto them for their Complices many of his owne freed-men and servants. As for civile warre, kindled it was and begun by FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, Lieutenant generall of *Dalmatia*: but within five daies quenched cleane and suppressed; by reason that the Legions, which had chaunged their oath of allegiance, in remorse of conscience and touch of religion repented; after that upon signification given of a journey to their new Generall, neither the \*Ægles could beedight and trimmed, nor the militarie ensignes plucked up and removed.

\* Some call this a Jacobs staffe.

\* Ominous &amp; unlucky signes

To his first Consulship he bare foure more: of which, the two former ioint-lie and immediatly one after another: the rest ensuing, with some time betwene, to wit, each one in the fourth yeere: and as for the third, hee had no precedent for it in any other Prince, as being substituted in the voide place of a Consull deceased. A precise Iusticer he was, ministring Iustice, both when hee was Consull, and also being out of that Office, most painfully; even upon the solemne daies instituted for him and his: yea, and otherwhiles upon the auncient festivall daies and such as were religious. He followed not alwaies the prescript rule of lawes, moderating either the rigour or the lenity of penalties, by equity & reason, according as he stood affected to a cause: for, both unto those he restored their actions & gave leave to comense the new, who in the Court

P 2

before

\* Claudius.  
\* Armatus, or  
armatus, i. him-  
selfe armed.  
\* Quædam  
Sejuncta. See  
Josephus.

II

\* Germanicus.

\* His Vnkle.

12

\* Or solemnity  
of nuptiall con-  
tract.

\* Colonels.

A.V.C. 794  
795  
800  
804

\* Of private matters, as Praetours and Centumvirs

before private \* Iudges had once lost their suites, by claiming more than was due: and also, such as were convicted of some greater deceite and coufenage, he condemned to be cast unto wilde beasts: exceeding therein the ordinarie punishment by law appointed.

15

\* And therefore, ambitious.

Moreover, in the examination, trial, and deciding of controversies, he was wonderous variable: one while circumspect, wary, and of great insight: other-whiles as rash and inconsiderate: now and then also foolish, vaine, and like to one without all reason. When hee reviewed upon a time the Decuries of Iudges, and put whom hee thought good from their Iurisdiction: one of them, who had answered to his name, and concealed the immunity and privilege that he had by the benefit of children, hee charged quite, as a man desirous \* to be a Iudge. Another of them being molested and called into question by his adversaries before him, as touching a matter betweene him and them, and pleading withall for himselfe, That it was a case to be tried not extraordinarily (by CÆSAR) but by the common course of Law, and in an ordinary Court of deputed Iudges: he compelled immediatly to handle & decide his owne cause before him: as who in his proper businesse should give prooffe how indifferent a Iudge he would be heereafter in the matter of another. There was a woman that would not acknowledge her owne sonne. Now, when by evidences and arguments alleadged *pro et contra* on both sides; the question rested in equall ballance doubtfull; he awarded, *that she should be wedded to the young \* man*: and so forced her to confesse the truth and to take him for her child. Most ready he was to give iudgement on their side, who made appearance in Court when their adversaries were absent: without any respect and consideration, whither a man slacked and staid by his owne default, or upon some necessitie? One cried out upon a forger of writings, and required, *That both his hands might be cut off*: Hee made no more a-doe, but forthwith called instantly, to have the hangman sent for, with his chopping knife and butchers block, to do the deed. There hapned one to be called iudicially to the barre, *For that being a forainer he bare himselfe as a Romaine Citizen*: and when the advocates of both sides grew to some little variance about this circumstance, namely, *Whether the party Defendant ought to make his answer and plead his owne cause in a gowne \* or a \* cloak?* he then, as if hee would make exceeding shew of pure and uncorrupt equitie, commaunded him to shift and change his habite often in the place, according as he was either accused or defended. Moreover, sitting in iudgement to decide a certaine controversie, When he had heard what could be said, hee pronounced sentence out of a written table, as it is verily thought; to this effect, *That hee iudged on their side, who had alleadged the truth*. For which pranks hee became base and contemptible, in so much as every where, and openly he was despised. One, to excuse a \* witnesse, whom CÆSAR \* had called for out of a Province, alleadged in his behalfe, and said, *Hee could not possibly come in time and be present, dissimulating the cause thereof a great while*: at length, after manie long demaunds, *what the reason might be?* Why, quoth hee, *the man is dead at PYTEOLI*. Another when hee gave him thanks, for suffering a person accused to have the benefite of a triall and to bee defended, added more-over these wordes, *And yet this is an usuall and ordinarie thing*.

Further-

Furthermore, I my selfe have heard olde folke say, That these Lawyers and Barristers were wont to abuse his patience so much, that as hee was going downe from the \* Tribunall, they would not onely call upon him to come backe againe, but also take hold of his gowne lapper and skirt, yea and other-while catch him fast by the foote, and so hold him still with them. And that no man need to mervaile heereat, there was one of these Greeke Lawyers, who pleading before him, hapned in earnest altercation to let fall these words, *καὶ σὺ γέγων ἐπὶ καὶ μᾶλλον*, .i. *Thou art both old, and a foole besides*. And verily it is for certaine knowne, that a Gentleman of Rome, accused before him for his obscene filthinesse and unnaturall abuse of women, (although untruly) as having an enditement framed against him by his enemies that were mighty: when he saw common strumpets cited and their depositions heard against him, flung his writing Steele and the bookes which he had in his hand, with great ubraiding of him also for his foolishnesse and cruelty, even at his very face, so as he ripped and hurt therewith his cheeke not a little.

He bare also the Censureship: an office that a long time had beene discontinued, after PAULUS and PLANCUS the Censours: but even this very place he held with an uneven hand and as variable a minde, as the event and successe ensuing. In the review taken of Romaine Gentlemen, hee dismissed without shame and disgrace, a young man charged with many infamous villanies, howbeit one whom his owne father testified upon his knowledge and triall to bee right honest: saying withall, *That he had a Censor of his owne*. To another youth, who was in a very bad name for spoiling of maidens, and adulteries committed with wives, he did no more but give warning, *Either more sparingly to spend him selfe in these young and tender yeeres of his, or else more warily at least-wise, to goe to worke*: adding thus much beside, *For why know I, quoth hee, what wench thou keepest?* And when upon the intreaty of his familiar friends he had taken of the infamous note which was set upon the name of one, *Well*, quoth he, *let the blot yet remaine still to be seene*. An honourable man and a principall personage of the Province Greece, howbeit ignorant in the Latine tongue, he not onely refused out of the ranke & roll of Iudges, but also deprived of his freedom in Rome, and made him a meere alien. Neither suffred he any man to render an account of his life, otherwise than with his owne mouth, as well as every one was able, and without a patrone to speake for him. Hee noted many with disgrace, and some of them without their knowledge, as mistrusting no such thing: yea, and for a matter that had no precedent, namely, because without his privity and a passport obtained they went forth of Italy: one also among the rest, for that in the Province he accompanied a King in his traine: alledding for example, That in his Auncestours daies RABIRIUS POSTUMUS for following of K. PROLOMÆUS into Alexandria to save & recover the monie which he had lent him, was accused before the Iudges, of Treason to the State. Having assaied to put many more to rebuke with great imputation of the Inquisitours negligence, but with greater shame of his owne: looke whomsoever he charged with single \* life, with childlesse estate or poverty, those lightly he found guiltlesse; as one there was, who being accused to have laied violent hands upon himselfe, and wounded his owne body with a sword, stript himselfe naked, and shewed the

\* Or iudges ment seat.

16.  
A.V.C. 800  
801.

\* Lituraten  
et exat, i.  
yet the blot-  
maineth: mea-  
ning the filthi-  
nes of the fact.

\* For these  
matters would  
beare action

the same whole and sound, without any harme in the world. Many other Acts he did of speciall note whiles he was Censour as namely these; He commaunded a silver Chariot sumptuously wrought and set out to sale in the streete *Sigillaria*, for to be bought and broken all to peeces openly. Item, in one day he published 20 Edicts or Proclamations: and among the rest: In the one whereof hee gave the people warning, *That when their Vineyards bare Grapes plentifully, they should pitch their vessels very well within: in the other, he did them to understand, That there was nothing so good against the stinging of a Viper, as the juice of the Vghe tree.*

\*Orenhuile:

17

One expedition and no more hee undertooke, and that was very small. When the Senate had by Decree allowed him Triumphall ornaments, hee supposing that a bare title of honour was inferiour to the maiestie of a Prince and Emperour, willing also to enterprife some exploit, whereby he might win the due glorie of a complet triumph, made choise before all other Provinces of *Britaine*; attempted by none since *IULIUS (CÆSAR)* of famous memorie, and at that time in a tumultuous uprore, for that certaine revolts and rebels fled from thence, were not rendred. As he sailed from *Ostia* thitherward, twice had he like to have beene cast away and drowned, by reason of the strong blustering Southerne winde *Circius*, neere unto *Liguria*, hard by the llands (*a*) *Stoechades*. Having therefore travailed by land, from *Massiles* as farre as to the Cape *Gefforiacum*, he crossed the seas fro thence into *Britaine*: and in very few daies, without battaile or bloushed, part of the lland yeelced to his devotion. So, in the sixth moneth after his first setting forth hee returned to *Rome*, and triumphed with most sumptuous pompe therefore prepared. To the sight of which Solemnitie, hee suffred not onely the Presidents and Governours of Provinces to have recourse into the Citie, but also certaine banished persons. And among the enemies Spoiles, hee set up a navall Coronet, and fastened it to the Finial of his houle Palatine, hard by another civick guirland, in token and memoriall of the Ocean by him sailed over and subdued. After his triumphant Chariot rode *MESSALLINA* his wife in a Coach: then followed those gallants also\*, who in the same warre had attained to triumphall ornaments: the rest went on foote and in their rich robes garded with purple: onely *CRASSUS FRUGI* mounted upon a brave Courser trimly trapped, and arraigned himselfe in a triumphant mantle of estate, for that now twice hee had achieved that honour.

18

Hee was at all times most carefull and provident for the Citie, especially that the market might bee well served with victuals: what time, the *Æmilian Edifices* (or Tenements) were on fire and continued still burning, hee remained two nights together in the place called *Diribitorium*: and when the multitude of Souldiours and household servants failed, hee called together by meanes of the Magistrates, the Commons of the Citie out of all the streetes and Parishes to come in and helpe, setting before him his chests full of money: exhorting them to doe their best for the quenching of the fire: and readie for to pay presently every one a good reward according to the paines hee tooke. Now, when come and victuals were growne very scarce, (such was the continuall unseasonable weather that brought barrainnesse) hee was upon

\* Where Calais standeth, or *Bello n*, as Iorn thinke.  
\* 16. Accor. dim. to *Dia*.  
A.V.C. 797

\* Mounted likewise.

\* When so ever you read in *Sermones* (City) absolutely, understood the by *Rome*: *Ket* exo: *oches*: as one would say, The City of all Cities: A: ordinarie phrase in other Roman-writers: according as *Vergil* hath fully expressed in this verse. *Elog. 1.* *Præm quam dicunt, Romanæ* &c.

pon a time in the middes of the market place detained by the multitude and so assayed and pilled what with reviling taunts & what with peeces of broken bread, that hardly & with much adoe he was able to escape, and no otherwise than by a posterne gate, unto the Pallace. Whereupon he devised all the means he possibly could to bring into the Citie provision of corne & victuals, even in the winter season. For, he not onely propoled certaine set gaines to all corne-masters, that would venture for graine, undertaking himselfe to beare all the losse that should happen unto anie of them by tempest: but ordained also great fees and availes for those that would builde ships for such traffique and meschandise, according to the condition and quality of each one. Namely for everie Romane Citizen exemption from the lawe *PAPIA POPPEA*: For enfranchised latines, the freedom of Romane Citizens: and for women, the priviledge and benefit of those that had 4. children, which constitutions stand in force and be observed at this day.

20

Many works he finished, and those rather for greatnesse, huge; then for use, needfull. But the chiefe and principall were these: The conduit of water begun by *CÆSAR*. Item a schute to let out and draine the lake *Fucinus*; and the haven at *Ostia*: although he knew well enough, that the one (of the twaine) *Augustus* had denied unto the *Martians* who continually entreated him about it: and the other intended oftentimes in the desigment of *IULIUS CÆSAR* of sacred memorie, was for the difficultie thereof layde aside. The two colde & plenteous fountaines of the water *Claudia*, of which the one beareth the name of *CERULEUS*, the other of *CURTIVS* or *ALBUDINUS*, as also the new river of *Anio* he conceived and brought to *Rome* all the way, within stone-work: and then derived and devided the same into many and those right beautifull pooles. He went in hand with the mere *Ficinus* in hope of gaine as well as of glorie: when some there were, who would have bound themselves in covenant and promise, to draine the sayd marish at their owne private charges, in case the grounds being once made drie might be graunted unto them in free-hold. Now, for the length of three miles, partly by digging through the hill, and partly by hewing out the rocke before him, hee finished the channell at last with much adoe and after eleven yeares labour: albeit thirty thousand men were at worke continually about it and neuer rested between. The Pere at *Ostia* before sayd he made, by drawing an arme of the sea about, on the left and right hand both: and with all, at the mouth and entrance thereof, where now the ground lay deepe, raising an huge dam or pile against it. For the surer foundation of which pile, he drowned before hand that ship, wherein the great Obelisk had beene transported out of *Ægypt*: and when hee had supported it with buttresses of many stones, hee planted aloft upon the same an exceeding high watch-towre to the patterne of that *PHARUS* at *Alexandria*, to the end that by the fires burning there, in the night season, vessels at sea might direct their course.

21

Hee dealt often among the people great doles and Congiaries. Manie shewes and games likewise hee exhibited; and those magnificent: not such onely as were usuall and in accustomed places: but those that were

P 4

\* Or Forum.

19

\* Or Gott,  
\* Or Pere.  
\* The drawing of the lake *Ficinus*

\* *Alterum*, the Pere at *Ostia*. But because there is no mention made in *Iulius Cæsar* life of this Pere or haven, some read for *Alterum* in this place *Cæterum*: and then the word *Alterum* before, is meant of the second worke of these three, denied unto the *Martians* &c. *Cæterum* is, but intended oftentimes in the desigment of *Iulius*, &c.

\* Or heads.  
\* *Noni anionis*, some read *noni anionis*, within new stone-work  
\* Or Cisterne

were, both newly devised and also brought into use againe, whereas they had of auncient time beene discontinued: yea and where no man else before him had ever set forth anie. The games for the dedication of POMPEIUS Theatre, which being halfe burnt hee had reedified. he gave a signall to begin from out of his \*Tribunall erected in the Orchestra: seeing that before time, when hee had sacrificed and done his devotions in the houses above and came downe from thence through the mids of the Theatre and assembly, not one would once arise and give applause, but sat still and kept silence. He set out also the \*Secular games and playes, as if they had beene exhibited by AUGUSTUS over soone, and not referred unto their full and due time: and yet himselfe in his owne histories writeth, *That whereas the sayd solemnities had beene intermitted, AUGUSTUS long after by a most exact calculation of the yeeres reduced them into order againe.* By occasion whereof, *The voice of the cryer was then ridiculous and laughed at,* when after the soleinne manner he called the people, *To behold those games and playes, which no man had once seene alreadie, or should ever see againe:* Whereas there survived yet many who had seene them before: yea and some of the actors, who in times past had beene produced, were then likewise brought forth upon the stage. Oftentimes also he represented the Circensian games in the vaticane, and otherwhiles after every 5. \*courses hee brought in the baiting of wild beastes. But in the greatest Cirque of all which was beautified with barr-gates of marble stone and goales all gilded (whereas before time they had beene made of soft sand-stone and wood,) hee appointed proper and peculiar places for the Senators, who had wont before time to behold the same sports here and there. Beside the races for the prize of Chariots drawn with foure steeds: He represented also the warlike Troie pastime, & the baiting of Leopards: which the troupe of the Pretorian horse-men slew, having for their leaders the Tribunes and the Captaine himselfe. Moreouer, hee brought into the shewplace Thessalian men of armes, whose manner is to chase about the cirque, wild buls; until they be tyred: then to mount them, and by the hornes to force them downe to the ground. As for shewes of sword-fencers, hee exhibited them in many places, and after divers and sundrie sorts. One, that was kept every yeare within the Pratorian camp, without anie baiting and sumptuous provision of furniture. As for that, which was ordinarily set out and formally with baiting and other preparations in mars field at the Septa: in the same place likewise, another extraordinary one and of short continuance, which he began to call *Sportula*, because he proclaimed at first when he exhibited it, *That he invited the people thereto, as it were to a sodaine supper and short pittance, such as men use to bid themselves unto.* And in no kind of sport or gaming represented unto them, was he more civile, familiar and better disposed to passe the time away: in so much as putting forth his left hand, he together with the common sort, would both by word of mouth tell, and with his fingers also number the peeces of gold as he tendered them unto the winners; and many a time by way of exhortation and entreaty provoke the people to mirth; ever and anon calling them Sirs: yea, and betweene whiles intermingling bald and far fetched jests. As for example, when the people called for one (a) \*P. A. LUMBUS to play his prizes, *Hee promised to let them have him, if he were once caught.* This also was but a simple plaine jest although to good purpose and in season

\*For, the stage thereof was consumed with fire  
\*Or seat of state.

\*Which were solemnized once in the revolution of one hundred yeeres or one hundred and twenty as some write.  
A. V. C. 800.

\*Of Chariot running.

\*Or, my master Demio.  
\*The name of a fencer.

season delivered. when he had by a speciall indulgence, granted unto a Champion who fought out of a British chariot, (for whome his foure children made earnest suite and entreaty) *That he should be freed from that profession of sword-fight;* and that with the great favour and liking of all men, he sent presently an admonition in writing: wherein he aduertised the people, *How much they should endeavour to get children, seeing, as they did, in what good stead they served, and how they procured grace even unto a very sword fencer.* He represented also in Mars field a warlike shew of the winning and sacking of a towne: Likewise the yeelding of the Princes of Brittaines where he sat himselfe as president in his rich Coat-armour. When he was about to let out the water of the \*mere: *Ficinus*, he exhibited in it a navall fight before: And as they who were to fight this battail, cryed out unto him, *Ave Imperator, &c. i. All hail O Emperour; They salute thee and wish thy life who are ready to dye:* and he againe made answer, *\*Ave te vos.* After which word given, as if he had pardoned them this skirmish, there was not one of them would fight: he, sitting a good while in doubt and suspence with himselfe, whether he should destroy them all with fire and sword; at length leapt forth of his throne, and running to and fro about the circuit of the sayd lake (not without foule faltering of his legs under him) partly with threats, and in part by way of exhortation constrained them to skirmish. At this brave shew, the Sicilian and Rhodian fleetes encountred: cyther of them consisting of \*twelve gallies ruled with three ranks of oares a peece. To give the signall of battail, there was a \*Triton arising out of the mids of the lake by a fabricke artificially deuised, to sound the trumpet and set them together.

22

Certaine pointes about religious Ceremonies, touching the state likewise of civil and militaire affaires, as also concerning all degrees of persons both at home and abroad. he eyther reformed, or after long disuse forgotten, brought into practise againe, or els instituted and ordained new. In the election and admission of Priests throughout their severall Colledges, hee nominated not one but he tooke his oath first. He observed also precisely that so often as there was an Earthquake in the Citie, the Pretour for the time being should call a publike assembly, of the people and proclaime certain holydaies: Semblably, that upon the prodigious sight of an unlucky \*foule in the Capitol, there should be held a soleinne procession and supplication: wherein himselfe personally in the right of *High priest*; after warning give unto the people from the *R.stra*, did read & pronounce a forme of prayers. & they say after him. But from this congregation hee sequestred & removed the base multitude of mechanicall labourers and slaves.

23

The handling of causes and iudiciall pleading in Courts, devided before time into certaine moneths for winter and summer, he conioyned altogether. The iurisdiction as touching feofments upon trust which was wont yeere by yeere, and onely within the Citie to be committed unto the magistrates, hee ordained to hold by patent for ever: and betooke the charge thereof unto the rulers and governours also of state in every province. That \*branch annexed to the lawe PAPIA (A) POPPEA, which emplyeth thus much, That men

\*Or Lake  
\*This Verbe (Ave te) signifieth here, fare thee well or adieu. But theouldours construed it in the better sense for their owne turns, (as they had used it before in saluting him) All hail ye all.  
\*Duo d. arum. Some read unde devicenas 119. and out of Dio, quinquagenas. m. i. 50.  
\*Reconciling captives  
Trumpeters.

\*Whether it were an Owle, or the sturde named Incendiarius See Plin. lib. 10. cap. 13. & 12.

\*That a Woman under 50. yeares of age, should not be wedded to a man that was threescore.



*\*Edicta obrogavit.* *\*Grating, that men three score years olde, might marry women vnder fiftie.* *\*Wards under age.* *\*Licēces to be absent a time from Rome.* *three score yeeres of age are disabled for generation,* he *\*altered* by an *\*edict*. He ordeined that unto *\*Pupils*, the Consuls should extraordinarily appoint Tutors and Guardians. That they also who by the head-Magistrates were forbidden to make abode within any provinces, should bee debarred likewise from the Citie of *Rome* and *Italie*. Himselfe confined some after a strange fashion and without any precedent, inhibiting them to depart above three miles from the City. When he was to treat of any great affaire in the Curia, his manner was to sit in the Tribunes pue just in the midst betweene the Consuls chaires. As for *\*passports* which the Consuls were wont to be sued unto for, he would have the Citizens to bee beholden unto himselfe onely therefore, and to crave the same at his hands.

24

*\*Who received 200000 sesterces for salarie or might despend so much by the place.* *\*The Senators robe studded with purple.* The badges and ornaments belonging unto the Consuls he granted unto the *\*Ducenarie Procuratours* and *Seneschals* of Provinces. From as manie as refused the honorable dignitie of Senatours; he tooke away also the worship of the gentlemens degree. The right to weare the *\*Laticlave*, (although hee promised at first not to chuse anie one Senatour who could not reckon 4. lineall descents from a Citizen of *Rome*;) he allowed also to a libertines sonne: but with this condition, *if he were adopted before by a Gentleman of Rome*. And fearing for all that, least he should be blamed, he proved and shewed, *That evē Appius Cæcus the cheife auncitour and Aētour of his owne race, being Censor, elected and admitted into the Senate the lonnes of Libertines: ignorant as hee was, that in the dayes of the sayde Appius, and in the times long after ensuing, those were called Libertines, not onely who themselves were manumised and enfranchised, but such also, as were free borne of their progeny.* The Colledge of Questours, insteade of pausing the streets and high wayes he enioyned to exhibite a game or shew of sword-fensers: and in the lieu of the Provinces, Ostia and *\*gaule* which he tooke from them hee restored the charge of the publike Treasure in the temple of Saturne: which office in the meane space *\*betweene*, the Pretours for the time being, or those verely who had been Pretours before had borne. Vnto SILANUS espoused and betrothed unto his daughter, before he was undergrowen and 14. yeeres of age hee granted triumphall ornaments: but of elder persons to so many, as there is an Epistle extant written in the common name of the Legions wherein they make petition, *That unto the Consuls Licutenants there might be granted together with the conduct of the armie, the sayde triumphall honours: to the end that they should picke quarrels and seeke occasions of warre, they cared not how nor what way?* Moreover to A. PLANTIUS he gave by a decree the pety triumph Ovatio: and as he entred so into the Citie himselfe met him upon the waie: and both when he went into the Capitoll & returned also from thence againe, gave him the better hand. Vnto GABINIUS SACCUNDUS, who had vanquished the Caucia nation in *Germanie*, he permitted and gave leave to assume the surname CAUCIUS in his style.

25

The horsemens service and their places he ordered so by degrees, as that after the charge of a cohort, he granted the leading of a wing: and after the command thereof, the Tribuneship or regiment of a Legion: he ordeined their stipends also: and a kind of imaginary warrefare called *Supra-Numerum* (which they

they that were absent might execute) and in name or title onely. By vertue of a decree that passed even from the Nobles them selues, he prohibited all foul-diours professed, to enter into any Senatours houses for to do their dutie and salute them. Those Libertines who bare them selues for *Romane* gentlemen hee caused to forfeit their goods and bodies to the state. Such of them as were unthankful and of whom their patrons complained, he deprived of freedom and made them bound againe: Yea and denied unto their aduocates, for to heare any plea and to sit in iudgment against their owne freed men. When some Masters there were, that put forth their sick & diseased slaves into the Isle of *\*Aesculapins*, for to avoid the tedious trouble of their cures at home, he made an act and ordeined, *That all such slaves should be free and not retorne againe into the hands of their Masters, in case they ever recovered: and if anie Master chose to kill them outright, rather then thus to put them forth, they should be guilty of murder.* He gave warning by an edict, that no waifaring men should travaile through anie towne in *Italie*, but either on foot or (a) borne in a chaire, or els carried in a lictor. In *Puteoli* and in *Ostia* he placed severall cohorts, to put by all mischances of skare-fires. He forbad all persons by condition aliens and forrainers, to take upon them *Romane* names; those I meane onely that distinguished houses and families. As manie of them as usurped the freedome of *Rome* Citie he beheaded in the *\*Esquiline* fielde. The two provinces *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which TIBERIUS (the Emperour) had appropriated to *\*himselfe*, hee yeilded up againe into the hands and dispoile of the Senate. The *Lycians* hee deprived of their freedome, by occasion of the mortall discord and variance among them. To the *Rhodians*, who repented for their olde trespasses hee restored their libertie which they had lost. Hee forgave all tributes to the *Illynses* for ever, as to the first founders and stocke-fathers of the *Romane* Nation: And to that purpose hee red an olde letter in *Greece* written unto K. SELEUCUS by the Senate and people of *ROME*: where in they, promised to entertaine amitie and league with him upon this condition, that hee would graunt unto the *Illynses*, their naturall kinsfolke, immunitie from all taxes and tributes. *\*The (b) Iewes* who by the instigation of one CHERESTUS were evermore tumultuous, he banished *ROME*. The Embassadors of the *GERMANES* hee permitted to sit in the (c) *Orchestra* (with the Senatours) beeing mooved so to doe at their simplicitie and confident boldenesse for that beeing brought into the (d) *Popularea* and perceiving *PARTHIANS* and *ARMENIANS* sitting among the Senatours, they of their owne accord had remooved and passed to that quarter: giving out these words withall, that their valour and condition of estate was nothing inferiour to the others, The religion of the *Druides* among the French-men, practising horrible and detestable cruelty and which under AUGUSTUS, *Romane* Citizens onely were forbidden to professe and use, he quite put downe and abolished. Contrariwise, the sacred rites and holy Cæremonies (of *CERES*) called *Elenisia*, hee attempted to transferre out of the Territorie *Atica* to *ROME*. The Temple likewise of *VENUS (e) Erycine* in *Sicilie*, which in continuance of time was decayed and fallen downe, hee caused to bee repayred and built againe at the common charges of the people of *ROME*; Hee made Covenants and league with forraigne

Otherwise called Tiberina.

\*Without the gate Esquilina: And his succours.

\*This some thinke is to bee understood of Christians whō we find in the Eeck fasticall writers to bee misnamed by the Eek nicke Infidels, *Chrestians*, like as Christ himselfe *Chrestos*, in *Isaia*.

Kings

\*Perca.  
\*Or Facial.  
Sec Livie Lib.

Kings, by the complements of killing a \*sowe in the *Forum*, and using withall the sentence or preface that the \*Heraulds in old time pronounced: But both these affaires and others besides, the whole Empire also in a manner or a great part thereof he managed not so much after his owne minde, as by the direction and wil of his Wives and children: beeing verely affected and framed for the most part so, as stood eyther with their profit or good pleasure.

26

When he was a very youth, he had espoused two maidens, namely *AMELIA LEPIDA* neice to *AUGUSTUS* once remooved, likewise *LIVIA MEDULLINA*, surnamed also *CAMILIA*, a Ladie descended frō the auntient house of *Camillus* the Dictatour. The former of these twaine, because her parents had offended *AUGUSTUS* he cast off remaining as yet a Virgin: the latter, hee lost by occasion of sicknesse, upon that very day which was appointed for the mariage. After this, he wedded these wives, to wit, *PLAUTIA HERCULANILLA*, whose father had triumphed; and not long after, *ARLIA PÆTINA*, whose father had beene Consul. Both these he divorced. *PÆTINA* upon light offenses and small displeasures: mary, *HERCULANILLA* he put away for her filthy lust and whorish life; as also for suspicion of a murder. After these he tooke to wife *VALERIA MESSALLINA*, the daughter of *BARBATUS MESSALLA* his cousin german: whom when hee found once, over and beside the rest of her abominable vices & dishonesties, to have been \*wedded to *C. SILIUS*, and that with a dourie assured unto her and signed among the \**Aspices*, he put to death. And in a speech that he made openly before his Pretorian Souldiours, *avowed that because his mariages proved so bad, he resolved to remaine unmarried and live a single life: and if he did not continue so for ever, hee would not refuse to be stabbed by their very hands*. Neither could he endure, but forthwith treat upon conditions of mariage even with *PÆTINA*, whom long before hee had put away: yea and with *LOLLIA PAVLINA* wife some time to *C. CÆSAR*. But through the enticing allurements of *AGRIPPINA*, the daughter of *GERMANICUS* his owne brother what by the meanes of kissing courtesies, what by the opportunities of other dalliances, being drawn into love and fancie with her, at the next Session of Senate he suborned certaine of purpose to opine and give aduise, *To compell him for to make her his Wife, as being a matter of right great consequence, and which most of all concerned the State: That other men also might be dispensed with and licenced to contract the like \* mariages which until that time were reputed incestuous*. And so, himselfe staid hardly one day between, before hee dispatched the wedding: but none were found that followed the precedent, except one libertine & another who had been a principal Centurion in the formost Cohort, at whose mariage even himselfe in person together with *AGRIPPINA* was present to do him credite and honor.

27

Children he begat of 3. wives. By *HERCULANILLA* he had *DRUSUS* and *CLAUDIA*: By *PÆTINA* he was father of *ANTONIA*: and *MESSALLINA* bare unto him *OCTAVIA* and a son, whom first he named *GERMANICUS* and afterwards *BRITANNICUS*. As for *DRUSUS*, he lost him at \**Pompeij*, before he was 14. yeares of age by occasion that he was choaked with a peare which

which in play and pastime beeing tossed aloft into the aire, fell iust into his mouth as he gaped wide for it: unto whom also but few daies before, hee had affianced in mariage the daughter of *SEIANUS*: which maketh mee more to mervaille that some have written, hee was treacherously killed by *SEIANUS*. His (supposed) daughter *CLAUDIA*, who in deede was conceived by his freed man *BOTER*, although shee was borne before the fifth moneth after the di-  
uorfe, and began to be noured and reared, yet hee commaunded to be laid at her mothers dore and starke naked to be cast forth. *ANTONIA* his daughter, he gave in mariage to *CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS*: afterwards to *FAUSTUS SULLA* i right noble yong Gentlemen: & *OCTAVIA* he bestowed upon *NERO* \* his wives sonne, notwithstanding she had been promised, & betrothed before unto *SILANUS*. His sonne *BRITANNICUS*, whom *MESSALLINA* bare  
unto him the twentieth day after he came to the Empire & in his second Consulship, being yet a very babe he recommended continually both to the Souldiours in open assembly, dandling him in his owne hands, and also to the common people at the solemnities of games and plaies, holding him either in his bosome or iust before him, whiles the multitude with great acclamations, all good words and fortunate oses seconded him. Of his sonnes in Law who matched with his daughters, he adopted *NERO: POMPEIUS* and *SILANUS* he  
not onely cast off and reiected but murdered also.

28

Of all his freed men hee esteemed especially *POSITUS* the \* Eunuch, unto whom also in his triumph over *Britaine*, among martiall men and valiant Souldiours, he gave a speare \* without an yron head: and no lesse account made he of \* *FELIX*: whom first he ordained Capitaine over the Cohorts & Cornets of Horsemen, yea and ruler of the Province *Iurie*; the husband (a) of three Queenes. As also of *HARPOCRAS*, unto whom hee graunted a priviledge to be caried in a Litter through the Citie of *Rome*, and to set out (b) Games and Plaies in publick: And besides these, hee affected with much respect, *POLYBIUS* the guide and directour to him in his Studies, who oftentimes would walke cheeke by iole betweene the two Consuls. But above all these, he held in greatest esteeme, *NARCISsus* his Secretarie or enditer of Epistles, and *PALLAS* the Keeper of his bookes of accounts: whom by vertue of a Decree also which went from the Senate, he suffred willingly to be not onely rewarded with rich Fees, but also to be adorned with the Honours of Questure and Pretureship: likewise to get, to pill and poll by hooke and crooke so much, as that when himselfe complained upon a time how little treasure hee had in his Coffers, one made answere unto him not absurdly, *That hee might have store enough and plenty, in case his two \* freed men would admit him to share with them*.

29

To these (freed men) and to his wives as I said before, being wholly addicted and enthralled, hee bare himselfe not as an absolute Prince, but as their (a) Minister and Servitour. According as it was behoovefull and commodious to any of these, or stooode with their affection and pleasure, hee graunted honourable dignities, conferred the conducts of Armies, and awarded impunities and punishments: yea, and for the most part, I assure you when himselfe was altogether ignorant and wist not what hee did. And not to reckon

\*Or Proianit  
le

A.V.C. 801

\*Whies she  
was Emperesse  
& wifer  
Claudius.  
\*The hands  
sisters or mas  
kers of the  
mariage

\*His owne  
neice

\*With their  
brothers or si  
sters daughters

\*Pompeij im  
puberum amij

\*Emperour  
alter him.

A.V.C. 806

A.V.C. 103

\*Or gelded  
man:  
\*Hasta pura do  
navit: For his  
great valour  
forsooth:  
\*Of this *Falio*  
mention is  
made in the  
Acts of the A:  
postles

\*Narcissus and  
Pallas

Q

reckon

reckon up particularly, every small thing, to wit, his liberalities and gifts revoked, his iudgements reversed, his Patents & Writings concerning the graunts of Offices either foisted in or plainly altered and chaunged by them: hee slew his brother (a) **APPIVS SILANVS**: the iij **IULIE**, the one daughter of \* **DRVSVS**, and the other of \* **GERMANICVS** upon bare imputation of a crime, without any ground: not allowing them so much as lawfull triall and libertie to plead in their owne defence: likewise **CN. POMPEIVS**, husband to his elder daughter, and **LVTIVS SILANVS** espoused to the other, (and all through their suggestions and informations). Of which, **POMPEIVS** was stabbed even as he lay in bed with a beloved youth and Catamite of his: **SILANVS** was forced to resigne up his Pretureship foure daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, and to \* loose his life in the beginning of the yeere on the very wedding day of **CLAVDIVS** and **AGRIPPINA**. To the execution of 35 Senatours, and above an hundred Romaine Gentlemen so easily was hee induced, as that, when the Centurion brought word backe, as touching the death of one who had beene Confull, saying, *That the deede was done which he had commaunded*, he flatly denied, that he gave any such warrant. Nevertheless the thing he allowed: whiles his freed men afore-said standing by, avouched, *That the Souldiours had done their devoir, in that they ran willingly of their owne heads to revenge their Emperour*. For, it would be thought incredible if I should relate, How even for the very marriage of **MESSALLINA** with the Adulterer **SILIUS**: his own self sealed the Writings for assurance of the Dowrie, being perswaded and brought thereunto, as though the said wedding was but colourably, of purpose pretended to avert forsooth and translate the danger, that by certaine prodigies were portended to hang over his owne head. 30

Right personable hee was, and caried a presence not without authoritie and maiestie, whether he stood or sat; but especially when he was laid and tooke his repose. For, of stature hee was tall, and nathlesse his body not lanke and slender. His countenancelively, his gray haire beautiful, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them. Howbeit, both as he went his hams being feeble failed him: and also whiles he was doing ought, were it remissely or in earnest, many thinges disgraced him: to wit, undecent laughter and unseemely anger, by reason, that hee would froth and flaver at the mouth, and had evermore his nose dropping: Besides, his tongue stutted and stammered: his head likewise at all times, but especially if he did any thing were it never so little used to shake and tremble very much. 31

Concerning his bodily health, as before time he used to be grievously sick, so being once Emperour exceeding healthfull he was and stood cleere of all diseases save onely the paine of the (a) stomach: in a fit whereof hee saide, hee thought to have killed himselfe. 32

Hee made feasts, and those very great and ordinarily; yea, and in most open and large places, such as for the most part would receive fixe hundred guests at one sitting. Hee feasted also even upon the Sluce of the Lake **FUCINVS**: what time hee had like to have beene drowned, when as the water let out with a forcible violence reflowed backe againe. At everie supper his

\* *Consecrum*: so called for that their children married together: & such with us, name one another brethren  
\* The sonne of **Tiberius**, who is called also **Li villa**, A, V, C 822.

\* *Taritus* writeth, that hee killed himselfe upon that day.

his manner was to have also his owne children, who together with other noble mens children as well boyes as girles, should after the olde manner sit and feede at the tables \* feete. One of his guests, who was thought to have close-lie stollen away a cup of gold the day before, hee reinvited against the morrow: and then he let before him a stone \* pot to drinke in. It is reported moreover, that he meant to set forth an Edict, wherein he would give folke leave to breake winde downward and let it goe (a) even with a crack at the very bound; having certaine intelligence, that there was one who for manners and modestie sake, by holding it in, endangered his owne life.

33  
For appetite to meate and drinke his stomacke served him passing well alwaies, and in every place. Sitting upon a time iudicially in **AUGVSTVS** Hall of Iustice, to heare and determine causes, and senting there the steime of a dinner, that was a dressing and serving up for the Priests (a) *Salij* in the temple of \* **MARS** next adioyning, hee forooke the Tribunall, went up to the said Priests, and there sat downe with them to meate. Lightly you should never have him goe out of any dining roome. but with his belly strutting out, well whittled also and drenched with wine: so, as straightwaies, whiles hee layd him downe along upon his backe and tooke a sleepe gaping, there was a feather put ordinarily into his mouth wide open for to discharge his stomack. Hee tooke very short sleepes: for commonly before midnight hee awaked: yet so, as other-whiles he would catch a nap in the day time, as he sat to minister iustice: and scarcely could bee awakened by the Advocates at the barre, who of purpose raised their voices and pleaded the lowder. Hee was excessively given to the wanton love of women. As for the preposterous abuse of mankind, he was altogether unacquainted therewith. Hee plaied at dice most earnestly (concerning the Art and skill whereof, he published also a little booke) being wont to plie that game even whiles hee was caried up and downe, having his Carroch and Dice-board so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shuffling at all in play.

That cruell he was and given to bloudshed naturally, appeared in great and very small matters. As for tortures used in examinations, and the punishments that (a) **PARICIDES** suffered, hee exhibited and exacted the same to be done without delay, and openly in his owne presence. Being desirous upon a time to behold an execution performed after the auncient manner at **Tibur**, when as, (the malefactours standing bound already to a stake), there wanted the butcherly executioner to doe the feat; he staid there still in the place, and waited untill evening, for one that was sent for out of **Rome**. At all Swordfights, whether they were set forth by himselfe, or by others, hee commaunded as many of the Champions as chaunced onely but to stumble and fall therewith, to have their throats cut: especially the Fencers called \* *Retiarij*; and why! because forsooth hee would see their faces as they lay gasping and yeelding up their breath. Ifortuned, that a couple of these fighting at sharpe wounded and killed one another: Thereupon hee commaunded little knives to bee made of both their blades, for his owne proper use. Hee tooke such pleasure in those that \* fought (b) with wild beasts, as also in the sword fights ordinarily about noone, that he would by breake of day go downe to the Theater for to be-

\* Or at a Settle at the tables end:  
\* Or earthen pot.

\* Revenger, Situate neere to the Hall: for distinction of another Temple, bearing that name, in the Capitoll mount.

\* The adverse faction to the Mirmillones whom hee favored

\* Which combats were usually in the morning:

hold the one: and at noone dismisſe the people to their dinner, and ſit it out himſelfe to ſee the other: yea, and beſides thoſe that were appointed to ſuch combats, upon any ſlight and ſuddaine occaſion ſet ſome to fight for their lives, even out of the number of Carpentars, Servitours, & ſuch like employed about theſe games: if happily any of thoſe artificiall (c) motions that goe by vices, or a pageant \* in frame, or ſome ſuch fabrick proved not well. Hee fetcht in alſo one of his owne \* Nomenclatours even in his gowne as he went \* to fight for his life.

\* Or Pegme  
\* Prompters of  
names.  
\* With wilde  
beaſts or o-  
therwiſe.

But it paſſed, how timorous and diffident hee was. At his firſt coming to the Empire; (how ever as we ſaid before, he bragged and ſtoode upon his civil and familiar behaviour) he durſt not for certaine daies goe to any feaſt, dinner or ſupper, without Penſionars ſtanding about him with their ſpeares and lavelins, and his Souldiours waiting at the table: neither viſited hee any ſicke perſon, unleſſe the bed-chamber where the party lay, were firſt ſearched; the beds, bolſters, pillowes, Coverlets and other cloathes were groped, felt, and thoroughly ſhaken before hand. All the time after, hee appointed evermore certaine ſearchers for them all, that came to ſalute him, ſparing not one; and ſuch ſearchers as were moſt cruell. For, long it was firſt, and that with much ado, ere hee graunted that women, young boyes in their embroidered coates, and maidens, ſhould not bee handled and felt in this manner: that any mans Attendants likewiſe or Clerks might not have their Penſheathes and Penknife-caſes (a) taken from them. In a civile commotion, when CAMILLUS, (making no doubt but that without any warre at all hee might be terrified) willed him in a contumelious, menacing, and malapert letter, to reſigne up the Empire, and to leade a quiet life in private eſtate, hee called his Nobles and chiefe perſonages about him, to counſell, and put to queſtion, whether it were beſt to hearken unto him or no?

36

At the headleſſe report and flying newes of ſome treaſon that ſhould bee practiſed againſt him, he was ſo affrighted, that hee went about to lay downe his Imperiall dignity. By occaſion, that one (as I related before) was taken with a weapon upon him, about his perſon as hee ſacrificed, in all haſt he ſent out the Bedels and called the Senate together: before whom, with teares and loude out-cries hee bewailed his owne piteous caſe, as who no where could make account of any ſafety: and thereupon for a long time forbore to come abroad. His affectionate love alſo to MESSALLINA, moſt fervent though it were he renounced and caſt cleane from her, not ſo much for any indignity of the diſhonourable wrongs ſhe offered unto him, as upon very feare of daunger as fully perſwaded that ſhee practiſed to bring the Empire into SILEUS the Adulterers hands. At which time in a great fright he fled in ſhamefull manner to the camp, aſking and enquiring all the way nothing elſe, but whether the Empire remained ſtill ſafe to his behoofe?

37

There aroſe no ſuſpition, there came forth no Author ſo light and vaine, but gave him a bone to gnaw upon, and put no ſmall toyes in his head: whereby he was forced to beware and ſeeke revenge. One of thoſe, that had a matter depending in Court before him, taking him a ſide, when hee came by way of ſalutation

ſalutation to doe his duty, avowed unto him, that he dreamed, How hee was killed by one. Then within a while after, the ſame party, (as if he had now taken knowledge who that one was that ſhould murder him) pointed unto his owne adverſarie, even as hee tendered a ſupplication unto CLAUDIUS; and ſaid, This iſhe. Whereupon immediatly apprehended he was, and haled to execution. After the ſemblable manner by report, came APPIUS SILANUS to his death. For, when MESSALLINA and NARCISSUS had conſpired to worke his overthrow and ſinall deſtruction, they plotted thus, that NARCISSUS betimes in a morning before day light ruſhed like a man amazed and aſtonied into the bedchamber of his Patrone (CLAUDIUS) relating unto him his dreame, namely that APPIUS had laid violent hands upon him: and MESSALLINA for her part, compoſing and framing her ſelfe as if ſhee wondered greatly thereat, reported, *How ſhee likewiſe had ſeene already the ſame viſion for certaine nights together*. And not long after this, word came, (as it was before agreed betweene them) that APPIUS was coming to ruſh in among them: who in deed had bene bidden the day before to be preſent at the ſame inſtant. Whereupon, as if the ſaid dreame had now proved true and bene plainly re-  
presented in effect, order was given for APPIUS, to be ended, arraigned, and to ſuffer death. Neither doubted CLAUDIUS the morrow after to report the whole ſtorie and the order thereof unto the Senate: and withall to give thanks unto his \* freed man, for being ſo vigilant and watchfull in his very ſleepe for his ſake.

\* Narciffus.  
\* Tra digna  
tracundia.  
The manner  
is of this Au-  
thor through-  
out his ſtory to  
ſet thoſe points  
downe firſt in a  
word, whereon  
he meaneth to  
ſtand, & then in  
order to parti-  
cularize preſen-  
tly upon the. By  
which method  
of his, it appea-  
reth in this  
place, that hee  
meaneth by  
Tra, the mome-  
ntane paſſion  
of anger, which  
we call heat &  
choler, ſoone  
up & as ſoone  
downe, quickly  
kindled and as  
quickly quench-  
ed by Iracundia,  
the habite of  
inveterate wrath  
continuing ſtill  
untill revenge  
be had: which  
we call malice  
and rancour.  
How ſoever our  
moderne Lexi-  
cographers have  
in their Dictio-  
naries put  
downe the con-  
trary.  
\* The Scribe  
\* To intercede  
for them.

38 Being privie to himſelfe of paſſionate (a) anger & bearing malice, he excuſed them both in an Ediſt, diſtinctly promiſing that the one of them verily ſhould be but ſhort and harmleſſe, the other not uniuſt nor cauſeleſſe. Having ſharply rebuked the men of *Oſſia*, becauſe they had not ſent boats & barges to meet him as he came upon the river *Tiberis*: and that in ſuch odious termes as theſe, *That he was now become baſe and abieſt in their eyes*: ail on a ſuddaine, he pardoned the upon their ſubmiſſion & readineſſe to make ſatisfaction. Some there were, whom in the very open ſtreet he thruſt from him with his own hand, com-  
ming unto him ſomewhat out of ſeaſon. Semblably he confined and baniſhed the Court a Scribe who had been Queſtour: a Senatour likewiſe that had borne the Pretureſhip both of them without their cauſe heard and altogether guiltleſſe: for that the \* one pleading in Court as an Advocate againſt him when he was a private perſon, had caried himſelfe not ſo modeſtly as he ſhould: & the Senatour in his *Ædileſhip* had amerced & fined certaine tenants of his dwelling upo his lands, for ſelling boiled meats contrary to the law expreſly forbidding ſo to do: and withall whipped his Bailife comming \* betweene (to intercede for them). For which cauſe alſo, he tooke from the *Ædiles* their authority to puniſh the diſorder of thoſe that kept Tavernes and victualing houſes. But as touching his owne fooliſhnes, he concealed it not, but gave it out & proteſted in certaine ſhort orations, That he counterſaited himſelfe a foole for the nonce during CAIUS daies: becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould not have eſcaped, nor attained to that (imperiall) place which hee aimed at and was now entred upon. Howbeit, he could not make the world beleeve ſo much, untill there was a book put forth within a ſhort time after, entituled *μαρτῆς ἀνάστασις*, i. *The reſurrection* (or *Exaltation*) of *fooles*. The argument and matter whereof was, (b) *That no man*

Q3

ſaigneth

*faigneth folly.*

39

\*Or Mistres of  
the house, Do  
mine Grace,  
800000.

\*And in deepe  
he was her  
Vnkle.

\*Britannicus:

40

\*Reg' vol, or I  
demand of  
you:  
\*Or excessive  
number:

41

Among other thinges, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unadvisednesse, or (that I may expresse the same in Greeke) his *μεταστροφὴ καὶ ἀσέβεια*, i. his grosse over-sight or forgetfulness, and inconsiderate blindness. When MESSALLINA was (by his owne commaundement) killed, within a while, after he was set in his dining parlour hee asked why his \* Lady came not? Many of those whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediatly after, he commaunded to have warning both to sit in counsell with him, and also to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a messenger chid & checked them as drowsie and slothfull for staying so long and making no better haste. Being minded to take AGRIPPINA to wife against all law of God and man, he ceased not in all his speech to call her, *His \* daughter and nurceling*: to give out also, *That she was borne and brought up in his bosome*. Having a purpose to admit NERO into the very name of his owne house & family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives son, having a naturall \* sonne of his owne who was now of ripe yeeres, hee eft-soones divulged, *That never any one had beene by adoption inserted or incorporate into the family of the CLAUDII.*

He shewed oftentimes so great negligence & carelesnes what he said or did, that he was thought not to know nor consider, either who made any speech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was some question and debate about Butchers & Vintners, he cried out in the Senate house, *I beseech \* you, my Maisters who is able to live without a little peece or morsell of flesh?* and withall described the \* abundance of the olde Tavernes (a), from whence himselfe also in times past was wont to bee served with wine. As touching a certaine Questour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended: among other reasons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, *Because his Father, quoth he, had quickly and in due time given him lying sick, cold water to drinke.* Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depose, *This, quoth he, was my mothers freed woman, and she that kept her ornaments, and used to deck and dresse her: But she alwaies tooke me for her Patrone.* This have I, quoth he, delivered of purpose, because there be some yet in mine house, who think me not to be her Patron. Moreover, sitting upon the Tribunall, when he was in a great chafe, & the men of Ostia requested at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne: he cried out aloud, *That he knew nothing wherefore he should oblige the unto him: And if any man else, quoth he, I also am free and at mine owne liberty.* As for these words of his which now I will relate, they were rife in his mouth daily, yea every houre & minute thereof. *What dost thou take (b) me for* THEOGONIUS and *λογιστάτης*? beside many such foolish termes, not becomming private persons, much lesse a Prince, otherwise not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberall Sciences.

In his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by TITUS LIVIUS; and having the help besides of SULPITIUS FLAVUS. And when he put the same first to the triall & iudgement of men in a frequent audiorie, hardlie & with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake with the weight

of a certaine corpulent and fat swad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeased, but eftsoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afresh to unmeasurable laughing. During his Empire likewise, hee both wrote much and also rehearsed the same continually by his reader. The beginning of his foresayd historie he tooke from the time presently ensuing the murder of CÆSAR DICTATOR: but hee passed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in those former times, as who was often checked both by his \* mother and also by his \* grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not so wisely and discreetly put downe, as otherwise elegantly penned: *Item*, an Apologie or defense of CICERO against the bookes of ASINIUS GALLUS: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He devised moreover three (a) new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as most necessarie. And having published whiles he was yet a private person, concerning the reason of those letters, one booke: soone after beeing Emperour he easily effected that they should be brought into use also indifferently with the rest. And verely such manner of writing with those characters is now extant to be seene in many bookes of records in Iournels, and titles or inscriptions of works.

42

With no lesse diligence studied hee the Greeke disciplines, professing as any occasion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian discoursed in Greeke and Latine, see you be skilfull, quoth he, in both our languages; And in recommending ACHATA unto the LL. of the Senate, he sayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and society of studies common to him and them: and many a time he answered their embassadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunall he used very much verses also out of HOMER. CÆRTES whensoever he had taken revenge of enemie or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his person, calling unto him after the usuall manner for a watchword, none other but this

Ἀνδρ' ἐπαμύναδε ὅτε τις πρότερον χαλεπῶς

*Resist, revenge with maine and might.*

*When one provokes thee first to fight.*

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke histories also, to wit twentie books entitled \**Tyrrhenicoon*, and 8. entitled \**Carchedoniacoon*. In regard of which histories, unto the auntient schoole at Alexandria he adjoynd another bearing his owne \* name: and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *Tyrrhenicoon*; and in the other his *Carchedoniacoon* upon certaine daies appointed therefore should (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole and through by severall single readers in their turnes.

43

Toward the end of his life, hee shewed certaine signes and those evident enough, that he repented both his mariage with AGRIPPINA, and the

Q4

adoption

\* Antonia the  
Triumvirs  
daughter.  
\* Octavia the  
wife of Antonia  
of Livia Auguste  
for her selfe.

\* Of Tuscan  
affaires.  
\* Of Cartha-  
ginian matters  
Called *Claudi-*  
um.



adoption also of NERO. For by occasion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a judicial proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the case of adulterie, hee avouched *That the destinies likewise had so ordained, that all his \*marriages should bee unchaste howbeit not unpunished*: And soone after, meeting his sonne BRITANNICUS and embracing him harder and more closely than his manner was, growe apace quoth hee, and take account of me for all that I have done. *Vsing withall these Greeke words, ὁ ἐγὼς δ' ἐπ' ἐμὲται, \*i. Love enforced me.* And when he had fully purposed to give him being as then very young & of tender yeeres his (a) *Virile Robe*, seeing that his stature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered these words moreover, *To the end that the people of Rome may yet at last, have a true and Naturall CÆSAR.*

\*Matrimonia,  
or Wives like  
as Coniugia pro  
coniugiis.  
\* Or rather,  
Ho TROSAS,  
KAI IASETALJ.  
He that wound  
ded will also  
heale. I that  
have done thee  
wile will make  
amends.

44

\*Consc: Some  
read Conscien.  
Sic quoque even  
his owne con  
science.  
\*Tonic,

And not long after this he wrote his wil and signed it with the seales of al the (a) head-magistrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut short by AGRIPPINA. Whom they also who were \*privie to her and of her counsell, yet neverthelesse enformers, accused besides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyson: but (a) where it should be, and who gave it, there is some difference. Some write, that as he sat at a feast in the (Capitoll) Castle with the priests, it was presented unto him by HALOTUS the Eunuch his taster: others report that it was at a meale in his owne house by AGRIPPINA her selfe, who had offered unto him a mushroome empoisoned: knowing that he was most greedy of such meats. Of those accidets also which ensued hereupon, the report is variable. Some say, that streight upon the receipt of the poyson he became speechlesse, & continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at first he fell a sleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and stoted aloft vomited all vp, and so was followed againe with a ranke \*poyson. But whether the same were put into a messe of thicke gruell, (considering hee was of necessitie to be refreshed with food beeing emptied in his stomacke) or conueied up by a clistre, as if being overcharged with fulnesse and surfeit, he might be eased also by this kind of egestion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

45

His death was kept secret until all things were set in order about his succession. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen sicke still and also comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to solace and delight him, as having a longing desire after such sports. He deceased three dayes before the Ides of October, when ASINIUS MARCELLUS and ACILIUS AVIOLA were Consuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire. His funerals were performed with a solemne pompe and procession of the Magistrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: Which honor forlet and abolished by NERO hee recovered afterwards by the meanes of VESPASIAN.

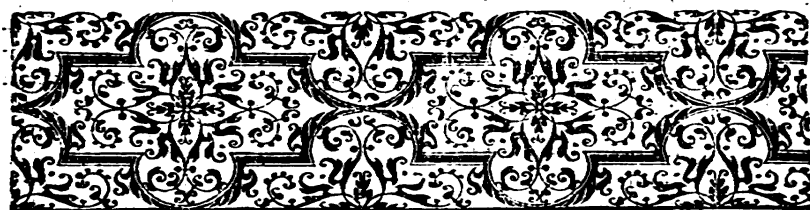
46

Especial tokens there were presaging & prognosticating his death: to wit the rising of an \* hairy starre which they call a Comet: Also the \*monument of his father DRUSUS was blasted with lightning: and for that in the same

\*The 13th. of  
October.

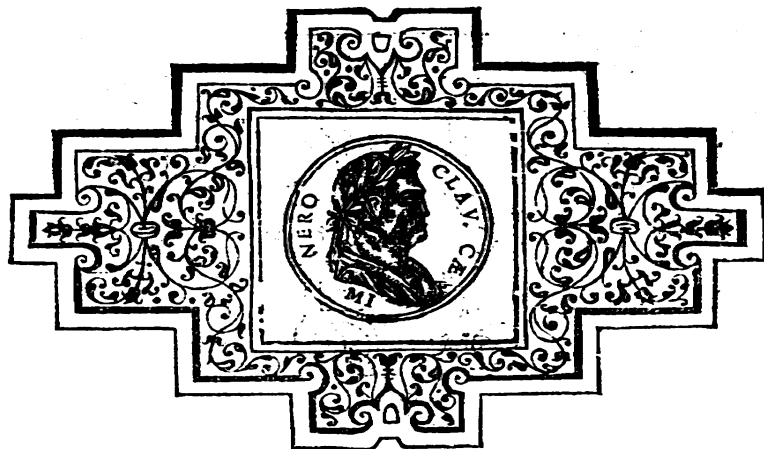
yeere most of the (a) Magistrates of all sorts were dead. But himselfe seemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew neere, or to have dissimuled so much: which may bee gathered by some good arguments and demonstrations. For both in the ordination of Consuls hee appointed none of them to continue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and also in the Senate, the very last time that ever he sat there, after a long and earnest exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the LL. of that honourable house: and in his last Iudiciall Session upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithstanding they that heard him, greived to heare such an Offe, and praied the gods to avert the same.





# THE HISTORIE OF Nero Claudius Cæsar, vvritten

by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



A.V.C. 585.  
= Cæsar and  
Pollux resem-  
bling two yong  
n.ca.



VT of the Domitian stocke and name, there sprung two famous families, to wit, the *Calpurni* and the *Aenobarbi*: These *Aenobarbi* have for the first Author of their originall, and surname likewise, L. DOMITIUS: whome, as he returned in times past homeward out of the countrey, two yong men twinnes, earyng with them a venerable presence and countenance more then ordinary, encountred, by report, and commanded to relate unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, newes, of that victorie whereof as yet they stood in doubt: and for the better assurance of their divine maiestie stroke his cheekes so, as that therewith they made the

hayre

\*hayre of blacke, \*redd, and like in colour to \*brasse. Which marke and badges continued also in his posterity; and most of them have such \*red beardes. Moreover, having borne seuen Consulships, triumphed likewise and beene Censors twice, & therewith bin chosen into the ranke of the *Patritij*, they remained al in the same surname. Neither were they known by any other forenames than CNEUS & LUCIUS: & the same in variety worth the noting and obseruation: onewhile continuing either of the sayd names in three persons together: otherwhiles changing alternatively one after another in every descent. For, we have heard say, that the first, second and third of these *Aenobarbi* were forenamed LUCIUS: and againe, the three next following them in order were CNEI. All the rest no otherwise then by turnes one after another had their forenames, first LUCIUS and then CNEI. That many persons of this house descended should be knowen, I suppose it very pertinent and materiall: whereby it may the better appeare, that NERO degenerated from the Vertues of his Auncestors so, as yet he caried away & resembled the vices of them all, as infused into him and inbred by nature.

To fetch the beginning therefore, of this our discourse somewhat farther of his great Grandfathers Grandfather CN. DOMITIUS, beeing in his Tribune much offended at the \**Pontifex*, for electing any other but himselfe into his fathers place, transferred the right and power of subrogating priests in the roome of those that were deceased, from their Colledges to the bodie of the people. But in his Consulship having vanquished the *Allobroges* and the *Arverni*, he rode through his \*province mounted upon an Elephant, whiles the whole multitude of his souldiours attended upon him in a traine after the manner of a solemne triumph. This DOMITIUS it was, whom LICINIUS CRASSUS the oratour in a certaine declamation sayd, *It was no merwaile he had a brassen beard whose face was made of Iron, and heart of lead.* His sonne being Pretour was the man, who as \*CÆSAR went out of his Consulship (which he was thought to have borne against the \**Auspicia* and the *lawes*) conuenced him before the Senate to be by them examined, tried and censured. Afterwards when he was Confull he attempted to fetch him backe, Lord Generall as he was of an armie, from his forces in *Gaule*: and being by the aduerse \*faction nominated his successour in that province, was in the beginning of the civil warre taken prisoner before *Corfinium*: From whence being dismissed and set at libertie, after he had by his comming to the *Massilians* streightly beleagured, much strengthened them, sodainely he forsooke them: and in the end, at the battaile of *Pharsalia* lost his life; A man not very constant and resolute, but with all of a fell and savage nature. Being driven to utter despaire, he was so much afraid of death, which for feare he had desired, that after a draught of poyson hee repented the taking thereof and cast it up againe; yea and enfranchised his Phisitian, who wittingly and of purpose had so tempered it that it might do him no great harme. And what time as CN. POMPEIUS put to question *what should be done to those Neuters that stood indifferent and sticked to no part*: He alone opined, *That they were to be reckoned enemies & proceeded against accordingly*

Hee left behind him a sonne, worthy without question, to be preferred before

\**Cæsar's m.i.*  
\**Pilum, Gallus*  
\**Ortudey.*  
\**Or Copper*  
\**Oruddy.*  
A.V.C. 553  
632  
618  
600  
700  
722  
785  
632  
639  
663

\**Atrox enim*  
his Gradsfather  
4, degrees of  
\**High Priest*

A.V.C. 632  
\**Gallia Narbonensis*

A.V.C. 696

\**Iul. Cæsar Dictator*

A.V.C. 700  
\**Approbation of the god,*  
\**The Pompeians.*

A.V.C. 720

\*Which Q.  
Pedit made a-  
gainst the mur-  
ders of Cæsar

fore all others of his name and linage. This man being among those that were privie to CÆSARS death, and of that conspiracy, standing condemned (though guiltlesse) by the law \*Pædia, when he had betaken himselfe to CASSIUS and BRUTUS his neere kinsfolke, after the end of them both, held stil in his hand the fleet committed before time to his charge, yea and augmented the same: Neither yeelded he it up to M. ANTONIUS before his owne side was every where quite overthrowen: which he then did of his owne accord; and so, as that ANTONIUS took himselfe highly beholden unto him therefore. He on-ly also of all those who by vertue of the like law stood condemned, being resto- red into his native countrey, went through the most honorable offices of state: Soone after likewise, when civil dissension was kindled againe and renewed, being in qualiry of Lieutenant to the said ANTONIUS, what time the soveraigne Empire was offered unto him by those who were ashamed of \*CLEOPATRA, not daring to accept thereof nor yet to refuse it resolutely, by occasion of sodaine sicknesse wherewith he was surprisid, went and sided with AUGUS- TUS, and within few dayes after departed this life: being himselfe also noted with some infamie: For, ANTONIUS gave it commonly forth, *That for the love of one SERVILIA Nais whom he kept, he fell to AUGUSTUS side.*

\*The present  
state governed  
according to  
his wil and  
picature.

A.V.C. 723.

\*Dicitur a. i.  
by an imagine  
rie bargaine  
of sale to have  
bought them  
to the behoafe  
& use of the  
keyre  
\*Censuram,  
not Censuram.

From him came that DOMITIUS, who soone after had the name abroad to have beene the \*chapman of AUGUSTUS goods and substance left by his wil and testament: a man no lesse renowned in his youth for good skill in ru- ling of Chariots & running with them a race, as afterwards for the triumphant ornaments achieved by the *Germane* warre; but arrogant of spirit, wastefull in expence, and therewith cruel. When he was Aedile he forced L. PLAN- CUS that had beene \*Censor, to give him the way. Bearing the honorable of- fices of Preture and Consulate, hee produced upon the stage to acte a Comi- call and wanton Enterlude, the gentlemen and dames of *Rome*. He exhibited baiting of wilde beastes both in the cirque and also in every quarter of the City, yea and a shew off sword-fight: but with so great cruelty, that AUGUSTUS was compelled of necessitie to restraine him by an edict, since that no secret war- ning nor admonition at his hands would prevails.

\*Some of M.  
Agrippa and  
Julia, adopted  
by Augustus.

Of ANTONIA the elder, hee begat the father of NERO: an impe in all the parts of his life ungracious and detestable. For accompanying \*CAIUS CÆ- SAR in his youth into the East-parts, where he killed a freed-man of his owne, becaue he refused to quaffe as much as he was commanded, being discharged therefore out of the cohort of his friends, he led his life never a whit more mode- stly: but both within a village standing upon the street Appia, sodainely put his horses to gallop, and not unwittingly rode over a little child and trode him to death: and also at *Rome* in the midst of the *Forum* plucked a *Romane* gentle- mans eye out of his head, for chiding him somewhat over boldly. So false and perfidious beside, that he defrauded not onely the bankers and money chan- gers of the prices of such commodities as they had bought up, but also when he was Pretour put the runners with Chariots besides the prizes of their victo- ries. For which pranks, reproved he was merily even by his owne sister (L. PÆDIA) and upon complaint made by the Masters of the foure (4) factions hee enacted

enacted, *That from thence forth ever after, the said prizes should be presently payed.* Being accused likewise for \*treason to the State and many adulteries, as also for incest committed with his siter LEPIDA a little before the decease of TI- BERIUS, yet escaped he the danger of Law by the alteration of the times, and died at *Pyræ* of (b) the \*Drop sic, when AGRIPPINA daughter to GERMA- NICUS had brought him a sonne named NERO.

6

This NERO was borne at *Antium*, nine moneths after that TIBERIUS de- parted this world, eightene daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, iust as the Sunne was newly risen, so as his beames \*light well neere upon him before they could \*touch the earth. As touching his \*Horoscope, many men straight- waies gave many guessees and coniectures of searefull events. And even a very word that his father DOMITIUS spake, was taken to be a presaging offe. For when his friends by way of gratulation wished him ioy of his sonne new born: he said, *That of himselfe and AGRIPPINA there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable and to the hurt of the weale publick.* Of the same future in- fortune there appeared an evident signe upon his (a) naming day: For CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA) when his sister (AGRIPPINA) requested him to give the Infant what \*name he would, looking wistly upon CLAUDIUS his Vnkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), said he gave him his name. Neither spake hee this in earnest, but merily in boord: and AGRIPPINA scorned and reiected it, for that as then, CLAUDIUS went for a foole, and one of the laughing stocks of the Court. At three yeeres of age he became fatherlesse: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could not he touch so much as that, full and whole, by reason of CAIUS his coheire who had seized upon and caught up before-hand all the goods: and for that his mother also was soone after confined and packt away, he being in manner de- stitute of all helpe and very needy, was fostered in his Aunt LEPIDAES house under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when CLAUDIUS was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his \*patrimonic, but also was enriched by the inheritance of CRISPUS PASSIENUS his mothers hus- band, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mo- ther now called home againe and restored to her estate, hee flourished & grew so great, that commonly it was bruted abroad, *That MESSALLINA the wife of CLAUDIUS sent some of purpose to take the opportunity of his noones sleep and so to smudde and sirangle him, as the onely Concurrent of BRITANNICUS, and one that eclipsed the light of his glorie.* Now in the tale it went, besides: that the said parties tooke a fright at a Dragon issuing out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forlooke the enterprise. Which fable arose upon this, That there was in deede found the \*slough of a serpent in his bed about the bolsters. And yet, this slough he enclosed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother wil- led him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers flung it away: but in his extremitie and despaire of his estate sought for the same againe, in vaine.

7

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee

R

acted

\*Morbo aque  
inter cut is: that  
kind of croply  
wherein water  
runneth be-  
tween the fell  
and the flesh  
all the bodie  
over, *Leucophia*  
*legmatidis* in  
Greece.

\*Or shone  
\*Dis: sayth hee  
was compassed  
with the sonne  
beames: and  
yet no sunne  
appeared above  
the Horizon.  
\*Or Nativité.

\*Forename.

\*Fathers  
goods

\*Her Sonne

\*Or skinn

\* *Vadecimo*:  
some read  
rather *tertio*  
*decimo*, i.e. the  
thirteenth;  
\* *Caligula*.

\* Or Hall of  
Justice  
\* Or running  
at tilt.

\* Or declarati-  
ons.  
\* Drawne in  
large bookes:

A.V.C. 807

\* Betweene  
noone and one  
of the clock.

\* Pretorian

\* Father of his  
Country.

\* The Empe-  
rour.

\* Or corps de  
guard.

acted at the *Circian* Games the warlike *Troy* fight most resolutely, with great favour and applause of the people. In the \* eleventh yeere of his age adopted he was by CLAUDIVS & put to schoole unto ANNÆVS SENECA, even then a Senatour, for to be trained up in good literature. The report goes, that SENECA, the next night following, dreamed as hee lay in bed, That hee was teaching \* C. CÆSAR: and shortly after NERO proved his dreame true, bewraying the fell stomacke and shrewd nature of the said Prince, by the first experiments that he could give thereof. For when his brother BRITANNICVS saluted him after he was once adopted, (as his wonted manner was before) by the name of ÆNOBARBUS, hee went about to lay this imputation upon him before his Father, that he was some Changeling and no sonne of his as he was reputed. His Aunt LEPIDA likewise being in trouble, hee deposed against, in the open face of the Court, thereby to gratifie his mother her heauie friend; and who followed the suite hotly against her. Being honourably brought into the \* *Forum*, the day of his first plea and Commencement, hee promised publicly for the people a Congiarie, and Donative for the Souldiours. Having proclaimed also a solemne \* Iusting, himselfe rode before the Pretorian Souldiours bearing a shield in his owne hand. After this, hee solemnly gave thanks to his Father in the Senate. Before whom being then Confull, hee made a Latine Oration in the behalfe of the *Bononians*, and for the Rhodians and Inhabitants of *Ilium*, another in Greeke. His first Iurisdiction hee began as (a) Provoost of the Citie, during the celebration of the Latine holidays: What time the most famous Advocates and Patrones in those daies strove a vie, who could bring before him most \* accusations and \* longest; not (as the manner was) such as were ordinarie and brieft: the expresse commaundement of CLAUDIVS forbidding the same, notwithstanding. Not long after, hee tooke to wife OCTAVIA: and for the good health of CLAUDIVS, exhibited the *Cirque* Games and baiting of wild beafts.

8

Being seventene yeeres olde, so soone as it was knowne abroad that CLAUDIVS was dead, hee came forth to those (of the Pretorian Cohort) that kept watch and ward, betweene the sixth & the seventh \* houre of the day: For by reason that the whole day beside was ominous and dismall, there was no time thereof thought more auspicate and convenient than it, to enter upon the Empire: and so before the Pallace staires being proclaimed and saluted Emperour, he was in a Lister brought to the \* Camp: and hastily from thence, after a short speech made unto the Souldiours, conueied into the *Curia*. From whence he departed home in the evening: and of those exceeding and infinite honours which were heaped upon him, hee refused onely the Title in his stile of *Pater Patrie*, in regard of his young yeeres.

Beginning then with a glorious shew of Piety and Kindnes, at the Funerals of \* CLAUDIVS, which were most sumptuously performed, he praised him in an Oration and consecrated him a God. In the memoriall of his owne Father DOMITIUS, he did him right great honour. His mother he permitted to have the whole regiment of all matters as well publick as private. The very first day also of his Empire, when the Tribune of the \* Sentinels, asked of him a watch-word, he gave unto him this Mot, *Optima mater* (my best mother) and afterwards many

many a time she accompanied him through the Streetes, in his owne Lister. He planted a Colonie at *Antium*, enrolling therein the old Souldiours out of the Pretorian cohort, & ioyning with them (by translating their habitations) the richest Centurions who had bene Leaders of the formost bands: where also he made a \* *Pere*, or most sumptuous peece of worke.

\* Or haven,

IO

And to shew a surer prooffe still of his towardnesse, after profession made to governe the Empire according to the prescript rule of AUGUSTVS, he omitted no occasion to shew either bountifulnesse or clemencie, no nor so much as to testifie his gentlenesse and courtesie. Those tributes and taxes which were any thing heauie he either abolished quite or abated. The rewards due unto Informers as touching the Law *Papsa*, hee reduced to the fourth part onely of the penalty. Having dealt among the people \* 400 Sesterces for every poll: to as many Senatours as were most nobly descended (howbeit decayed and weakened in their estates) he allowed yeerely \* Salaries, & to some of them \* 500000 Sesterces. Likewise for the Pretorian Cohorts hee ordained an allowance of Corne monethly \* *gratis*. And whensoever he was put in minde to subscribe & set his hand to a warrant (as the maner is) for the execution of any person condemned to die, hee would say, *Oh, that I knew not one lett: r of the booke*. Manie times he saluted all the Degrees of the Citie one after another, by rote & without booke. When the Senate upon a time gave him thanks, hee answered, (*Deo se*) when I shall deserve. To his exercises in *Mars* field he admitted the Commons also, yea and declaimed often publicly before them. He rehearsed his owne verses likewise, not onely within house at home, but also in the Theater: and that with so general a ioy of as many as heard him, that for the said rehearsall, there was a solemne procession decreed: and some of his said verses written in golden letters were dedicated to IUPITER CAPITOLINVS.

II

Many and sundry kindes of shewes he set forth: to wit, the Iuvenall (a) sports, the *Circian* Games, and the Stage-plays: also a Sword fight. In the Iuvenall pastimes, he admitted old men even those of Consuls degree: aged women also and matrones to disport themselves. At the *Circenses*, he appointed places for the Gentlemen of *Rome* a part by themselves: where hee put also to runne a race for the prize chariots drawne with foure Camels. In the Stage plaies, (which beeing instituted for the eternizing and perpetuities of his Empire hee would have to be called *Maximi*), very many of both \* degrees and sexes played their parts upon the Stage. A Romaine Gentleman of very good note & especiall marke, mounted upon an Elephant ranne downe a \* rope. There was brought upon the Stage to be acted the \* Romaine Comædie of *Afraninus* entitled *Incendium*: and graunted it was unto the Actours therein to rife all the goods and implements of the house as it burned, and to take the same as their owne. Scattered also abroad there were for the people \* Missils, during the whole time of those Plaies: to wit, a thousand birds every day of all kindes: Cates and viands manifold: Ticquets and Tallies for corne, apparell, gold, silver, pretious stones, pearles, pictures upon tables: slaves, labouring garrons and beafts also tamed: last of all, thips, Isles, lands and possessions, according to their Tallies.

\* Gentlemen  
and Senatours,  
\* Per Catadromum, for there  
were Elephants  
Funambuli, vide  
Galb. cap. 6, es  
Xiphilinum.  
\* Or Latine,  
\* Or gifts.

R 2

These

12

\*The forestage.

A.V.C. 810

\*Quadragesimo,

rather quadra-

genus, 40 S<sup>er</sup>

centisq; rather

Sexagesimo; 60

according to

Iulius Lipsius.

\*Or great

fishes.

\*Warlike.

\*Or, among.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

\*To the like.

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These Games he beheld from the top of the \* *Proscenium*. At the Sword-fight which he exhibited in the Amphitheatre built of Timber in one yeeres space within the ward of *Mars* field hee suffered not one man to be killed, no not so much as a guilty malefactor. Moreover, hee brought into the Lifts for to fight at sharpe even \* 400 Senatours and \* 600 Gentlemen of *Rome*. Some of good wealth and reputation, out of the same degrees, he caused to come forth into the Shew-place, for to kill wild beasts, and performe sundry services thereto belonging. He represented also a Naval fight upon salt water from the Sea, with a devile to have sea \* beasts swimming therein. Semblably, certaine Pyrrhick daunces in armour, sorted out of the number of young Springalls: And after their devoir done, he gave freely unto every one of them patents & graunts to be enfranchized Citizens of *Rome*. \* Betweene the arguments of these Pyrrhick daunces, devised it was, that a Bull should leape (a) *Pasiphae* hidden within a frame of wood \* resembling an Heiffer, which was acted so lively, that many of the beholders beleaved verily it was so in decde. As for *ICARUS*, at the first attempt to flie, hee fell presently downe hard by \* his owne (b) \* Bed-chamber so that he bespreint him with blood. For very seldome had he used to sit as President at these Games: but his manner was, to behold them as he lay upon his \* bed. First through little loope holes: but afterwards setting the whole gallerie open from whence he looked. Hee was the first moreover that instituted at *Rome*, according to the Greeke fashion, Quinquennall games of three kinds, to wit, of Musick and Poetrie, of Gymnick maisteries and of \* Horsemanship: which Games he called *Neronia*. After he had dedicated the Baines, & a place therein for (c) Gymnick exercises, he allowed the oyle that went thereto both for the Senate and also for the Gentlemen. He ordained Maisters and Wardens of all this Solemnity, especiall persons of Consular degree, chosen by lot to sit as over-seers in the \* place of Pretours, and then came downe himselfe into the \* Orchestra and the Senatours quarter. And verily the victorious coronet for the Latine tongue, both in prose and verse, about which the best and most worshipfull persons had contended, when it was graunted unto him with their owne consents he received: and the harp presented unto him by the Iudges he adored, and commaunded that it should bee caried to the Statue of *AUGUSTUS*. At the Gymnick Games which he exhibited in the *Septa*, during the solemne preparation of the great Sacrifice (d) *Buthysia*, hee cut off the first beard that he had, which he bestowed within a golden box, adorned it with most precious pearles and then consecrated it in \* the Capitol. To the shew of wrestlers and other Champions he called also the vestall (e) virgins, because at *Olympia* the prieststresses likewise of *Ceres*, are allowed to see the Games there.

13

A.V.C. 819

I may by good reason, among other Shewes by him exhibited, reckon also the entrance into *Rome* City, of *TIRIDATES*: whom being King of *Armenia* hee had solicited by large promises. Now, when hee meant to shew him unto the people upon a set day appointed by an Edict, and was driven to put it off, (the weather was so cloudy) he brought him forth before them to be seene upon the best and most opportune day that hee could finde; having bestowed about the temples situate in the *Forum*, cohorts of Souldiours armed, and sitting himselfe upon his yvorie curule chaire of Estate before the *Rostra* in triumphall

\*Or Market place.

amphall habite, among the militarie Ensignes, banners, guidons and streamers. And as the King came up toward him by the ascent of the steepe pulpit, he admitted him first to his knees; and then raising up with his right hand kissed him: afterwards as he was making his praier unto him, having taken off his *Tiara*, he did \* the diademe on. Whiles one who had been Pretour, pronounced unto the multitude the Suppliants words, as they were by an Interpretour delivered unto him. Being brought after this into the Theater & making supplication againe, he placed him on his right side next to himselfe. For which, he was with one accord saluted Emperour: and so bringing with him the Lawrell branch into the Capitoll, he shut both dores of double faced *IANUS*, temple, \* as if no reliques of warre remained behind.

14 Foure Consulships he bare: the first for two moneths: the second & last for three: the third for foure. The middle twaine he continued without any intermission: the rest he varied with a yeeres space betweene.

15 In his ordinarie Iurisdiction, he lightly gave no answer to the Proctours before the day following, & that was by writing. In extraordinary Commissions and trials this course he held, namely to decide every cause by it selfe one after another upon certaine daies of the Session; and to surcease quite the huddling up and debatements of matters one in the neck of another: So often as he went aside to consult, he did deliberate and aske advise of nothing either in common or openly: but reading secretly to himselfe the opinions written by every counsellour; what liked his owne selfe, that pronounced hee, as if many more thought well of the same. For a long time hee admitted not the sonnes of Libertines into the *Curia*: and to those that were admitted by the Emperours his predecessors hee denied all honorable Offices. If there sued for Magistracies more then could speed, or were places void; to comfort their harts againe for delaying & making them to stay longer, he gave unto them the conduct of Legions. Hee graunted for the most part all Consulships for fixe moneths terme. And if one of the two Consuls hapned to die \* about the Kalends of Ianuarie, hee substituted none in his steede: as misliking altogether the old precedent of *CANNIUS REBILUS*, who was Consul but \* one day. Triumphall ornaments he gave even unto those that had borne Questours dignity only: yea & to some of the Gentlemens degree; and verily not alwaies for any \* militarie service. His Orations \* sent into the Senate concerning certaine matters, hee caused for the most part to be read and rehearsed by the Consuls, passing by the Questours \* Office.

16 He devised a new forme of the City buildings: and namely, that before the \* Edifices standing by themselves, and other houses, likewise there should be \* *Porches*. From the Solars whereof, all Skarefires might be put by and \* and repelled: and those he \* built at his owne charges. Hee had an intention once to set out and enlarge the walls of *Rome*, even as farre as to *OSTIA*; and from thence by a Fosse to let the \* Sea into old *Rome*. Many matters under him were both severely punished and also restrained, yea and likewise newly ordained. Expences \* in his daies had a gage and stint set upon them. The \* publick suppers were brought downe to small Collations. Forbidden it was that any thing \* sodden, but only pulse, and \* worts should be sold in Taverns and Cookes houses; where as before time, there was no maner of viands but it

R 3

\* Resembling a cap of mainenance, or as some thinke, a Turkish tuffe or Turbant. \* Which he had laid off againe as it should seeme, like as when he was vanquished by *Corbita*, hee laid downe before the Image of

Nero: \* *Tantum nullo resido bello.* A.V.C. 808  
810  
811  
813

\* Somewhat before. \* Or rather, one peece of a day: See *Iulius Caesar* cap. 76. \* Or upon occasion of war. \* Which else where he called Epistles. \* Vnto whom properly it appertained. \* *Aene Insulas*. \* Fortegates, of Gatehouses. \* Frō the front of such Edifices. \* Or promised rather to build. \* To bring an arme of it thither. \* In costly, and excessive face. \* *Nequid coctis*. \* As Pottery was



was set out to sale. The Christians, a kinde of men given to a new, wicked and mischievous Superstition, were put to death with grievous torments. The sports of Chariotiers, wherein by an old and licentious custome they had been allowed to range up and downe, to beguile folke, to pilfer and steale in merri-ment, were prohibited. The (b) factions of the \* *Pantomimi*, together with the Actours themselves were banished and sent away.

17

Against forgers of writings, then first came up this invention that no books or instruments should be signed unlesse they were boared and had a thred three times drawne through the holes. Provided it was, That in Wills the two \* first parts thereof should be shewed as blanks, unto those that came to seale the same: having the Testatours name onely written therein. Item, that no Clerk or Notarie, who was to draw and write another mans will, should put downe any Legacie for himselfe. Item, that they who had sures depending in Court, should pay the certaine, due fee set downe by Law, for pleading of their causes: but for (a) the \* Benches nothing, considering the Chamber of the Citie allowed the same gratis and to be free: Item, that in the pleading & deciding of controversies all causes debated afore time before the Maisters of the Exchequer or Citie Chamber should bee removed unto the Common \* Hall, to be tried before the Commissioners and Delegates called *Recuperatores*: Finally, that all appeals from the Iudges should be made unto the Senate.

18

Having no will, no motion, nor hope at any time, to propagate and enlarge the Empire, he thought once to have withdrawne the forces even out of *Britaine*: neither gave he over that intent of his, but onely for very shame; least he might be thought to deprave the glory of his Father (CLAVDIVS). Onely the realme of *Pontus* with the leave of *POLEMON* (a), as also the Kingdome of the Alpes, by the death of King *COTTIUS* hee reduced into the forme of a Province.

19

Two voyages and no more he undertooke, the one to *Alexandria*, the other into *Achaia*. But his journey to *Alexandria* hee gave over the very day of his setting forth by occasion that he was disquieted at once, both with a religious scruple and also with some perill. For when hee had gone in procession about all the temples, & sitten downe within the Chappel of *Vesta*, as he was rising up, first the \* hem or edge of his Gowne stuck to the seate: and after this, arose so darke a mist before his eyes, that uneth he could see & looke about him. In *Achaia* hee attempted to digge through (a) *Isthmus*, and in a frequent assembly made a spech unto the Pretorian Souldiours; exhorting them to begin the worke: and having given the signall by sound of trumpet, himselfe first brake up the ground with a \* little spade: and when hee had cast up the earth, carried it forth upon his owne shoulders in a scuttle: Hee prepared also an expedition to the Caspian-gates: for which hee entailed a newe Legion of Italian young Souldiours \* sixe foote high: This Legion hee called the *Phalanx* or Squadron of *ALEXANDER* the Great: These particulars premised, partly deserving no blame, and in part worthy even of no meane praise, haue I collected together, that I might sever and distinguish them from his villanies and

and wicked acts, whereof from hence forward I wil make report.

20

Among other arts & sciences, beeing in his childhood trained up in the skill also of musick: no sooner attained he to the Empire, but he sent for *TRAPNUS* the harper, renowned in those dayes for his cunning above all other. Sitting by him as he played & sung, day by day after supper until it was far in the night, himselfe likewise by little and little began to practise and exercise the same: yea and not to let passe anie meanes, that expert professors in that kind were wont to do, eyther for preserving or the bettering and fortifying of their voices: even to weare before him upon his brest a thin plate or sheet of lead: to purge by clystire & vomit: to abstaine from apples and fruite, with all such meates as were hurtfull to the voice: so long, untill his proceedings stil drawing him on, (a) small and \* rusty voice though he had he desired to come forth and shew himselfe upon the open stage, having among his familiar companions this greeke proverbe evermore in his mouth, (a) *That hidden musicke was wrought worth*. The first time that he mounted the stage was at *Naples*, where he gave not over singing, (albeit the Theatre was shaken & ready to fall by a suddaine earthquake) before he had finished the song begun. In the same place he chaunted often & many dayes together. Moreover, after some short time betweene taken to re- paire his voice (as one impatient of keeping within house) from the baines\* there he passed directly to the Theatre: and having in the midst of the Orchestra before a frequent multitude of people feasted and banquetted, made promise in the Greeke tongue, that if he had stipped a little and wet his whistle, he would ring out some note more fully and with a stronger brest. Now, beeing much delighted with the \* Alexandrines praises in \* priet song, who newly in a second (b) voiage had with their fleet conflowed to *Naples*, he sent for more of them out of *Alexandria*. And never the later he chose from all parts youths of Gentlemens degree, and not so few as 5000. of the lustiest and strongest young men out of the commons, who beeing sorted into \* factions should learne certaine kinde of shouts and applauses, which they rearmd (c) *Bombes* (d) *Imbri- ces* (e) and *Testas*: also that dext and trim boyes, such as had the \* (f) thickest bush of haire upon their heads, and were set out in most excellent apparell, and not without a ring on their left hands, should give their attendance upon him as he sung. The cheiftraines & leaders of these had for their stipend \* 400000. sesterces.

21

Esteeming so highly as he did of singing, he solemnized at *Rome* also againe the foresaid games called *Neronem* before the day and \* time by order appointed. And when all the people called upon him for his (a) celestial voice, he made answer. *That he verily would do them that pleasure (being so willing and desirous as they were to heare him): but it should be in his Hortyards*. Howbeit, when the corps deguarde of the (Pretorian) Souldiours which at that time kept watch and ward seconded the prayers of the common people, willingly he promised to fulfill their minds out of hand in the very place; and without any farther delay caused his owne name to be written in the roll of other professed minstrels and fingers to the harpe. Thus having put his lot into the pitcher with the rest, hee entered the stage when his turne came: and with all the Capitaines of the Guard supporting his harpe after them the \* tribunes militarie, and close unto them his

R 4

most

\* Cunning Actours, playing all parts, and resembling all gestures.

\* Or uppermost.  
\* Or cored tables.

\* Pies or seats, some expound this of the Iudges Benches, as if their sentences should not be bought & sold.  
\* Or Pies.

\* Tag, welt or fringes.  
\* *Raffelle*: i. Li- gon, the same that *Dakella* in Greeke with a cloven bit.  
This by some Writers, was of gold.

\* *Senum pedu*, some read *enim militum pedum*: i. of a thousand footmen.

\* Or hoarse.

\* At Naples.

\* i. Ditties.  
\* Tuned and composed to the rules and measures of Musick, in the praise of him, by the merchants of *Alexandria*. See cap. 98, August.  
\* Or crowes.  
\* *Pinguissima coma*,  
\* *Græcæ fine amulo levis* or, cleane, contrarie, as *fine amulo levis*, i. wearing no wings at all.

\* A Knights living.  
\* Every fifth yeare.

\* Or Colonels.

most inwarde friendes and Minions. Now when hee had taken up his standing, and ended his Proæme, he gave publike notice and pronounced by the voice of CLUVIVS RUFVS, (no meaner man than of Consuls degree) that he would sing and act the storie of \*NIOBE: and so continued hee well nere unto the tenth \*houre of the day: which done hee differed the Musicke Coronet due for the present victorie, together with the residue of that gaming unto the next yeare following; and all because he might have occasion oftener to chaunt. But bethinking himselfe that the time was long, hee ceased not to come ever and anon abroade to shew his skill in open place. Hee stucke not also in \*private shewes and games to doe his devoure, even among common Actors and Stage players: and namely, when one of the \*Pretours made offer of a milian of Sesterces. Hee sung moreover, disguised, Tragædies of the worthies and gods: of noble Ladies likewise in olde time and of goddeses, having their visards framed & made to the likenesse of his own face & of some woman whom hee loved. Among the rest he chanced the tale of CANACE (b) *travailing in child-birth: of (c) Orestes who killed his owne Mother: (d) of OEDIPUS that plucked out his owne eyes, and of HERCULES (e) enraged.* In the acting of which Tragædie, the report goes, that a \*novice placed to keepe & guard the entrie of the stage, seeing him dressed and bound with chaines (as the argument of the sayd Tragædie required) ran in a good to helpe him.

2 2

Exceedingly given hee was of a boy to delight in horsemanship, and with the love of charioting mightily inflamed: and very much would he be talking (forbidden though he were) of the Circean games. And one time as hee was making mone, and bewailing among his skoole-fellowes, the hard fortune of a chariot driver, one of the greene-coate faction, \*drawen and dragged by his steedes, being chidden therefore by his schoole-master, he had a lye ready, and said that he spake of \*HECTOR. But, as about his first entrance to the Empire, his custome was daily to play upon a chess-bourde with ivory \*horses drawing in chariots, so he used to resort also \*from his retiring place of pleasure, to all the Circean games even the very least and meanest of them. First by stealth and priuily: afterwards in open sight; so as no man made doubt, but at such a day he would be sure alwaies there to be. Neither dissimuled he that hee was willing to augment the number of the prizes. And therefore the shew of Chariot running was drawn out in length and helde untill late in the evening, by occasion of manie more courses than ordinarie: so as now the Masters of every faction deigned not to bring forth their \*cruets and companies unlesse they might run the \*whole day through. Soone after himselfe also would needs make one and be seene oftentimes to play the Chariotier. And when he had tried what hee could doe, and performed, as it were, his first Actes in (private) hortyardes among verie slaves and the base commons, he proceeded to shew himselfe in the greatest Cirque in all Mens eyes, appointing one of his freed-men to put out a (white) towell for a signall, from the place where Magistrates are wont to doe it. But not content with this, that he had given good proofe of his progresse in these feats at ROME, hee goes, as I sayde before, into AGHALA, moved especially upon this occasion. Those Cities and states where solemne gamings of musicke are usually held, had brought up a custome

\*Or forewounded & bruised by the wheelles running over him. See, Virg. Æn. 11. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

cultome to fende all the Coronets of harpe-players unto him. This he accepted so kindly, that hee not onely admitted at the very first to his presence the Ambassadors who brought the same, but also placed them among his familiar guests at the table. And being requested by some of them to sing at supper time; and highly praised with excessive applause, he came out with this speech *That Gracians were the onely skilfull Hearers, and the men alone worthis of his studies.* Neither made he anie longer stay, but tooke his voyage: and no sooner was hee passed over the sea to \*Cassiope, but presently he began to sing at the altar there, of IVPITER CASIVS.

23

After this, he went to all the games of prise, one after another. For even those that usually are celebrated at most remote and distant times hee commanded to be reduced all into \*one yeare, and some of them also to be \*iterated. At Olympia likewise hee caused, (contrarie to the manner and custome of that place) a game of musick to be held. And least whiles he was busied about these matters, anie thing might either call him away or detain him: when he was advertised by his freed-man HELLIVS, that the Citie affaires required his presence, hee wrot backe unto him in these words. *Albeit your counsell to mee at this present and your willing desire is, that I should returne with all speede, yet ought you to advise me and wish rather, that I may returne worthy my selfe, that is to say, NERO.* All the while hee was singing, Lawefull it was not for anye person to depart out of the Theatre, were the cause never so necessarie. Whereupon reported it is, that some great bellied women falling into travaile were delivered upon the very scaffolds: yea and many men besides, wearie of tedious hearing and praying him, when the towne gates were shut, cyther by stealth leapt downe from the walles, or counterfeiting themselves dead were caried forth as corfes to bee buried. But how timorously, with what thought and anguish of minde, with what emulation of his concurrents and feare of the Vmpliers, hee strove for the Mastery; it is almost incredible. His manner was to deale with his aduersaries, as if they had been but his æquals and of the same condition with him, in this sort: namely, to obserue, watch and mark their behaviours; to ly in the wind for to catch advantage: to defame them vnder hand, other whiles to raile at them & give them hard terms as they came in his way: yea and to corrupt with \*bribes and giftes such as excelled in skill and cunning. As for the IVDGES and VMPIERS aforesayde, hee would speake unto them in all reverence before hee begun to sing, using these tearmes. *That hee had done whatsoever was to be done: Howbest, the issue and event was in the hand of Fortune: They therefore, as they were wisemen and learned ought to except and barre all chaunces and mishaps. Now upon their exhortation, unto him for to be bold and venturous, he would indeed goe awaye from them better apparred, but yet for all that, not without pensive care and trouble of minde. sinning fault also with the silence and bashfull modestie of some, as if the same argued their discontented heavinesse and malicious repining, saying withall. That he had them in suspicion.*

2 4

During the time that hee strove for to winne anie prise, so strictly obeyed

\*A towne in Corcyra.

\*Wherein hee thither came \*Solemnized twice in the same yeare.

\*Thereby to make them relent and not to do their best

obeyed hee the lawes of the game, that hee never durst once spit and reach up-stame: and the very sweate of his forehead hee wiped away with his arme onely. Moreover in the <sup>a</sup>acting of a Tragedie, when he had quickly taken up his staffe <sup>(a)</sup> againe, which he happened to let fall, being much dismayed and in great feare, least for that delinquencie hee should be put from the stage: by no meanes tooke he heart againe, until an under actor or prompter standing by sware an oth that it was not espied and marked for the shoutes and acclamations of the people beneath. Now, whensoever hee wan the victorie, hee used to pronounce himselfe victour. For which cause, he contended also in every place for the <sup>\*</sup>Criers coronet. And to the end, there should remaine extant no memoriall or token of anie other victours <sup>(c)</sup> in these sacred games beside himselfe, hee commanded all their statues, and images to be overthrowen, drawn with a drag and so flung into sinkes and privies. Furthermore, he ran with chariots for the best game in many places, and at the Olympicke solemnities with one that had a teeme of tenne steedes, notwithstanding hee re-proved the very same in K. MITHRIDATES as appeared by certaine verses of his owne making. But being once shaken and hoisted out of his Chariot and set therein againe, howbeit not able to hold out, he desisted and gave over, before he had runne the race through. Yet was he crowned nevertheless. After this, at his departure fro thence, he enfranchised the whole Province throughout: and withall, the Iudges of these Games hee endowed with the freedome of Rome, and rewarded with great summes of money. Which benefits of his himselfe published with his owne voice from the middle of the race, upon a day of the Isthmian games.

25

Being returned out of Greece hee entred Naples; mounted upon a Chariot drawne with white horses: For that, in the said Citie he had made profession first of his skill, in (musicke) and a part of the wall was cast downe against his comming, (as the manner is of all victours in those sacred games). Semblably rode he into ANTIVM, and from thence into ALBANVM and so forward into ROME. But he entred ROME in the very same Chariot, wherein sometime AUGUSTUS had rode in triumph, clad in a purple cloke, and the same garnished with starres embrodered in golde: wearing upon his head the <sup>\*</sup>Olympicke Coronet, and bearing in his right hand the <sup>\*</sup>Pythick: with a pompe and gallant shewe of the <sup>\*</sup>rest before him, together with their titles and inscriptions testifying, where? and whom? in what kinde of songe or fabulous argument, hee had wonne: not without a traine also of <sup>(a)</sup> Applauders following his Chariot, after the manner of those that ride ovant in petie Triumph setting up a note, and crying with a lowde voice, That they were AUGUSTIANS, and the souldiers of his triumph: From thence he rode forward, and having thrown downe the Arch of the greatest Cirque, he passed on through the Velabrum & market place, up to the Palatium and so to the temple of APOLLO. To do him honor all the way as he went, were beafts killed for sacrifice, and saffron estoones strewed along the streets. Birdes were let flie, ribbands also and tabels yea and sweete banketting junkets cast among. As for the sacred Coronets and guirlands aforesayde. He bestowed them in his owne bed-chamber round about his beds: likewise

<sup>\*</sup>Or Mawrell.  
<sup>\*</sup>Made of the wilde Olive branches.  
<sup>\*</sup>Of Lawrell.  
<sup>\*</sup>Isthmian, of Pine & Neme an of smallach or perisley.

<sup>\*</sup>Due to him that had the lowdest voice.

<sup>\*</sup>Or seeue & not with anie handkerchiefe  
<sup>\*</sup>Chaunting.

his owne statues pourtraied in the habit of an <sup>\*</sup>harper, and with that marke stamped he his money. And after all this, (so farre was he from letting slacke and remitting one jot his ardent study of his musicke profession) that for the preferuation of his voice he would never make speech unto his souldiours, <sup>\*</sup>but absent: or having <sup>\*</sup>another to pronounce his words for him; nor yet do ought in earnest or mirth without his <sup>\*</sup>Phonascus by, to put him in mind for to spare his pipes and hold his handkerchiefe to his mouth: and to many a man hee eyther offered friendship, or denounced enmitie, according as every one praised him more or lesse.

26

His unruly wildnesse, unbridled lust, wastfull riotousnesse, avarice and cruelty, he practised verely at first, by leasure closely, as the trickes of youthfull folly: yet so, as even then, no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age. No sooner was it twi-light & the evening shut in but presently he would catch vp a cap <sup>(a)</sup> on his head, and so disguised, goe into tavernes and victualling houses: walke the streetes playing and sporting all the way, but yet not without shrewd turnes and dooing mischief. For he used to fall upon those that came late from supper and knocke them soundly: yea and (if they strugled with him and made resistance,) to wound and drowne them in the sinkes and towne ditches: to breake into petie shops also, and rife them: For he had set up in his house at home a <sup>(b)</sup> faire, <sup>\*</sup>Or market, there to receive the price of the bootie which hee had gotten, and was to bee folde to who would give most and bid best therefore. But many a time at such brawles and skuffings aforesayd, he endangered his eyes, yea and his life too; being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young <sup>(c)</sup> gentleman of Senatours degree, whose wife he had misused with uncleane handling. Whereupon, never after durst he goe abroad into the streets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and secretly. In the day time also, being caried close in <sup>\*</sup>a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be present in person, and from the vpper <sup>\*</sup>part of the <sup>\*</sup>Proscenium both give a signall to the seditious factions of players (setting them together by the cares) and also behold them how they bickered. Now when they were come once to plaine fight skirmishing with stones and fragments of broken seates, skafolds, himselfe stucke not to fling apace <sup>\*</sup>at the people in so much as once hee brake the pretours head.

27

But as his vices grewe by little and little to get head, he laide aside these wilde trickes by way of sport and in secret: and without all care of concealing and dissimuling the matter, broke out openly to greater outrages. His meales <sup>(a)</sup> hee drewe out at length: eating and drinking from noone to midnight, dowssed and somented oftentimes in cesternes of hote waters, and in sommer season within bathes altered and made colde with snowe. His suppers hee tooke divers times abroad also in publike place, to wit, in the <sup>\*</sup>Nau-machia shut up and enclosed; or in Mars field; or else in the greatest cirque: where hee was serued and attended upon by all the common Queanes of the Citie, and stinking <sup>(b)</sup> strumpets of the stewes. So often as hee went downe the River Tiberis to OSTIA, or sayled a long the Baian <sup>\*</sup>Creeke, there were provided in divers places of the strond and bankes, boothes to baite in, <sup>\*</sup>Or Bay, conspicuous

<sup>\*</sup>Or Minstrell

<sup>\*</sup>i, Per Nuntios by messengers sent betwene: <sup>\*</sup>when himselfe was present, <sup>\*</sup>A moderate tour of his voice,

<sup>\*</sup>Or hood.

<sup>\*</sup>Or market.

<sup>\*</sup>Or Lister; <sup>\*</sup>Or loft, <sup>\*</sup>The forestage

<sup>\*</sup>Or among.

<sup>\*</sup>A broad place, wherein a Naval fight had sometime been exhibited but then filled vp, yet it carried the former name still.

<sup>\*</sup>Or Bay.

conspicuous brothell houses and taverns; where stood married dames after the manner of (e) hostesses and victualling wives calling unto him; some here, some there on both sides of the bankes, intreating him to land and turne in to them: His manner was also to give warning unto his familiar friends, and bid him selfe to supper: and one of them it cost in sweet meats. 4. \* (e) millions of sesterces: and another a good deale more in rose water (e) and odoriferous oyles or perfumes of Roses from Syrtium.

28

Over and besides the unnaturall abusing of boyes free-borne; and the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he forced also and deflowered RUBRIA, a vestale Virgin. ACTS a freed woman he went very neere to have\* wedded as his lawfull wife: suborning certaine men who had beene Consuls, to avouch and forswear. *That she was of Royall blood descended.* A boy there was named (a) SPORUS, whose Genitories he cut out, & assayed thereby to transforme him into the nature of a woman. Him he caused to be brought unto him as a bride, with a dowry, in a fine (yellow) veile, after the solemne maner of marriage: not without a frequent and goodly traine attending upon him: Whom he maintained as his wife. Hereupon there goes abroad a pretie conceited jest of a pleasant fellow. *That it might have beene wel and happie with the World, if his father DOMITIUS had wedded such a Wife.* This SPORUS trimly set out with the jewels, decked with the ornaments of the Empresses, and caried in a lictor, hee accompanied all about the shire-townes of great resort and market burroughes of Greece: yea and afterwards at Rome, up and downe the street *Sigillaria*, manie a time sweetly kissing him by the way. For, that he had a lust to ly with his owne mother, and was frighted from it by some depraving back-friendes of hers; for feare, least the proude and insolent dame might by this kind of favour grow too mightie, no man ever made doubt: especially after that he entertained among his Concubines an harlot, most like in all points (by report) unto AGRIPPINA. It is affirmed moreover, that in times past, so often as hee rode in a lictor together with his mother, hee played the filthy wanton, and was bewrayed by the markes and sportes appearing upon her vesture.

29

As for his owne body, CÆTUS, he forfeited the honour thereof, prostituting it to bee abused so farre forth, as having defiled in manner all the parts of it, at the last, he devised a kind (as it were) of sport and game: that being covered all over in a wilde beastes skin, hee should be let loose forth of a cage and then give the assault upon the privities of men and women both as they stood tyed fast to a stake: and when he had shewed his rage to the full, be killed, forsooth by (a) DORIPHORUS his freed-man, unto whom him selfe also was wedded like as SPORUS unto him: in so much as hee counterfeited the noise and cries of maidens, when they bee forced and suffer devirgination. I have heard of di-like been also vers, that he was fully perswaded, *No man nor woman was honest, or in any part of their bodies pure and cleane, but most of them dissimuled their uncleannesse and*

As many therefore, as\* professed unto him their obsoene filthi-nesse, he forgave all other faults and trespasses whatsoever.

30

The

30

The fruite of riches and use of money, he tooke to be nothing else but lavish expence: thinking them to be very base niggards and mechanical pinch-pennies, that kept any account or reckoning what they spent and layde out: but such only passing rich and right *Magnificoes*, who mispent and wasted all. He praised and admired his uncle \* CÆTUS in no respect more, than for that hee had lashed out and consumed in a short space an huge masse of wealth, left unto him by TIBERIUS: Hee kept therefore no meane, nor made any end of prodigall giving and making away all. Hee allowed unto (a) TIRIDATES a (thing almost incredible) 800000. Sesterces, day by day, for his expences, and at his departure bestowed upon him not so little as one hundred millions. MENECRATES the harper, and SPICILLUS the sword-fencer hee enfeoffed in the livings, patrimonies and houses of right noble personages, who had triumphed. CERCOPITHACUS, whom hee had enriched with the lands and houses, (as well within the Citie as Countrey) of PANEOS the Vsurer, hee honoured like a Prince at his funerals; and entered with the charges well neere of a royall sepulture. No garments did hee on his back twice: At hazard when he played, he ventured no lesse than 400000 sesterces at a cast, upon every point or pricke of the chaunce. Hee fished with a golden \*net (drawen and knit) with cords twisted of purple and crimson silke in graine. He neuer by report when he made anie journey, had under a thousand carroches in his traine; His mules were shod with siluer. His mul-tiers arraid in fine (red) Canusme cloth: and attended he was with a multitude of \* Mazaces and Currours gaily set out with their bracclets and riche Phal-ers.

31

In no one thing was hee more wastefull and prodigall then in building. Hee made an house, that reached from the Palatium to the Esquilæ: which at the first he called his \*Transitorie: but when it had been consumed with fire and was reedified hee named his golden ædifice. As touching the large compasse and recit, the rich furniture and setting out whereof, it may suffice to relate thus much. The porch was of such an heighth as therein might stand upright the geantlike image representing his owne person, an hundred and twentie foote high. So large was this house, as that it contained \*three galleries of a mile a peece in length. Item a standing poole like unto a sea, and the same enclosed round about with buildings in forme of Cities. It received moreover granings with cornfields, vineyards, pastures and woodes to them stored with a multitude of divers and sundry beasts both tame and wilde of all sorts. In all other parts thereof, alwaies laide over with golde, garnished with precious stones and \*shells of pearle As for the parlours, framed they were with enbowed rovvs; seled with pannils of Ivorie, devised to turne round & remoue so as flours might be skattered from thence: with a devile also of pipes & spouts to cast and sprinkle sweet oyles fro aloft. But of al these parlours & banqueting roomes, the principall and fairest was made rounde, to turne about continually both day and night, in manner of the \*World. The banes within this house flowed with salte water derived from the sea, and with fresh from

S

the

\*Quadrages.  
HS.

\*Which had  
beene a great  
disparagement

\*Or grate.

I wish that both  
Sustennus and  
Dio had in this  
place and such  
like been also  
gather silent.

\* Confessed of  
themselves and  
their owne ac-  
cord,

\*Quadrages.  
Sestertius. Take  
Sestertium here  
in the newer  
gender: other-  
wise, it were  
but a meane  
venture for  
such an one as  
Nero: as a-  
mounting not  
above 3 1/2 S.  
6 d. Whereas  
now, it riseth  
to 3 1/2 s. l.  
\*Anatorie.  
Orsius saith  
more expressly,  
tribus aureis  
\*Horse men of  
Africke and  
Cappadocia,

\*As one would  
say, the passage  
from one hill  
to another.  
\*Or fore-gate.  
\*Porticus tri-  
plex: millarias  
If a mā exposd  
ithus: Galleries  
with three rows  
of pillars, or as  
many yles, a  
thousand foote  
in length, it wold  
be more confo-  
rable to the truth  
I suppose. And  
yet the propor-  
tion that follo-  
weth is very  
strange & anse-  
rable to the vol-  
gar & received  
exposition.  
\*Mother of  
pearle  
\*Or heaven

\*Made his first  
entrie into it  
after a solemne  
and festiuall  
manner.  
\*Pisinnam.  
\*(Or lake)  
\*Or Walking  
places.  
\*Or ditch.

the rivers Albulæ This ædifice finished after such a fashion as this, when he  
\*dedicated, thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee sayd, *He now at length  
began to dwell like a man.* Furthermore, hee began a \*poole reaching from  
*MISENV M* to the \*Meere *VERNVS*, covered all above head, en-  
closed and enuironed with \*Cloistures: into which all the hote waters that  
were in the Bathes of *Baia* might bee conueied. Likewise he cast a \*fosse from  
the sayde *VERNVS*, as farre as to *OSTIA*, and the same navigable:  
that men forsooth might saile in ships, and yet not be upon the sea. This ca-  
ried in length 160. miles, and bare that breadth, as gallies with 5. ranks of oares  
might passe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of these workes, he had  
given commandement, that all prisoners wheresoever should be transported  
into *Italie*: and that no person attaint and convict of anie wicked act, should be  
condemned otherwise, but to worke thereat.

32

A, V, C, 818\*

To these outrageous expenses, beside the trust and confidence he had in the  
renewes of the Empire, put forward hee was upon a certaine unexpected  
hope also that he cōceived, offinding a world of wealth: & that through intelli-  
gence given unto him by a gentleman of *Rome*, who assured him upon his know-  
ledge, that the rich treasure & old store of siluer and gold both, which *Queene  
Dido* flying out of *Tyros* caried away with her, lay buried in *Affricke* within  
most huge and vaste caves under the ground, and might be gotten forth with  
some small labour of those that would goe about it. But when this hope fai-  
led him and came to nothing, being now altogether destitute, & so far exhaust  
and bare of money, that of necessity even souldiours pay, and the fees due unto  
olde seruitours in the wars for their seruice must run on stil and be differred; he  
bent his mind to promoting of false imputations, to pilling also & polling. First  
and formost hee brought up this order, that out of the goods of freedmen de-  
ceased in steed of the one half, three 4th parts should be exacted & gathered for  
him, of as many, I say as without publike cause bare that name, which anie of  
those families did, whereunto himselfe was allied. Afterwards, that their wils  
should be forsaite & confiscate, who were \*unthankful to the Prince. *Item* that  
Lawiers should not escape free & go cleere awaie, who had drawn & written  
such wils: As also, that all deeds and words should bee brought within the cō-  
passe of treason: If there could be found bur anie promoter to give informati-  
on: He called moreover after a long time passed, for the rewards and Coronets  
due to victours, which ever at any times the Cities & States had presented or  
decreed unto him at the games of prise. And whereas hee had prohibited the  
use of the \*Amethyst & purple colours, he suborned one of purpose under hand  
to sell upon \*a market day some few ounces therof, and thereupon made stay of  
all \*occupiers & chapmen whatsoever, & laid them fast. Furthermore, having e-  
spied once (as he was singing) a dame of *Rome* frō the scaffolds in the Theatre,  
arraied in purple forbidden by the \*law, himselfe pointed at her (as it is verily  
thought) & shewed her to his \*Procuratours: & presently caused the woman to  
be haled from thence & turned out, not only of her garments but also of all the  
goods shee had. He assigned an office to no man, but he used these words with-  
all. *Thou knowest what I have neede of. Also, Let us looke to this, that no man  
may have anie thing.* To conclude, he robbed the *TEMPLES* of many  
giftes and oblations: The Images likewise therein made of golde or siluer  
hee

\*Remembred  
him not in  
their wils and  
made him not  
an heyre.

\*Or violet in  
graine.  
\*Or faire.  
\*Who had  
bought the  
saide colours.  
\*Julia: which  
Cesar Dictator  
made, See in  
Iul. Cæs. cap. 43  
\*Proctors or  
Factours.

\*Or possesse.

he melted into a masse: and among the rest, even those of the \*Tutelar gods  
(of *ROME*): which soone after *GALBA* restored & erected againe in their  
places.

33

As touching his Parricides and murders hee began them first with *CLAV-  
DIVS*: of whose death although he were not principall author, yet he was pri-  
vie and accessarie thereto. Neither dissimuled he so much, as who afterwards  
was wont by a greek \*by-word, to praise mushrooms, (in which kinde of meat  
*CLAUDIUS* had taken his bane), as the \*foode of the gods. *CERTES*, he a-  
bused him after hee was dead in most spitefull and contumelious manner, both  
in word and deede, every way: taunting and twitting him, one while with his  
folly, another while with his crueltie. For, in scoffing wise he would say of him  
that hee had left now (*a*)morari) anie longer among mortall men, using the  
first sillable of the sayd word, long. And many of his decrees and constitutions  
he annulled as the acts of a doltish and doting man. Finally, he neglected the \*  
place (*b*) of his funerall fire: suffering it to be \*empaled, but with sleight stuffe  
and low railes of timber. As for *BRITANNICUS*, not so much for enuie that  
he had a sweeter and pleasanter voice than himselfe, as for feare least another  
day he should bee more gracious then he among men, in remembrance of his  
Father, he attempted to make him away by poison: This poison, *NERO* had  
received at the hands of one *LOCUSTA*, a woman who appeached & brought  
to light divers confectioners of poysons: and seeing it wrought later than he  
looked it should doe, and proved not to his mind, by reason that it mooved  
*BRITANNICUS* to the stoole onely and caused a laske; he sent for the said wo-  
man, and beate her with his owne hands: laying hardly to her charge that in  
steede of a poyson she had given him a remedie and holisome medecine. Now  
when shee alleaged for her excuse that she gave him the lesse \*dose, there-  
by to colour and cloke the odious fact, which would have bred much anger  
and hatred: *why! then belike quoth he, I am affraide of the lame* \**IVLIA*. And  
so hee forced her before his face in his owne bed-chamber to compound and  
seeth a poison that should be most quicke and of present operation. And then  
having made triall thereof in a kid, after he saw once that the beast continued  
five houres before it dyed, he caused the same to be boyled againe and manie  
times more, and so he set it before a pig. And when the pig dyed presently up-  
on the taking thereof, hee commanded it should be brought into his refection  
chamber, and given unto *BRITANNICUS* as he sat at supper with him. No  
sooner had he tasted it but hee fell downe dead. *NERO* readily made a lye and  
gaue it out among the rest of his guests, that *BRITANNICUS* was surprised by a  
fit of the falling sicknesse, as his manner was to be. But the next morrow, in all  
hast hee tooke order for his corps to bee caried forth to buriall, with no better  
funerals than ordinarie; and that, in an exceeding great storme of raine. Vnto  
the sayd *LOCUSTA*, for her seruice done, he granted \*impunitie: he endued  
her also with faire lands: yea and allowed her to have schollers for to be train-  
ed up under her that seat.

*Apollo Neptune  
Jupiter Iuno,  
Minerva.*

\*Or Prouerbe  
\*Or Epigram  
alluding to the  
deification af-  
ter his death.

\*Bustum  
\*As the man-  
ner was for  
certaine daies  
before the  
ashes and re-  
liques were  
gathered up

\*In quantitie.

\*De Veneficiis

\*For her for-  
mer practise of  
poisoning, by  
which the  
stooke condē-  
ned.

34

His owne mother, for looking narrowly into him, & examining his words  
and deedes somewhat streightly; for seeming also to correct and reforme  
S 2 the



the same, thus farre forth onely at the first he was grieved and offended with, as that est-soones he made her odious to the world, pretending that he was about to resigne up the Empire \* and depart to *Rhodes*. Soone after, he deprived her of all honour, dignity, and authority: and removing from about her the guard \* of Germaine Souldiours that attended upon her person, hee banished her out of the same house with him, and so forth out of the precincts of the Palace: Neither cared he what he did, so he might molest and trouble her: suborning some of purpose, both to disquiet her whiles shee abode in *Rome* with suites and actions; and also when shee was desirous of repose and ease in a retiring place out of the way, to course her with reproachfull taunts and flouting scoffes as they passed that way either by land or sea. But beeing terrified with her threats and violent shrewdnesse, hee determined to kill and dispatch her at once. Having attempted it with poison thrice, and perceiving that shee was defended with Antidotes & preservatives; he provided a bed-chamber for her, with so ticklish an arched rouse over her head, as beeing easily unioincted, the frame thereof might fall in peeces in the night, and light upon her as she lay a sleepe. When this designe could not be kept close, but was revealed by some of the complices privie thereto; hee devised a ship, so made, as that quickly it should cleave a sunder: that either by the wrack, or fall of the fore-deck aloft, she might come to a mischiefe and perish. And so, making a semblance of a Love-day and reconciliation, hee sent for her by most sweet and kinde Letters, training her unto *Baie*, there to celebrate with him the solemnity of the \* *Quinquatrim*. And having given order before hand to certaine Maisters of Gallies for to split the \* Foise wherein she was embarked, as if by chauce they were run full upon her; he made it late ere he went to the feast, & sat long at it. Now when she was to returne back againe unto *Baulis*; in lieu of that vessell thus shaken and crackt, he put unto her the other above said made with ioints and vices, easie to fall in peeces: and so, with a cheerefull countenance accompanied her (to \* the water side) and at the parting also kissed her paps. All the time after, he lay awake in great trouble & feare, waiting for the issue of these enterprises. But when he understood that all went crosse, & that she was escaped to land by swimming; being altogether to seeke what course to take; as *L. AGERINUS*, her freed-man brought word with great ioy, *How she was escaped alive and safe*; he conveyed privily a dagger close \* by him; and as if he had been suborned & hired secretly (by her) to kill him, caused the said *AGERINUS* to be apprehended and bound with chaines: and withall, his mother aforesaid, to be murdered: pretending, as if by voluntary death she had avoided the odious crime thus detected, and so made her selfe away. Worse matter yet than all this & more horrible, is reported beside, and that by Authors of good credit and who will stand to it: Namely, *That her in all haste to view the dead body of his mother when she was killed: that he handled every part & member of it: found fault with some; commended others: and being thirsty in the meane \* time, tooke a draught of drink. Howbeit, notwithstanding hee was harmed by the ioyous gratulation of Souldiours, Senate, & People, yet could he not either for the present or ever after, endure the worme and sting of conscience for this foule fact; but confesse many a time, that haunted & harried he was with the apparition of his mothers ghost: tormented also with the scourges and burning torches of the Furies.*

Moreover,

Moreover, with a sacrifice made by direction of magicians, he assaied to raise, up her soule and spirite, and to intreate the same to forgive him. Verily as hee travailed through *Greece*, at the sacred Eleusine ceremonies (from the institution and professing wherein all impious, (4) godlesse, & wicked persons are by the voice of a cryer debarred) He durst not be present. To this parricidy of his mother, he adioyned also the murder of his \* aunt. For when upon a time he visited her lying sicke of a \* costive bellie, and she a woman now well slept in yeares in handling the tender downe of his beard new budding forth, chanced, (as the manner is) by way of pleasing speech, to say, *Might I but live to \* take up this lost haire when it falls, I would be willing to dye;* he turning to those that stood next unto him, in derision and scoffing manner sayde, *Mary & even straight wayes I will cut it of (for her sake)*, and so made no more adoe but \* gave order unto the Phisitian to plye the sicke woman still with \* stronger purgatives. For, even before she was through dead, he laide sure hold of her goods, and suppressed her last wil that nothing might escape his clutches.

35 Besides \* *OCTAVIA*, he married afterwards two wives: to wit, \* *POPPEA SABINA* the daughter of \* one who had bene Questor, & the wedded wife before of \* a romane Knight: then, *STATILIA MESSALLINA*, \* neice in the third degree removed of \* *TAURUS*, twice Consul, who had once triumphed. For to have & enioy her, he murdered her husband *ATTICUS VESTINUS* then Cōsul, even during the time of that honorable Magistracie. Soone wearie he was of *OCTAVIA*'s companie & forsooke her bed. And when some friends reproved him for it he made answer, that the iewels & ornaments only of a wife ought to content her. Soon after, when he had assayed many times (but in vaine) to strangle her, he put her away, pretending she was barraine. But when the people misliked this divorce, and forbore not to raile upon him for it, he proceeded, even to confine & banish her quite. In the end he murdered her, under a colourable imputation of divers adulteries, charged upon her so impudently and falsely; That al generally who were by torture examined upon the point, stood stoutly to the very last in deniall, he suborned and brought in *ANICETUS* his own Pædagogue against her; who should slander himselfe with her & confesse that by a wile he had abused her bodie. The twelfth day after the saide divorcement of *OCTAVIA*, he espoused and married the aforesaid dame *POPPEA*, who he loved intirely; and yet even her also he killed with a \* kicke of his heele, for that, being big with child and sickly withall, she had reviled him & given him shrewd words, for coming home so late one night, after his running with chariots. By her he had a daughter named *CLAUDIA AUGUSTA*, whom he buried when she was a very infant. There was no kinde of affinitie & consanguinity were it never so neere, but it felt the waight of his deadly hād. *ANTONIA*, the daughter of *CLAUDIUS*, refusing after the death of *POPPEA* to bee his wife, he slew, under a pretense as if she went about to conspire against him and to alter the state. Semblably, he killed all the rest, that were either allied unto him or of his kinred. Among whom, *A. PLANTIUS* a young gentleman was one. Whose bodie, after he had by force filthily against kind abused before his death: *Let my mother know quoth he, & kisse my successors sweete lips: giving it out, That he was her welbeloved darling, and by her set on to hope & gape after the Empire.* His sonne in law *RUFINUS CRISPINUS*, the son of \* *POPPEA* being yet of tender

\* As if she were the cause thereof.  
\* *Militum, et Germanorum, Hen dia duo.*

\* A feast in the honour of *Minerva*, beginning five daies before the Ides of March: i. the 11 of March.  
\* Or Pinnace.

\* Or to the staires.

\* Betwene his secte, *Tacit.*

\* About midnight it was.

\* *Domitia* by his fathers side.

\* *Ex duritia alius enim cibum non transmutat*, as *Plinius* writeth, 26. lib.

\* As if she would say if I might see thee once a man grown &c. for he came to be

Emperour before he was 18 yeere olde.

\* You must suppose, he sent for the barber first &c.

\* As purging was the cure, so it was the colourable means wherby the vvas killed.

\* The daughter of *Claudius*, or *Pompeia* as some read

\* *Titus Osius*, *Rufus Crispus*.

\* In the right line of descent, *Statilius* vwho in *Augustus*

time built the great Amphitheatre in *Rome*, bearing his name

*A.V.C. 815* \* Who had brought him up in his childhood,

*A.V.C. 818* \* Or *Spina*

\* His wife by *Rufus Crispus* a former husband

\*Ducatus of  
Captainships.

\*To cut the  
master veins  
of armes and  
legs & so to  
bleed to death.  
\*Seneca,  
\*Eparchos Ton  
d'arphoron.  
\*A squinancie,  
\*Name'y, Do-  
viphorus & Pal-  
las Tacit.

36

der yeeres and a youth under age, because the report went of him, *that in game he would play for \*Dukedomes and Empires*, he gave order unto his owne seruants for to drowne in the sea, whiles he was there fishing. T u s c u s his nourses sonne he confined and sent away; for that being his procuratour in Ægypt, he had bathed in those baines which were built against his coming. His *Preceptor* & Schoole-master S e n e c a he compelled \*to dye: albeit he had sworne unto him very devoutely, (when he made suite many times for a licence to depart the Court, and yeelded up therewith all his goods into his hands) *That he had no cause to suspect him: for he would rather lose his owne life then doe him anie hurt.* V i t o B u r r h u s \*Capitaine (of the garde) he promised a medicine to heale his swollen \*throat, and sent him the rank poison Toxicum for it. His \*freedmen, that were rich and olde, whose favour, friendship & directions had stood him in good steede for procuring unto him in times past adoption, and afterwards the Imperial rule; he cut short every one by poyson, partly put into their meats and partly mingled with their drinks.

With no lesse cruelty raged hee abroad even against strangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy starre, commonly thought to portend death and destruction to the highest poures, began to arise, and had appeared many nights together. Beeing troubled therewith, and enformed by B a b i l u s the Astrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate such prodigious signes with some notable massacre, and so divert the same from themselves, & turne all upon the heads of their Peeres & Nobles, he thereupon projected the death of all the Noblest personages in the Citie. And verily, so much the rather, and, as it were, upon just cause, by reason of two conspiracies by him published & divulged abroad: of which, the former & the greater, bearing the name of \*P i s o, was plotted and detected at Rome: the latter going under the name of \*V i n i c i u s at Beneuentū. The conspiratours had their triall, and pleaded bound with threefold chaines: and as some of them confessed the action of their owne accord, so \*others said moreover, *That he was beholden unto them for it, because they could not possibly doe a cure upon him by any other meanes, (disleined as he was and dismembered with all kinde of wicked actes), but onely by death.* The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and then, dispatched with poison or hunger-starued. It is for certaine knowen, that some of them with their pædagogues & booke-keepers tooke their bane all at one dinner together, others were restrained for seeking and earning their daily food.

37

After this without all choise and respect, without all measure in his hand, he spared none: he put to death whomsoever it pleased him, and for what cause it skilled not. But not to make long relation of many, It was laid to S a l u d i e n u s O r c i t u s charge, that he had set and let three shops out of his house about the *Forū*, unto the Cities & States abroad for (their Embassadours) for to make their abode & conuerse in. To C a s s i u s L o n g i n u s the lawier (a man bereft of both his eyes) objected it was, that in the antient pedigree of his own house and linage, he had set up againe the images of C. C a s s i u s, one of the that murdered C a e s a r. To P a r t a s T h r a s e a s, for having a sterne & severe countenance like a Pædagogue, When these with other were appointed once to dy, he allowed them no more then one houres respite to live after & because

no

no further delay might come between, he put unto the Chyrurgians (in case they lingred and made no hast) to cure them out of hand, (for that was the terme he used) meaning thereby, to cut their veines & let them bleed to death. It is verily thought also, that to a certein great (a) eater \* (an Ægyptian borne) that used to feed on raw flesh and whatsoever was given him, he had a great desire to cast men alive, for to bee quartered cut in peeces & devoured by him: Being lifted and puffed up, with these as it were, so great \*successes, he saide that no \*prince ever knew what he might do: and oftentimes he cast out many words betokening very significantly, that he would not spare the Senators remaining behind, but one day utterly rase that Order & degree out of the comon-wealth, and permit the gentlemen of Rome & his freed-men (only to rule provinces & have the conduct of armies. C a r t a s, neither at his coming home nor going forth any whether, vouchsafed he to kisse any one of them, no nor so much as once to resalute them: and when with formall complements he entred upon his worke of digging through *Isthmus*, he wished and praised aloud before a frequent audience, *That the enterprise might speed well and turne to the weale of himselfe and the people of Rome*, concealing and suppressing al mention of the Senate. 38 But yet for al that, he spared not the people, nor forbore the very wals and buildings of his country the Citie. When one in common talke upon a time chaunced to say.

(a) Εἰς δαυοῖτο γὰρ μυχὸς τοῦ πυλῶ

When vitall breath is fled from me,  
Let earth with fire imingled be.

Nay rather quoth he Εἰς ζωῖτο

Whiles vital breath remains in me &c.

And even so he did indeede: for being offended, as it were with the ylfavoured fashion of the olde houses; as also with the narrow, crooked & winding streets; he set the citie of Rome on fire so apparantly, that many Citizens of Consuls degree, taking his \*chamberlaines in the maner with matches, touchwood and hurds in their incensuages (within the Citie) would not once lay hand on them but let them alone: yea & certein garners and store houses about his golden Aedifice (for that the plot of ground on which they were situate, his mind stood most unto), were by war-engins forcibly shakē, throwē down & fired, by reason they were built with stone wals. For 6. dayes & 7. nights together raged he in this wise making havocke of all, and driving the common-people to take up their \*Innes & shrowd themselves the while about the tombes & monuments of the dead. During this time, beside an infinit number of (b) houses standing apart frō others, the goodly ædifices & buildings of noble capitains in old time, adorned stil & beautified with the spoiles of enemies, the stately temples also of the gods, vowed & dedicated by the auntient kings first, & afterwards in the \*punick & french wars; burned all, on a light fire: & in one word, whatsoever remained from old time worth the seeing & memorable was consumed. This fire, beheld he daily out of *Mæcenus* (c) high toure: and taking ioy (as he sayd himselfe) at the beautiful flame that it made, chaunted the winning and destruction of *Troie*, in that Musicians habit wherein he was wont to sing upon the stage. And because he would not misse, but lay fast holde upon all the bootie and pillage which possibly hee, could come by, even from thence also, having promised free

S4

leave

\*Polyphago cui-  
dam. or glutton

\*Or prosperitie  
\*Or none of  
the Emperors  
knew.

\*In Achaiā,  
nere Corinth.  
\*Comprising  
therein the  
gentlemens  
degree: not  
Senatus, populi  
Rom. as the  
manner had  
beene.

\*cubiculares,  
the grooms of  
his chamber.

\*Or lodgings,

\*With the Car-  
thaginians.

leave to cast forth dead karkasses, and rid away the rammell of the ruines; looke what reliques remained of all their goods and substance unburnt, he permitted not one to goe unto it. Finally, not onely by receiving, but also by exacting Contributions from all parts, he beggered well neere the provinces and consumed the wealth of private persons.

39

To amend the matter well; vnto these harmes and reprochefull dishonors (of the State) so great as they were arising from the Prince, there happened also some other calamities by chance and fortune: to wit, a pestilence continuing one autumne, whereby thirtie (a) thousand burials were reckoned in the record of \**Libitina*; an unfortunate losse in *Britaine*, wherein two principall townes of great importance were sacked, with great slaughter besides of *Romane* Citizens and Allies: A shamefull disgrace received in the East by reason that the *Romane* Legions in *Armenia* were put under the yoke as Slaves, and *Syria* was hardly and with much adoe kept in tearmes of allegiance. But a wonder it was to see, and a thing especially to be noted, that amid all these infortunities hee tooke nothing lesse to the heart, than the shrewd checks and reviling taunts of Men: and was to none more milde, than to such as had provoked him, either with hard speeches, or opprobrious verses. Many infamous libels & defamatorie words, both in Greek and Latine, were publicly written, or otherwise cast and spread abroad against him, As for example these.

Νέρον Ορέστης, ὁλυχόλας μὲν τροχίνοι.

Νέρον μὲν Νέρον ἰδὼν μὴ τέρας ἀπέκτεψε

NERO, (c) ORESTES, (d) ALCEON, did shorten mothers life:

NERO slew \*his, when newly her he wedded as his wife.

*Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Nerone?*

*Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*

Who can deny, of great *ÆNEA* our NERO sprung to be  
That rid his mother of her life, as \*Sire (e) from fire did hee.

*Rome tendit citharam noster, dum Cornua Parthus,*

*Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.*

\*Whiles our NERO bendeth his harpe while PARTHIAN his bow;

Our prince shall be PÆAN. Hee (f) HECATEBELETES.

*Roma domus fiet: Veios migrat: Quirites*

*Si non et Veios occupet ista domus.*

Rome will become a dwelling (g) house: To Veij flit a pace.

Quirites, least this house before ye come take up the place.

But no search made he after the authours hereof, and some of them being by the Appeacher conuened before the Senate, he would not suffer to sustaine any grievous punishment. As he passed by in the open street, ISIDORVS the \*CYNICK, had checked him alowd in these tearmes, That he vsed to chaunt the calamities of (h) NAVPLIVS very well, but disposed of his owne goods as badly. And DATVS, a plaier of the \*Atellane Comædies in a certain Sonet singing these words (i) *hug iaine pater* i. Farewel father. *ἰὺ ἰαίνε πατέρ* i. Farewel mother, had acted the same so significantly, as that he feigned the one drinking and the other swimming, to expresse thereby the end \*of C. CLAVDIVS and AGRIPPINA: And in the last conclusion of all, with these wordes.

(k) *Ortus vobis ducit pedes* Now PLUTO leadeth forth your feet.

In

in plaine gesture noted the Senate. The \*Actor & \*Philosopher NERO did no more unto, but banish them *Rome* and *Italie*: either for that he set light by all shame and intamie; or els least in bewraying anie griefe, he might stir up and provoke pregnant wits to worke vpon him.

Well, the world having indured such an Emperour as this, little lesse than 14. yeares, at length fell away & forooke him cleane. And first the French began, following as the ringleader of their insurrection IULIUS VINDEXX, who that very time governed the \*Province, as Propretour. Foretold it had been long agoe unto NERO by the Astrologers, *That one day he should be left forlorne.* Whereupon this saying was most rise in his mouth.

Τὸ τεχνίον ποταγὸν ἔτεφει,

*An Artizane of anie kinde*

*In every land will living finde;*

So that he might the better be excused and borne withall for studying & practising the art of minstrelsie and singing to the harpe, as a skil delightful unto him now a Prince, and needfull for him another day a private person. Yet some there were who promised unto him so forsake the government of the East parts: and others by speciall name the kingdom of *Hiernusalem*: but most of them warranted him assuredly the restitution of his former estate. And being inclined rather to rest upon this hope, when he had lost *Britaine* and *Armenia*, & recovered them both againe: he thought himselfe discharged then and quit from the farall calamities destined unto him: But sending one time to the Oracle of APOLLO at *Delphi*, and hearing this answer from thence (a) *That hee must beware of the yeare 73*, as who would say, *He was to dye in that yeare (of his owne age) and not before*; and divining no whit of GALBAES yeeres; with so assured confidence hee conceived in his heart not onely long life but also a perpetuall and singular felicity, that when he had lost by shipwracke things of exceeding price, he stucke not to say among his familiars. *That the fishes would bring the same againe unto him.* At *Naples* aduertised he was of the rebellion in *Gaulle*. Which fell out to be the very same day of the yeare, on which he had killed his mother. But hee tookethis newes so patiently and carelessly, that hee gave suspicion even of joy and contentment: as if occasion had beene offered and presented thereby to make spoyle (by the lawe of armes) of those most rich & wealthy Provinces: and streight waies going forth into the \*Gymnase, he beheld with exceeding great earnestnesse and delight the wrestlers and champions striving for the prise. At supper time also, being interrupted with letters importing more tumults and troubles still: Thus farre forth onely he grew into choller and indignation, as that he threatned \*mischief to them who \*had revolted. To conclude, for eight dayes together he never went about to write backe unto any man nor to give any charge or direction at all, but buried the matter quite in silence.

At the last, throughly mooved and nettled with the contumelious edicts of vindex comming so thicke one in the necke of another, he exhorted the Senate, in a letter written unto them, to revenge him and the commonwealth: alleadging for an excuse the \*Squinie whereof hee was sicke: and therefore could not himselfe be present in person. But nothing vexed him so much as this, *That hee was by him blamed for an unskilfull musician*, and because in

Reede throate.

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\*An inflammation or swelling in the

\*As we say in the Church booke.

\*In whose temple were to be bought or hired, whatsoever pertained to funerals & burials, *Plutarch* taketh her for *Venus*.

\*To wit Agrippina.

\*Anchises.

\*Hexameter, & Pentameter.

\*Philosopher.

\*Or evils.

\*Which were very lascivious & licentious.

\*Whole for he was by adoption, for some report, he tooke his poison in a cup of drinke & not in a mu shrom.

\*Who was thought to have perished in the sea and indeede the hardly escaped drowning by swimming.

\*Datum.

\*Istiderus.

40

\*Of Gaulle.

\*As they did to Polykrates that mighty Tyrant of Samos; but it was not long before his fall and destruction. \*Publike place of exercise. \*Malum an Emphaticall and significant word in this place: like as in *Livie*, lib. 4. *Malum militibus meis misquievent.* As if he had said, a mischief take these Rebels: or, mischief will come to them. \*Deficiens, al. dedissent, as if mischief would fall upon the authors heads.

steed of NERO, he called him \*ÆNOBARBUS. And verely as touching this name appropriate to his house and family; wherewith he was thus in contumelious manner twitted, he professed to resume the same, and to lay away the other that \*came by adoption. All other reviling taunts and slaunders hee confuted as meere false, by no other argument than this. *That unskilfulnesse, forsooth, was objected unto him in that very art, which he had so plainly studied and brought to so good perfection: and therewith asked them if some one by one, whether they had ever known a more excellent Musician than himselfe.* But when messengers came still one after another, in great feare he returned to Rome. And having his hart lightened but a little in the way, with a vaine and foolish presage by occasion that hee espied and obserued engraven upon a monument, a certaine french fouldiour with a Romane knight overmatched in fight and traile along by the haire (of the head): he at this sight leapt for ioy and worshipped the heavens. Neither then verely, did hee so much as consult in publike with the Senate, or assemble the people: but onely call forth home to his house some of the chiefe and principall persons among them. And having dispatched in great haste this consultation, the rest of that day he led them all about to his muscull water instruments of a strange devise and fashion, not before known: and shewing every one by it selfe unto them, discoursing also of the reason and difficult workmanship of each one, he promised even anone to bring them all forth into the open Theatre, \* If VINDEX would give him leave,

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After that he understood besides, how GALBA likewise & the provinces of Spaine were revoked, he fell downe at once: his heart was then daunted & cleane done: and so he lay a good while speechlesse in a trauunce, and ready, as one would say, to goe out of the world. And so soone as he came againe to himselfe, he rent his clothes, beat and knockt his head, saying plainely *That he was utterly undone*: yea and when his nource came about him to comfort his poore heart, telling him, that the like accidents had befallen to other princes also before him, hee answered againe, *That hee above all the rest suffered miseries never heard of nor known before: Thus in his life time to forgoe and loose his Empire.* Neither yet for all this stricke he faile one whit in laying away or leaving out one jot of his ordinary riot and supine slouthfulnesse. Nay when some little inckling was given of good newes out of the provinces as he sat at a most sumptuous and plentifull supper; hee pronounced even with expresse gesture like a player, certaine ridiculous rimes, and those set to lascivious and wanton measures, against the chieftaines of rebellion: and what were those? even stale stuffe and commonly known already. Being also secretly conueied into the Theatre he sent word unto a certaine Player acting his part with great contentment of them that *saw and heard him, That he did but abuse his \*occupation.*

43

Immediately upon the beginning of this feareful \*tumult, it is credibly thought that he intended manie designs and those very cruell and horrible: yet such as agreed well enough with his naturall humour: namely, to sende under hand successours and murderers of all those that were Commanders of armies & regents of Provinces; as if they all had conspired and drawen in one and the selfe same line. *Item, to massacre all banished persons where soever; and the frenchmen*

\*Which was the name of his family, and so had he been called before his adoption.  
\*Nero Claudius Drusus

\*Which it seems he spake ironically, if simply, he meaneth, in case VINDEX interrupted not his sports and the publike felicitie.

\*In that hee plaied without a concurrent whereas himselfe but for his businesse would have put him down

\*Occasioned by the Com- & revolts abroad.

me every one that were to be found in Rome: those because they should not band & combine with them that revolted: these, as complices with their owne contrie men, and their abbetters. *Item* to permit, the armies for to make spoyle and havocke of the Provinces in *Gaule*. *Item* to poyson all the Senate generally at some appointed feast. Last of all to fire Rome & let wild beasts loose among the people; that thereby there might be more adoe and greater difficulty to saue the Citie. But being skared from these designments, not so much upon anie repentance, as despaire of their accomplishment: and perswaded withall, that necessarie it was to make a voyage and warlike expedition; the Consuls then in place hee deprived of their government before the due time, and himselfe alone entred upon the Consulship in their roomes, as if forsooth, the destinies had so ordained, that *Gaule* could not be subdued but by a (sole) \*Consul. Having then taken into his hands the \*knitches of rods, when after meat he withdrew himselfe aside out of his dining chamber, leaning upon the shoulders of his familiar friends, hee protested, that so loone as ever he was come into the Province: he would shew himselfe unarmed before the armies: and do nothing else but weepe. and after he had once by that meanes reclaimed the authors of the Revolt and brought them to repentance, sing merily, the day following, songs of triumph with them that reioyced with him. Which songs quoth hee ought with all speede even now to be composed for me.

44

In the preparation of this warlike voiage, his speciall care was, to chooseth forth meete wagons for the cariage of his muscull instruments; to cut & poll the concubines which hee caried out with him like men: and to furnish them with battaile axes and little bucklers after the Amazonian fashion. This done, he cited the Citie-tribes to take the militarie oth: and when no seruiceable me would answere to their names, he enjoyned all Masters to set forth a certaine number of bond-seruants, neither admitted he out of the whole family & household of every mā, but such only as were most approved, excepting not so much as their stewards or clarkes and secretaries. He commanded likewise all degrees to allow and contribute toward this expedition part of their estate according as they were valued in the Cenfors booke: and more than so, The tenants inhabiting private messuages and great houses standing by them selues, to pay out of hand in yearely pension to his exchequer. Hee exacted also with great skornefulnesse and extremitie, good money rough and new coyned, siluer fine and full of risings: golde pure and red as fire. In so much, as most men openly refused the payment of all contributions: demanding in a generall consent, that what monies soever promoters had received for their informations, should rather be required backe againe at their hands.

45

By the dearth likewise of corne, looke what hatred was conceived against the \*gainers, the same grewe heauie upon him. For it fell out by chance that in this publike famine word came of a \*Ship of (a) *Alexandria*, how it was arrived freight with a kinde of dust for the wrestlers of NERO his court. Having thus stirred up & kindled the hatred of all the world against him, there was no contumelious despite but he sustained. To one statue of his, just behind the crowne of the heade, was set a \*chariot with an Impresse in Greeke to this effect

\*As sometime Cn. Pompeius magnus was, for the like exploit.  
\*The Confular authoritie.

\*Surlineffe.

\*i. Cornemūgers *lucantius*  
\*Or the fleet it selfe, *naus*  
pro classe as *classis* pro nave by the figure *Synecdoche*.

\* Alluding to  
his Chariot  
running.  
\* A Sackell  
of coyn  
\* Ego quid potui.  
\* Culeum  
\* Pillers  
\* Gallus et eum  
cūta. excūssit

fect, *Now (b) in truth, and not before is the combate.* And againe, *Now or never hale and drawe.* To the necke of another, there was tyed a lether-<sup>\*</sup>bagge, and therewith this title, *\*What (d) could I doe? But thou hast deserved a verie \*lether (e) budge indeed.* This writing also was fastned upon the <sup>\*</sup>Columnnes, *Now with his chaunting hee hath awakened the French.* And by this time manie there were who in the night season making semblance of chiding and brawling with their seruants, called often for a **VINDEX.**

46

Beside all this, he tooke affrights at the manifest <sup>\*</sup>portents as well newe as old, of dreams, of <sup>(a)</sup>prodigies and of <sup>\*</sup>Offes. For where as before time, he was never wont to dreame, when he had murdered his mother once there appeared visions in his sleepe, him thought hee saw the helme of a ship wrested out of his hand as hee steered it: and that by his wife OCTAVIA hee was haled into a very narrow and blinde place: one while that he was covered all over with a multitude of winged ants; another while, that the images of grave men descended of noble houses dedicated in POMPEIUS Theatre, went round about him, and debarred him from going forward. Also, that his ambling gneling, wherein hee tooke most delight, was in most parts transfigured into the forme of an ape: But having his head only sound and entier, did set up a lowde and shrill voice neighing. Out of the <sup>\*</sup>Mausoleum, when all the dores thereof flew of their owne accord open, a voice was heard calling him by name. Vpon the <sup>\*</sup>Calends of Ianuarie, his domestical gods, garnished and adorned (as they weare), at the verie time when the sacrifice was in preparing, fell all downe. And as he was observing the signes by bird flight, SPORUS presented him with a ring for a newe yeares gift: in the pretious stones whereof, was engraven the ravishing and carying away of PROSERPINA. At the solemne nuncupation of his vowes, when as a great and frequent number of all degrees were already assembled together, the keyes of the Capitoll could hardly be found. What time as out of his inuective oration against **VINDEX** these wordes were rehearsed in the Senate. *That such wicked persons should suffer punishment,* they all cryed out with one voice. *Tu facies A VG V S T E . i .* Thou shalt so doe O AUGUSTUS. This also had bene observed, that the last Tragædie which he acted and sung in publike place, was OEDIPUS the banished, and iust as he pronounced this verse

ὅπως μὲν ἀνὰ γῆ οὐρανὸν ἰδέσθαι, πότνης  
How can I chuse but death desire,

Thus bidden by wife by mother and Sire:

\* he fell downe.

\* Decidisse ordi-  
fisse i, stayed &  
gave over,

\* See the anno-  
tation upon  
this place.

In this meane while, when newes came that all the other armies also rebelled, the letters delivered unto him, as hee sat at dinner hee tare in peeces, overthrewe the table, and two cuppes (of Chrystall) out of which he tooke the greatest pleasure to drinke, and which he called Homericos, for certaine verses of <sup>(a)</sup>HOMER engraven and wrought upon them, he dashed against the paved floure. Then, after he had received a poison of LOCUSTA & put it up in a golden boxe, he went directly into the hortyards of the *Servitij* where

where, having sent before his most trusty freed-servants unto OSTIA for to rig and prepare a fleet to sea, He founded the Tribunes and Centurions of the guard, whether they would beare him company and flie with him, or no? But when some of them made it coy and kept some haisting: others in plaine termes refused; and one also cried out aloud,

*Vsq̃ue adeone (b) mori miserum est?*

What! is it such a miserie

To leave this life and so to die:

He cast about, and thought of many and sundry shifts: Whether hee should goe as an humble suppliant unto the Parthians, or to GALBA? or whether it were best for him, arraigned all in blacke to come abroad into the Citie, and there in open place before the **ROSTRA**, with all the rufull and piteous moane that hee could possibly make, crave pardon for all that was past? and unlesse hee could turne the peoples harts unto <sup>\*</sup>mercy, make suite to have if it were but the <sup>(c)</sup>Deputy-ship of *Egypt* graunted unto him. Certes, found there was afterwards in his Cabinet a Speech of his owne penning, as touching this Argument. But men thinke hee was scared from this enterprile, as fearing least before he thither <sup>\*</sup>could come, he should be pulled in peeces. Thus, putting off all farther cogitation of this matter unto the next day, and <sup>\*</sup>awakened about midnight: when he understood that the guard of his Souldiours was retired and gone, hee leapt forth of his bed, and sent all about to his friends: But because no word was brought back from any of them, himselfe accompanied with a fewe about him went to every one of their lodgings: Where finding all dores shut, and no body to make him answer, he returned to his bed chamber. By which time, his Keepers also and Warders were slept from thence: but they had stollen away first the hangings and furniture of his chamber, yea and set out of the way the box aforesaid with the poison. Then straight-waies he fought for SPICILLUS the <sup>\*</sup>Sword-fencer, or any other common hackster <sup>\*</sup>himselfe he cared not who, by whole hand he might receive his deaths wound. But finding none. *Well,* quoth he, *And have I neither a friend, nor a foe?* And so he runnes forth, as if he would have throwne himselfe headlong into *Tiberis*.

48

But having reclaimed once againe that violent moode, hee desired some more secret retyring place, wherein he might lurke a while and recall his wits together. And when PHAON his freed man made offer unto him of a Farme house of his, that he had by the Citie side, about foure miles off, betwene the high-waies *Salaria* and *Amentana*, bare footed as hee was and in his <sup>\*</sup>shirt hee cast over it a <sup>\*</sup>Single waist cloake all sullied and which had lost the colour. And so covering his head, and holding an hand kercheife before his face, to horseback hee went; having not above foure persons in his companie; of which <sup>\*</sup>SPORUS made one. And being by & by affrighted with an Earthquake & lightning that flashed against his face, he heard withall, an out-crie & shoute (from the Campe hard-by), of the Souldiours offing all mischief at him & all good unto GALBA: Yea, & one of the passengers that he met, saying, *These be they that pursue NERO*, as also another asking, *What newes in Rome of NERO?* Now by occasio that his horse under him senting a dead carcase that was throwne out in the way, started and flung at on side, his face was discovered, and himselfe knowne of one MISSICIVS a *Pretorian* Souldiour, who

\* And to suffer  
him for to in-  
joy the Empire  
\* To the *Rostra*,  
\* Or starting  
out of his sleep

\* *Stirra*

\* Single waist  
coat

The rest were  
Phaon Epaphro-  
ditus and Ne-  
phrus.

T



who saluted him by his name. When they were come to the next Lane, turning out of the Rode way, their horses they forsooke and turned them up: and so among thickest of shrubs, rough bushes and briers, with much ado through a narrow path within a reed plot, and not without clothes spread under foote, he gat at length as farre as to the wall of the Country house above said over & against him. There, when the said PHAON perswaded him to bestow himselfe the meane while, within a pit, from whence sand had beene cast forth, Nay, quoth he, I will never goe quick \* under ground: and so, after he had staid a little (while there was a secret way a making to let him into the sexton house), he laded up water with his owne hand out of a ditch under him, minding to drink: and this, quoth he, is NEROES \* decocted water. After this, because his cloake was torne among the bushes and briers afore said, he rid it from the prickly sprigs that were runne through and stuck therein, and so creeping upon all foure through a straight and narrow hole digged in the wall for him, received hee was into the next backe roome: Where he laid him downe on a pallet made of a simple scant matrice, and an olde over-worne cloake cast over it for a coverlet. Now when hunger came upon him, and thirst with all the second time, the browne and course bread verily which was offred unto him he refused; but of warme water he dranke a pretie draught.

49

When as each one called then instantly on every side upon him, to deliver him selfe with all speede from the reproachfull contumelies and abuse; whereto hee was hourly subiect, he commaunded a grave to be made before his face, and gave a measure therefore according to the iust proportion of his body: and therewith, if any peeces of marble stone might be found about the house, to be laid in order: That water also and wood should bee gotten together for his dead body to be washed anone therewith: weeping at every word he spake, and inserting ever and anone this pittifull speech, *Qyalis \* artifex Pereo!* What an excellent Artifane am I? and yet nowe must I die. Whiles some stay was made about these complements, PHAONS \* Courrier brought certaine letters which hee intercepted and snatcht out of his hands. And reading therein that hee had his Dome by the Senate, To be an Enemy to the State: That he was laid for all about to be punished, *More maiorum. More maiorum!* quoth he, what kinde of punishment is that! and when he understoode, it implied thus much, *That the man so condemned, should be stript all naked, his head \* locked fast in a forke, and his body scourged with rods to death;* he was so terrified therewith, That hee caught up \* two daggers which hee had brought with him: and trying the points of them both how sharpe they were, he put them up againe, making this excuse, *That the fatall houre of his death was not yet come.* And one while he exhorted SPORUS to begin for to lament, weepe and waile: another while he intreated hard, *That some one of them would kill him selfe first, and by his example helpe him to take his death.* Sometime also he checked and blamed his owne timoroufnesse in these wordes. I live shamefully and in reproach, & πέπει Νέροι, & ἀρέπει νικῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποῖστοις. ἀγέ ἔχει σκῶντον. It becomes not NERO; it becomes him not. In such cases as these hee had neede to bee wise and sober: Goe to man, plucke up thy heart and rouse thy selfe. Nowe by this time approached the Horsemen neere at hand, who had a warrant and precept to bring him alive. Which when hee perceived, after hee had with trembling and

\* For feare either of pricking his feete, or of being heard to goe.  
\* Or into my grave.

\* Or foddie:  
\* Plinie reporteth, lib 31. cap. 3: That Nero deviled to seech water first, then within a glasse to let it stand in snow, whereby it became exceeding cold partly by the snow, & in part by the former decoction. A delicate drinke in the heart of Sommer.

\* Meaning his singular skill in Musicke, for which pittie it was he should ever die.  
\* Or else, what manner of artifician am I now become, thus to prepare mine owne funerall.  
\* Or Footman.  
\* Or let.  
\* Or rapiers.  
\* Acis: pro acumine mucronato.

quaking uttered this verse.

\* ἴππων μ' ἀντιπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ἔσται βόλλαι.

The trampling noise of horses swift resoundeth in mine eares.

He set a dagger to his throat, whiles EPAPHRODITUS his \* Secretarie lent him his hand to dispatch him. When he was yet but halfe dead, a Centurion brake in upon him, and putting his cloake upon the wound, made semblance as if hee came to aide and succour him: Vnto whom he answered nothing but this. *Too late. And is this your loyalty and allegiance?* In which very word he yeelded up his breath, with his eyes staring out and set in his head, to the great feare and horror of all that were present. He had requested of the companie which attended upon him, no one thing more earnestly than this. *That no man might have his head severed from the body but that in any wise he might be burnt whole.* And ICBUS a freed man of Galba, who not long before was delivered out of prison (into which he was \* cast at the beginning of the first \* tumult) permitted \* so much.

50

His funerals were performed with the charges of 200 000 Sesterces: His corps was caried forth (to buriall) enwrapped within white cloathes of Tinsel, woven with gold wire betweene, the very same that hee had worne upon the Calends of Ianuarie. His reliques, ECLOGE and ALEXANDRA his two Nources, together with ACTE his Concubine bestowed within the monument belonging to the house of the DOMITII his Auncestors: Which is to be seene out of Mars field, situate upon the Knap of an hill within their Hortyards. In which Sepulcher his chest \* made of Porphyre Marble, with an Altar (as it were) or table of white Marble of Luna standing upon it, was enclosed round about with a fence of Thasian Marble stone.

51

Hee was for stature almost of \* complet height. His body full of specks and freckles, and foule of skinne besides. The haire of his head somewhat yellow: His countenance and visage rather faire, than lovely and well favoured. His eyes gray and somewhat with the dimmest. His neck full and fat. His belly & paunch bearing out: with a paire of passing slender spindle shanks: but withall, he was very healthfull. For, being as he was so untemperate and most royotously given, in 14 yeeres space, he never fell sicke but thrice: yet so, as hee neither forbore drinking of wine, nor any thing else that hee used to doe. About the trimming of his body and wearing of his cloathes so nice, as it was shamefull: in so much as hee would alwaies have the bush of his head laide and plaited by curles in degrees: but what time as he travailed in Achaia, hee drew it backward also from the crowne of his head \* and wore it long. For the most part, he ware a dainty and effeminate pied garment called *Synthesis*: and with a fine Lawne neck Kercheif bound about his neck he went abroad in the Streetes, ungirt, untrussed, and unshod.

52 Of all the Liberrall Sciences in manner, he had a tast when he was but a child. But from the Studie of Philosophie his mother turned his minde; telling him, It was repugnant to one who another day was to bee a Sovereigne: and from the knowledge of auncient Oratoours, his Maister SENECA withdrew him, because hee would hold him the longer in admiration of himselfe. And therefore, being of his owne accord readily enclined to Poetry, he made verses voluntarily and without paine. Neither did he (as some think) set forth other mens Poems as his owne.

T 2

There

\* Homer Iliad. 2  
spoken by Nestor  
\* Or rapiers  
\* Or his Master of requests.

\* By Nero  
\* Occasioned by the rebellie  
In Gaule and Spaine  
\* For he might do all in al with Galba. See Galb. 14

\* Or Cophin

\* Within a little  
of sixe foote.

\* As you may see in y coins  
& pictures of Otho the Emperour: Statius calleth this *gestum coma* lib. 1. Syb.  
\* haply in imitation of Apollo (who was Inconsus, and is called by Homer therefore ἀντισπινος) because there especially he professed Musicke, wherof Apollo is the Patron.

There haue come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing veries very famous and well knowne abroade, written with his owne hand: so as a man may easily see they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainly penned as a man would say, by one that studied for them, and as they came in his head, so put them downe: so many blots and skrapings out, so many dashes and interlinings were in them.

53

No small delight he had beside in paintings and most of all in forging and moolding counterfaits. But aboue all, he was rauished and lifted up with popularity & praise of men: desirous therefore to imitate & equal them, who by any meanes pleased the humours & contented the minds of the comon people. There went an opiniō and speech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his muscicall feats performed upon the stage, hee would at the next five yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the prize among the Champions there. For, he practised wrestling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwise, than sitting below within the \* Stadium, as the manner of the Iudges and Vmpires of such masteries: and if any \* paires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreouer (since he was reputed to haue equalled APOLO in singing and matched the Sun in chariotting) to imitate also the worthie acts of HERCVLES. And men say, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked should either with his club braine, or els with streight claping betweene his armes throttle and crush to death within the Amphitheatre, in the sight of all the people.

\* Or the lifts  
\* Or couples  
matched.

54

Certainely, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, *That in case he continued stil in good and happie estate, represent he would likewise at the games, in his owne person after victory obtained, an Organist and player upon water instruments, upon the flute also and hautboys, yea and a bagpiper, and on the last day (of the said games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would aunce and gesture Turmus in Virgil.* And some write, that PARS the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that stood in his way and eclipsed his light.

55

A desire he had, (foolish and inconsiderate though it were) of æternity and perpetuall fame. And therefore, abolishing the old names of many things & places, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The moneth Aprill also hee called *Neronens*. He ment moreover to haue named *Rome*, \* *Neropolis*.

\* Neronens City.

56

\* Atergate or  
Affame the  
same some  
think that Iuno  
\* Her image  
\* or unknowne  
to him.

All Religions wherfoever he had in contempt, unlesse it were that onely of the \* *Syrian* goddesse. And yet soone after he despised her so farre, that hee polluted\* her with urine: by occasion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other superstition, wherein alone hee continued and perseuered most constantly. For having received in free gift, a little puppet representing a young girl, at the hands of a meane commoner, and \* obscure person, as a remedy, for sooth, or defenlative against al treacheries and secret practises: and therevpon straight waies chauncing to discouer a conspiracie, he held it for the soveraine deity above all, & persisted honoring & worshipping it every day with 3 sacrifices. Nay he would haue men believe, that he foreknew things to come by advertisement & warning given frō her.

Some

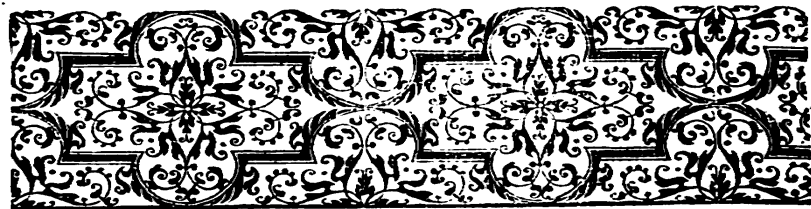
Some few moneths before he lost his life, he tooke regard also of the Skill in prying into beasts entrailes. Which he observed in deede, but never sped well there-with, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age; that very day o' the yeere, on which in times past he had mured his wife OCTAVIA: & by his death brought so great ioy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore \* Caps, and ranne sporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not some, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Sommer doe affoord: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embroidered with purple gards before the *Rostra*: otherwhile published his Edicts, as if he had bene yet living and would shortly returne to the great mischiefe of his enemies. Moreover, VOLOGESUS King of the Parthians, when he sent his Embassadors unto the Senate for to treat about the renewing of league and Alliance with them, requested this also very earnestly, *That the Memoriall of NERO might be still solemnized.* To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his decease (whiles I my selfe was but a young man) one arose among them (no man knew from whence? nor of what condition?) who gave it out, *That Hee was NERO*, (so gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.

57  
A.V.C. 821  
\* Or Bonets, to  
be used free-  
dome to recou-  
red.

\* Namely, to  
Calphurnius  
Aspernas, to be  
executed for a  
lying counsellor  
etc.





# THE HISTORIE OF Servius Sulpitius Galba, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



Chap 1  
\* Or line:

**T**HE \* Progenie of the CÆSARS ended in NERO. Which, that it would so come to passe, appeared verily by many signes, but by two of all other most evident. As LIVIA in times past immediately after her mariage with AUGUSTUS, went to see a Mannour house and land of her owne in the veientane Territorie, it fortunèd that an Eagle soaring over her head let fall into her lap a white hen, holding in her bill a Lawrell branch even as she had caught it up. And thinking it good to have both the foule kept, and the said branch set in the ground: behold there came of the one such a goodly broode of \* chickens, that even at this day the very house aforesaid is called *Ad Gallinas*: and sprung of the other so faire a row of Bay trees, that all the CÆSARS when they were to ride in triumph gathered from thence their

\* Which proved white, as also the whole breed of them.  
Duo:

their Laurell \* guirlands. And as the manner was, that when any of them triumphed, they should prick downe straight waies others in the same place: so it was obserued likewise, that a little before the death of every one the tree by him planted, did mislike and die. In the last yeere therefore of NERO, not onely the whole grove of bay trees withered to the very roote, but all the hens there died every one. And anone after the Temple of the CÆSARS being strucke with lightning, the heads withall of their Statues fell downe all at once, and the Scepter of AVGVSTVS was shaken out of his hands.

After NERO succeeded GALBA, in no degree allied unto the house of the CÆSARS: but without all question a right noble gentleman of a great and auncient \* race: as who in the titles and Inscriptions over his owne Statues wrote himselfe al- waies the \* Nephew once remooved of Q. CATVLVS CAPITOLINVS: and being once Emperour did set up also in his \* Haule the Lineall proceffe and race of his house, wherein he derieth his descent from the father side, from IVPITER and by his mother from PASIPHAE, the wife of King MINOS.

To prosecute the Images and Laudatorie testimonials belonging to the whole stocke & linage in generall were a long peece of worke: those onely of his own family wil I briefly touch. The first of all the SULPITII, why? and whereupon he bare the surname of GALEA? there is some doubtfull question. Some thinke it came by occasion of a Towne in *Spaine*, which after it had bene a long time in vaine assaulted, hee at length set on fire with burning brands besmeered all over with Galbanum: others, for that in a long sicknesse which hee had, hee vsed continually Galbeum, that is to say, a cure with remedies \* enwrapped within wooll: some againe because hee seemed to be very fat, and such a one, the French doth name GALBA: or contrariwise, in regard that he was as slender, as are those creatures \* (or worms) which breede in the trees called *Esculi*, and be named *Galba*. This familie one SERVIUS GALBA who had bene Consul, and in his time most eloquent, ennobled first, and made renowned, who by report, ruling the province of Spaine as Prætour, having \* treacherously put to sworde 30000, LVSTITANES, was the cause of the \* Viriatine warre. His Nephew being maliciously bent against IVLIVS CÆSAR (whose Lieutenent he had bin in *Gaul*) for a repulse that he rooke in suing to be Consul, ioyned in the conspiracy with CASSIVS & BRVTVS: for which condemned he was by the law *P. adia*. From this man descended immediately the Grandfire and father of this GALBA the Emperour. His Grandfather for his booke and learning was more famous, then for any dignity in common weale that ever he attained unto. For, he arose no higher, than to the degree of a Prætour: but many histories he wrote, and those not slight nor negligently composed. His father bare the honourable office of Consul: a man very low of stature and withall crouchbacked: and having but a meane gift in Oratory yet used he to plead causes industriously. Two wiues he had, MVMMA ACHAICA the neipce of CATVLVS, and once remooved of LVCIVS MVM- MIVS, who rased and destroyed *Corinth*: likewise LIVIA OCELLINA, an exceedingly welthy Ladie & a beautiful. Of whom for his noble blood sake, it is thought he was \* wooed: yea, & somewhat the more hotely, after that, (upon her importunate suite) hee stript himselfe once out of his clothes in a secret place before her, and revealed the imperfection of his bodie, because he would not seeme to deceive her, for want of knowledge. By ACHAICA, he had issew CAIVS and SERVIUS

\* when his time  
by cou:se came

4  
A.V.C.751

\*Supplices or  
rather as some  
read, *Supplicia*  
ta i, upon  
\**Livia Ocellina*  
\*Or *Ocellaria*.

\*As the manner  
was in kissing  
young children  
\*Galba.

\*For some be  
fortunate and  
signific good.  
\*For some be  
fortunate.

\*Or the out-  
ward Court-  
gate.  
\*Or Doore=  
gate.  
\*Or wale

Of whom, CAIUS the elder, hauing wasted his estate and spent all, left the City of Rome, and was by TIBERIVS prohibited to put in his lot for to be chosen Proconsull, in his \*yeere: whereupon voluntarilie he killed himselfe

To come now unto SERVIVS GALBA the Emperour, borne he was when M. VALERIVS MESSALLA, and C.N. LENTVLVS were Consuls, the ninth day before the Calends of Ianuarie, in a country house situate under a little hill neere unto Terracina, on the left hand as men goe to Fundie. Being adopted by his stepmother, he assumed the name of LIVIVS, and the surname \*OCCELLA, changing his fore name with all. For, afterwards even unto the time of his Empire; he was forenamed LVCIVS in steed of SERVIVS. It is for certain knowne, that AVGVSTVS (what time as little GALEA among other boyes like himselfe saluted him,) tooke him by his pretie \*cheeke and said, *καὶ οὐ τέτυκον ὁ ἀρχὴς ἡμῶν* *ωὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν, ἰ.* And thou also my child shall haue a tast one day of our soveraine rule. TIBERIVS likewise, when hee had knowledge once that \*hee should bee Emperour, but not before old age, go to, quoth he, let him liue a Gods name, seeing it is nothing to vs. Also as his Grand-father was sacrificing for the expiation of an \*aduerser flash of lightning, (what time an Aegle caught out of his hands the inwards of the beasts, caried them away, and bestowed them in an Oke \*bearing mast) answer was giuen vnto him by the Soothsayers out of their learning, that thereby was portended and foreshewed vnto his house, soveraine government: but it would be late first. Then he againe, by way of Irrision, *see say very true indeed, That will ye, quoth hee, when a mule shall bring forth a foale.* Afterwards when this GALBA began to rebell and aspire unto the Empire, nothing hartened him in this desigine of his so much, as the faling of a mule. For when all men besides, abhorred this foule and monstrous prodigie; he alone tooke it to be most fortunate: calling to remembrance the fore said sacrifice and the speech of his grandfather. When hee had newly put on his virile gowne, he dreamt that fortune spake these words unto him, namely, *how she stood before his doore all weary, and unless she were let in the sooner she should become a pray unto whom soeuer shee met.* No sooner awakened he, and opened his \*Port hall doore, but he found hard by the \*entry, a brason Image of the said goddesse about a cubit long: which hee caried away with him in his bosome to Tusculum where he was wont to summer, and hauing consecrated it in one part of his house there, worshipped the same from that time forward with monethly supplications, and a \*Vigill all night long once every yeere. And albeit he was not yet come to his middle and staied age, yet retained he most constantly, this old manner of the Citie (which was now worn out of vse, but that it continued still in his house and linage) That his freed-men and bond seruants should duellie twice a day present themselves all together before him: and one by one in the morning salute him with a good morrowe, and in the euening take their leave likewise with a farewell and also good night.

Among the liberall Sciences he gave himselfe to the studie of the (Civil) lawe. He entred also into the state of wedlocke, but having buried his wife LEPIDA, and two sonnes that he had by her, he led alwaies after a single life Neither could he euer, by any offer or condition be perswaded to marriage again, no not of Dame AGRIPINA, who by the death of DOMITIVS became widdow, and had by all meanes solicited GALBA euen whiles he was the husband of a wife, and not yet a single

single man: and in so much as at a great meeting of Ladies and Matrones, the mother of his wife LEPIDA shooke her uppe roundly. yea and knockt her well for it with her own fists. He honoured & affected above all others LIVIA AVGVSTA the Emperesse, through whose grace and fauoure whiles shee lived he became mighty, and by whose will and testament when she was dead, he had like to haue bene enriched. For whereas among others whom shee remembred in her will, he had a speciall legacie to the valew of \*50 millions of Sesterces bequeathed unto him: because the said summe was set downe in figures and cyphres and not written out at large, her heire TIBERIVS brought it downe unto one \*halfe millian: and yet euen that he never receiued.

Having entred upon the honourable offices of state before due time by law set downe; when he was Prætor, during the playes and games called \*Floralia, hee shewed a new and strange kind of sight, to wit, Elephants walking upon Ropes. After that, he gouerned the province Aquitaine almost one whole yeare. Soone after he bare the ordinarie Consulship in his \*due time for the space of 6 moneths. And it fell out so, that as himselfe therein succeeded DOMITIVS the father of NERO, so SYLVIVS the father of OTHO followed immediately after him: a very presage of the euent ensuing: whereby hee came to bee Emperour iust in the middle betweene the sonnes of them both. Being by \*CAIUS CESAR substituted Lord generall for GETVLICVS, the very next day after he was come to the Legions, when as the soldiers at a solemne shew which happened then to be exhibited, clapped their hands, he restrained them with this (a) Præcept, *That they should keepe their hands \*within their \*Clokes:* Whereupon, this byword anon ranne rise through the Campe.

*Disce miles militare,  
Galba est, non Getulicus.*  
Lerne, soldiers, seruice \*Valorous:  
GALBA is here, & not (b) Getulicus

With sensible severitie, he inhibited all petitions for \*placards and passports. The old beaten souldiers as well as the new and untrained, hee hardened still with continuall worke & labour: and having soone repressed the Barbarians who by their rodes and incursions had now by this time broken in violently and set foote within Gaule, hee quit himselfe so well and shewed such good prooffe of his armie unto CAIUS also then & there present in proper person as that among an infinite number of forces levied and assembled out of all provinces there were none went away with greater testimonies of proesse nor received larger rewards than he and his regiments. Himselfe above them all was most bravely be scene in this, that marching with his targuet before him hee marshalled the gallants lusting and running at tilt in the plaine field: and for that hee ranne also by the Emperours chariot side, for the space of twentie miles. When tidings came that \*CAIUS was murdered, and many pricked him forward to take the opportunitie then offered, hee preferred quietnesse and rest. For which cause hee stood in especiall fauour with CLAVDIVS, and was admitted into the ranke of his inward friends; a man of that worth and reputation as that when hee fell sodainly sicke (although not verie grievously) the day appointed for to set forth in the Brittain expedition was deferred. He gouerned Africk as Proconsul two yeeres: being elected without lours drawing, for to settle and bring into order that Province farre out of frame and disquieted

\*Quingentis  
H.S. so me read  
quingentis  
ther. 500 millia  
ans.  
\*Ad quingentia  
sc. i. i. i. i. i.

6  
A.V.C.786  
\*Either in hon-  
our of Flora the  
Goddess of  
Flowers, or else  
in thankfull  
memoriall of a  
famous Curtes-  
ian named Flora  
who made the  
people of Rome  
her heire & gaue  
the City a  
great summe  
of money: out of  
yeerely increase  
whereof were  
the charges  
defraied that  
went to these li-  
centious places.  
\*Not substituted  
in the  
rowme of an-  
other deceased.  
\*Caligula  
\*Or vnder.  
\*Or Mandi'ias.  
\*Or Laborious  
\*Licence st.  
be absent from  
the Camp

\*Caligula  
A.V.C.794:

\*Caligula  
A.V.C.794

disquieted as wel with the civil mutinies, among the soldiers, as tumultuous commotions of the barbarous inhabitants. Which commission he discharged with great regard of severe discipline & execution of iustice even in very small matters. A soldier of his there was, who during the expedition above said, in a great dearth and scarcity of Corne, was accused to have sold a residue remaining of his owne allowance, to wit, a \* Modious of wheat, \*for one hundred deniers: whereupon hee gave straight commandement, that when the said souldier began once to want food, no man should be so hardy as to relieve him. And so for hunger he pined to death. As for his civill iurisdiction and ministring iustice: when there grew some question and debate about the proprietarie and right owner of a labouring beast, and slight evidences and presumptions on both sides were alledged: as simple witness also produced and therefore hard to devine and guesse of the truth, he made this decree, That the beast should be led \* hoodwinked unto the poole where it was wont to be watered: and when it was unhooded againe, he awarded and pronounced the said beast to be his, unto whom of the own accord he returned directly after the had drunke.

8

For his brave exploits archieued both in *Africke* then, and also in *Germanie* afore time he received the honour of tryumphall Ornaments and a triple Sacerdotal dignitie; being admitted among the \* *Quindecimvirs*; into the guild and confraternitie of the (a) *Titij*: and the Colledge or societie of the Priests (b) *Augustales*. And from that time unto the midst well neere of *NERO*'s Empire, he lived for the most part private in some retiring place out of the way: yet so, as he never went forth any journey, (were it but for exercise by way of \* *Gestation*) but he tooke forth with him in a wagon going hard by, to the valew of a millian of *Sesterces* in gold untill such time, as making his abode in a towne called *Fundi*, the Regencie of a province in *Spaine* named *Tarracensis*, was offered unto him. And it fortuned, that when he was newly arrived and entred into that province, as hee sacrificed within a publike temple, a boy among other Ministers holding the \* *Censer*, sodainely had all the haire of his head turned gray. Now there wanted not some who made this interpretation, *That thereby was signified a change in the states*; and that an old man should succede a younge, even himselfe in *NERO*'s steed. And not long after, there fell a \* *Thuntherbolt* into a \* *lake of Cantabria*: and found there were immediatly twelve axes: a doubtlesse taken presaging Sovereine Rule.

9

For 8 yeares space he governed that province variably and with an vneven hand. At the first, sharpe he was, severe, violent, and in chastising verily of trespasses beyond all measure extreame. For he caused a Banker, for unfaithfull handling and exchange of mony to leese both his hands, and to have them nailed fast unto his owne shop board: A Guardian also he crucified, for poysoning his ward, whose heire he was in remainder. Now, as the partie *DELINQUENT* called for the benefit of law, and avouched in his plea. *That he \* was a Romaine Citizen*; *GALBA*, as if he would alay his punishment with some \* comfort and honour: commanded the crosse already made to be changed, and another to be reared far higher then the ordinarie: and the same laid over with a white colour. By little and little he grew to be slouthfull, carelesse and Idle: because he would minister no matter unto *NERO* for to worke upon: and for that (as himselfe was wont to say)

say) *No man was compelled to render an account of his owne Idlenesse*. As hee held the Iudiciall Affises at new *Carthage*, he had intelligence that \* *Gaule* was in a tumult. And whiles the \* *Emballadour* of *Aquitaine* besought him earnestly to send aide, the letters of *VINDEX* came in the very nick: exhorting him to frame and carie himselfe as the deliverer and protectour of *Mankinde*, even to take upon him to be their generall Captaine. He, making no longer stay upon the point, accepted the offer, partly for leare and in part upon hope. For he had both found out the warrants of *NERO* sent privily unto his Agents and procuratours there, as touching his death: and also much confirmed and strengthened he was, as well by most luckie Auspices and Offes, as by the prophesie of an honest Virgin: so much the rather, because the very same verses containing the prophesie, the priest of *IUPITER* at *Clunia*, had two hundred yeares past (by warning and direction given him in a dreame) fetched out of an inward and secret vault of the Temple, delivered them likewise by a maiden which had the spirit of prophesie. The meaning and effect of which verses was, *That one day there should arise out of Spaine the soveraigne Prince, and Lord of the whole world*.

Therefore, when he had mounted the Tribunall, as if hee intended then the \* manumiting of slaves, and set before him in open sight very many pourtraicts and Images of such as had beene condemned and killed by *NERO*: whiles their stood also in his presence a \* boy of noble blood, whom he had sent for of purpose out of one of the *Balear* Ilands hard by, where he was \* exiled: he bewailed the state of those times, Whereupon being with one accord saluted \* *Emperour*, yet he professed himselfe to be the Lieutenant onely of the Senate & people of *Rome*. After this, having proclaimed a Cessation of Iudiciall pleas for the time; out of the Commons verily of that Province, he entolled both Legions and Auxiliaries, over and above the old armie, which contained on Legion, two cornets of horsemen, & three cohorts: but out of the better sort, to wit, the Nobility and Gentry; such I meane as for wisdom & age wēt before the rest, he ordained a body of a Senate: unto whom men should have recourse touching matters of greater importace, as need required. He chose forth also young gentlemen, for the knights degree, who continuing still the wearing of (gold) Rings should be called \* *Evocati*, & kept watch and ward in steede of (sworne) \* *Soldiers* about his lodging and bedchamber. Hee sent out his Edicts also in every Province, counselling and perswading all and some to ioyne with him in these designements: and proportionally to the meanes that every one had, to helpe and promote the common cause. Much about the same time, in the fortification of a towne which he had chosen to be the Capitall seate of the warre, a Ring was found of Antique worke, in the Gemm or stone whereof was engraven the expresse resemblance of (a) victorie together with a (b) *Trophee*: And loone after, a ship of *ALEXANDREA* straight with armour, arrived \* before *Dertosa*, without pilot, without mariner or passenger: that noe man might make any doubt, but that this warre was just, lawfull, and undertaken with the favour and approbation of the Gods. But lo, sodainely and unlooked for, all in manner was dashed and put out of frame. One of the two Cornets of horsemen above mentioned; as bethinking themselves and repenting that they had changed their military oth was at the point to fall away and forsake him as hee approached the Campe, yea and hardly kept in their alleageance to him: Certaine slaves also, whom (being prepared a forehand to doe him a mischief) hee had received

\* Much about our peck, \* 3 1/2 S. 6 d sterl.

\* A some horse or mule  
\* Covered all over the head.

\* *Sacris facium*  
du, or *Sylliniis*  
libris *spicundus*  
i to oversee sacrifices and divine service or to peruse the propheticall books of *Sibyllae*. They were in number 15.

\* Carrying in a light litter or chaire.

\* *Incence Panne*  
\* Or dist of bright colour.  
\* *Lacum al.*  
Lucum, a groue.

\* And therefore not to be crucified.

\* *Solatio* & *honoris*, or comfortable honor.  
*Hon dia duo*.

\* For, they bee during spirits, that are locked into a State.  
A.V.C. 821  
\* France  
\* Or Lieutenant

10  
\* Enfranchisement.

\* Some noble transference of Rome  
\* By Nero  
\* or L. General

\* As if they had served their full time, and were now called forth againe by way of honour  
\* Where vtuall were rings of iron.

\* *Dertosa* appears in the *Deutscha* appears, hulled down the tide: or, as the wind did drive it



received as a present at the hands of a freed man of NEROES, mislaid but little of killing him, as he passed through a croffe lane to the Baines for to bath. And surely done the deed they had, but that as they exhorted and incouraged one another not to \* overslip the opportunitie presented. they were over heard: who being examined and asked, upon what occasion they spake such words? were by torture forced to confesse the truth.

\* Omitted or, antient 1-10 loose.

Besides these daungers so great, there fel out (to helpe the matter well) the death of VINDEX. wherewith being most of all amazed, and like to a man utterly forlorne, he went within a litle of renouncing this world and forgoing his owne life. But by occasion of messengers comming with newes from the City in the verie instant, no sooner understood he that NERO was slaine, and all men in general had sworne alleageance unto him, but he laide away the name of Lieutenant and tooke upon him the stile of CAESAR. So, he put himselfe on his Iourney clad in his Coatearmour, with his dagger hanging downe from about his necke iust before his breast: neither tooke he to the use of a gown and long robe againe, before they were surprisid and suppressed, who made insurrections and rose up in armes against \* him: namely, at Rome NYMPHIDIUS SABINVS Capitaine of the *Pratorian* guard: in *Germanie* FONTEIVS CAPITOLINVS & in *Africke* CLODIVS MACER, & Lieutenants.

\* Notwithstand- ing that vpon the death of Nero, he was declared Em- perour at Rome.

There had a rumour beene raised before of his crueltie and covetousnesse both for punishing the Citties of *Spaine* which were somewhat slacke in comming to fide with him, by laying very heavy tributes and taxes upon them: some of them also by dismanteling and raising their wals: likewise for putting to death certaine Presidents and Procuratours together with there wives and children: as also for melting a Coronet of gold weighing 15. pound: which the men of *Tarracon* from out of the old Temple of IVPITER had presented unto him: and commaunding that the three ounces which wanted of the full weight should be exacted and made good. This report was both confirmed and also increased upon his first entrance into *Rome*. For when he would haue compelled the servitours at Sea (whom NERO had made of mariners and oaremen, full and lawfull souldiers) to returne againe to their former state and condition: when they made refusall, and besides called malapertly for their Aegle and other militarie ensignes: hee not onely sent in, among them a troupe of horsemen and so trode them under foote; but also executed with death euery tenth man of them. Semblably, the Cohort of *Germanies* which in times past had beene by the CAESARS ordained for the guard of their persons, and by many good proofes were found most trustie, hee dissolved: and without any avails and recompence for their service sent them home againe into their Country: pretending that they stood better affected unto CN. DOLABELLA (neere unto whose Horthyards and gardens they quartered) than to him. Moreover, these reports also (whether truly or falsely I wote not) went commonly of him by way of mockerie. That when there was a more plentifull supper than usual served up before him, he gaue a great grone thereat. His Steward verily in \* ordinary cast up his bookes and rendred unto him a breviary of all reckonings, and accompts. For his great care and serviceable diligence, hee reached unto him a dish of \* puffle. But when CAIVS the minstrell played upon the Hautbois

\* Ordinaries Dispendaries or this one Ordinaris his steward.  
\* As of peascen or beanes &c.

the Hautbois and pleased him wonderous well, hee bestowed liberally upon him for his labour five good Deniers, and those he drew with his owne hand out of his privie purse.

At his first comming therefore, he was not so welcome. And that appeared at the next solemnitie of publick Shewes. For when as in the *Atellane Comædies*, some had begun a most vulgar Canticle with this verse,

*St: Venit Io Simus a villa, &c.*

\* St: See; Our SIMUS that Country clowne  
Is from his Ferme now come to towne.

The Spectatours all at once with one accord and voice, sung out the rest in manner of a respond: and repeating withall the said verse oft, as the fore-burden of the Song, acted (and with gesture) noted him.

Thus verily with farre greater favour and auctoritie obtained hee the Empire than menaged it when he was therein; notwithstanding, hee gave many proofes of an excellen Prince: But nothing so acceptable were his good Acts, as those were odious and displeasing wherein he faulted and did amisse. Ruled he was according to the will and pleasure of three persons: whom dwelling as they did together and that within the *Palatium*, (readie evermore at his elbow and in his eare) men commonly called his *Pedagogues*. These were, TITUS IUNIUS, his Lieutenant in *Spaine*; a man infinitely covetous: CORNELIUS LACO, who being of his Counsell and assistance was advanced by him to be Capitaine of the guard; one for his arrogancie and \* luskishnesse intollerable: and a freed man of his, ICELUS; who but a litle before, being honoured with the \* golden ring, and endowed with the surname MARTIANUS, looked now for to bee the Provost and Captaine of the Pretorian Gentlemen and Knights Degree. Vnto these men, I say, playing their parts and committing outrages correspondent to their vices in divers kinds, hee yeilded and wholly gave himselfe to be abused so much, as that scarcely he was like himselfe, but alwaies variable: one while precise and neere, otherwhiles as remisse and carelesse; more, ywis, than became a Prince elected, and a man of those \* yeeres. Some honourable persons of \* both degrees he condemned upon the least suspition, before their cause was heard. The Freedome of *Rome* Citie he seldome graunted to any. The priviledge and Immunitie due to those who had three children, hee gave to one or two at most with much a-doe: nor to them verily, but for a certaine time limitted and set downe. The Iudges making suite for to have a sixth Decurie adioyned unto them, he not onely denied flatly, but also this benefite of vacation graunted unto them by CLAUDIUS, That they should not be called forth to sit in the Winter (a) season, and at the beginning of the yeere, hee tooke from them.

It was thought also, that hee purposed to determine and limit the Offices belonging to Senatours and Gentlemen, within the compasse of two yeeres: and not to bestow the same but upon such as were unwilling and refused to take them. The Liberalities and bountifull \* Donations of NERO, hee tooke order by a Commission directed unto \* fiftie Gentlemen of *Rome*, for to bee revoked: yea, and the same to bee exacted for his behoofe, allowing out thereof

\* Or pence, 3. S. d. ob, Eng. lish.

I? See Turneb. Advers. 5. cap. 2. \* Hush or whist, an Interiection of silence.

\* Or Vinian

\* Secordia, or fortifines. \* Knighthood

\* Summa equi strigatus, or summi equitibus ordinis.

\* 72 Gentlemen and Senatours.

\* Which mounted according to Tacitus into his & vices milles 2200 milliares. \* Tacitus saith thereof 30.

thereof not above the tenth part: with this straight condition moreover, *That if Actours upon the Stage, or Wrestlers and Champions otherwise, had sold any such donation given unto them aforetime, the same should be taken from the Buiers, since that the parties who had sold the same had spent the money, and were not sufficient to repay it.* Contrariwise, there was not any thing, but by the means of his followers, Favorites and freed men, hee suffred either to bee purchased for money, or graunted freely for favour: as for example, *Customes, Imposts, Immunities, Punishments of the Innocent, and Impunitie of Malefactours.* Moreover, when as the people of Rome called upon him for iustice, & namely to have HALOTUS and TIGELLINUS executed, the onely men of all the bloud-hounds and instruments of NERO that wrought most mischief, he saved them from daunger: and besides, advanced HALOTUS to a most honourable Procuratorship: and in the behalfe of TIGELLINUS rebuked the people by an Edi&thil, for their crueltie unto him.

16

\* Propriis  
versis ordinibus  
offensis.

Having heereby given offence and \* discontentment, to the States and Degrees in manner all, yet he incurred the displeasure and ill will most of the Souldiours, For, when his Provosts had promised and pronounced unto them, (what time they sware allegiance unto him), a greater Donative than usually had beene given, hee would not make good and ratifie the same; but est-soones gave it out, *That his manner had ever beene to choose and not buy his Souldiours.* And as, upon that occasion verily hee angered all his Souldiours wheresoever: so, the Pretorians and those of his guard he provoked moreover with feare, and needled with offering them indignities; namely, by removing and displacing most of them one after another, as suspected persons, and the adherents of NYMPHIDIUS. But the forces of higher Germanie grumbled and fumed most of all, for being defrauded of their rewards for service performed against the French and Vindex. They were the first therefore that durst breake out into open disobedience: and upon the Newyeeres day refused to take an oath and binde themselves in allegiance unto any other than the Senate of Rome. They intended also to dispatch forthwith an Embassie unto the Pretorian guard, with these advertisements and messages from them, *Namely, That they were displeased with an Emperour made in Spaine: and therefore themselves should elect one, whom all the Armies in Generall might allow and approve.*

17

\* Semper, or  
super. I. belidc.

No sooner heard he this newes, but supposing that hee was become contemptible, not so much for his olde age, as his childlesse estate; hee presently out of the thick throng and middle multitude that came to salute him, caught hold of PISO FRUGILICINIANUS, a noble young Gentleman and of excellent parts; one whom in times past he had made right great account of, and \* alwaies in his will remembered as Inheritour to succede in his goods and name: Him he now called Sonne, him he presented unto the Pretorian Campe; and there before a publick assembly, adopted. But of the fore-saide Donative not a word all this while, no not at that very time. Whereby he ministred unto M. SALVIUS OTHO better occasion and readier meanes to accomplish his enterprises within fixe daies after this Adoption.

Many

18

Manie prodigious sights and those presented continuallie even from the verie first beginning, had portended unto him such an end as ensued. When all the way as hee journeyed, beasts were sacrificed to doe him honour in everie towne on both sides, it chaunced that a Bull astonied with the stroke of the Butchers axe, brake the bond wherewith hee stode tied and ranne full upon his Chariot; and rising up with his (fore) feete, all to be sprein&thil and drenched it with bloud. As he alight out of it, one of the guard and Pensioners about him, with the thrusting of the throng had like with his speare to have wounded him. As he entered also the Citie of Rome and so passed forward up to the Palatium; hee was welcomed with an Earthquake, and a certaine noise resembling the lowing of a beast. But there followed after these, greater Prodigies still and more fearefull. He had selected and layed by it selfe out of all his Treasure, aiewell set thick with pearle and pretious stones, for to beautifie and adorne his Goddesse Fortune at Tusculum. This Jewell (as if it had beene worthy of a more stately and sacred place), all of a suddaine hee dedicated to VENUS in the Capitoll, and the next night following he dreamt, that he saw Fortune making her moane and complaining, how shee was defrauded of the gift intended and meant unto her: threatening withall, that shee her selfe also would rake away what shee had given him. Now, being affrighted with this vision, when in great hast hee was gone apace to Tusculum, and had by breake of day sent certaine before of purpose to provide an expiatorie \* sacrifice for this dreame, he found nothing there but warme embers \* To avert the harme proge-  
noscitated  
theiby.  
\* Like a mour-  
ner.  
\* Ominous to-  
kens presaging  
haply his bris-  
tle state.  
\* Or chaire of  
Estate.

But before he was slaine, as he sacrificed that morning, the Southsayer oftentimes warned him to beware of daunger: For murderers were not farre off. And not long after hee tooke knowledge that OTHO was possessed of the \* Campe. And when most of those about his person perswaded him still to make what speed hee could and goe forward thither (for why? by his authority and presence hee might beare sway and prevaile) hee resolved to doe no more but keepe close within house: to stand upon his guard, and to fortifie himselfe with the strength of his legionarie Souldiours, in many and divers places quartered. Howbeit, hee put on a good linnen (a) Iack: although hee seemed to acknowledge, that in small speed it would stand him, against so many sword-points. But being borne in hand & seduced with rumours which the Conspiratours had of purpose spread abroad to traine him out into the open street: whiles some few rashly affirmed, *That all was dispatched; The rebels & seditious persons defeated: and the rest cōning in great frequencie wish joy & gratulation, ready to do him all the obsequious service they could:*

V 2

He

Hee to meete them went forth; and that with so great confidence as that unto a Souldiour who made his boast, *He had slaine OTHO*, hee answered, *And by whose warrant?* This aduanced he as farre as into the Market-place. There, the Horsemen having commission and commaundement to kill him: When they had voided the common people out of the way, and put their horses forward through the Streetes, and espied him a farre off, staied a while: but afterwards, setting spurres to againe, fell upon him and slew him outright, forsaken as he was of all his traine and followers.

20

There be that report, How at the first uprore, hee cried aloud: *What meane yee my fellow Souldiours?* I am yours, and yee are mine: and withall promised (to pay) the Donative: But, many more have left in writing, that of himselfe he offered them his throat, and willed them (since they thought so good) to mind that onely which they came for, even to strike and spare not. A strange and wonderfull thing it was, that of those who were there present not one went about to helpe their Emperour: and all that were sent for, reiected the messenger, saving onely a guidon of Germane Horsemen. These in regard of his fresh demerite (in that hee had tenderly cherished and made much of them being sicke and feeble) hastned to the rescue: Howbeit they came too late, by occasion, that beeing ignorant of the streetes and places they tooke a wrong way and were hindered. Killed hee was at the \* Lake Curtius, and there left lying even as hee was; untill such time as a common Souldiour as he returned from foraging and providing of corne, threw downe his load and cut his head off. Now, because hee could not catch hold of the haire of his head (so bald hee was) hee hid it in his lap: and anone thrust his thumbe into his mouth and so brought it to OTHO: who gave it to the \* Scullians, Lackies & \* Varlets that follow the Campe. These sticking it upon a speare caried it, not without reproachfull scorne all about the Campe setting up ever and anone this Note, \* GALBA, thou lovely CUPID take thy time, and make use of thy fresh and youtfull yeeres: Provoked they were, especially to such malapert frumps and floutes, because some daies before there ranne a rife report abroad, that unto one who commended that visage and person of his, as continuing still fresh, faire, and vigorous, he made this answer, *ἔτι μοι μένος ἐμὲν ἀδύνησιν.*

*I have yet still*

*My strength as will.*

At their hands, a freed man of PATROBIUS NERONIANUS, bought the same for one hundred (a) peeces of gold, and flung it into that very (b) place, where, before time his \* Patron by the commaundement of GALBA, had beene executed. At length (late though it was) his Steward ARGIVS buried both it and the trunk of his body within his owne private Hortyards in the way *Aurelia*.

21 Of full stature he was: his head bald: his eyes gray, and his nose hooked: his hands and feete by reason of the gout growne exceeding crooked; in so much as uneth he was able either to abide shooes on the one, or to turne over, or so much as hold his bookes with the other. There was an \* excrescence also of flesh in the right side of his body; and the same hung downward so much, as hardly it could be tied up with a \* trusse.

22 A great feeder and meate-man by report, he was. For in Winter time hee used to eate before day light: and at supper to bee served so plentifully, that the reliques and reversion of the board being gathered together into heapes, hee commanded

maunded to be caried round about and distributed among those that stood waiting at his feete. Given he was over much to the unnaturall lust of Male-kind: but such chose he (and none else) for his Dearlings, as were stale-thick-skins and past growth. It was reported that in *Spaine* when ICBULUS one of his olde Catamites brought him word of NERO's end, he not onely received him in open fight with most kinde kisses, but intreated him without delay to be \* plucked, and so led him \* Made smooth at one side out of the way.

23 He died in the 73 yeere of his age, and seventh moneth of his Empire. The Senate as soone as lawfully they might, had decreed for him a Statue standing upon a Colonne adorned \* with the Stemmes and beake-heads of ships, in that part \* *Refractas* of the Mercate-stead of *Rome* where hee lost his life: But VESPASIAN repealed that Decree: as being thus conceited of him, That he had suborned and sent under hand out of *Spaine* into *Iurie*, certaine of purpose to murder him.



V 3

\* The place, whereof some thinke that lake was.

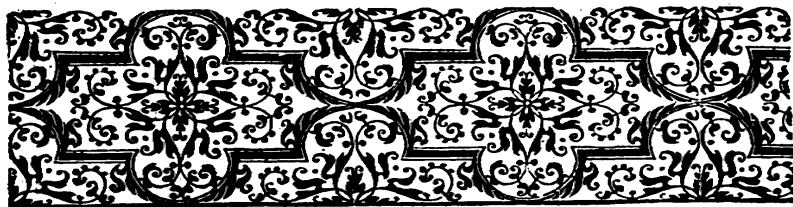
\* Or water: bearers and wood purveyors for the Souldiours.  
\* Galba, Cupido, &c.

\* Homer, Iliad. 3  
Diomedes to Sthenelus.

\* Patrobius.

\* Or bunch.

\* Or swathing band.



# THE HISTORIE OF Marcus Salvius Otho, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



Chap. I

**T**HE Aunccestors of Otho had their beginning in a towne called *Ferentinum*; extract out of an auncient and honourable family, even from the Princes of *Hetruria*. His grandfather M. SALVIUS OTHO having for his Father a Gentleman of *Rome*, and for his mother a woman of base condition (and whether shee was free-borne or no? it is uncertaine) through the favour of LIVIA AUGUSTA, in whose house he had his rising and growth, was made a Senatour, and exceeded not the degree of a Pretour. His Father, L. OTHO by his mothers side of right noble blood descended, and thereby allied to many great kinreds, was so deere and in face so like unto TIBERIUS the Emperour, that most men beleeved verily, hee was his owne sonne. The Honourable Offices within the Citie: the Proconsulship of *Asia*, and other extraordinarie places of Conduct and Com-

maund,

maund, hee managed most severely. Hee adventured also in *Illyricum* to proceed so far, as to put certaine soldiers to death, for that in the commotion of CAMILLVS upon a touch of conscience they had killed their \* Captaines and pro-  
vofts, as authors of the revolt and rebellion against CLAVDIVS, and verily this execution himselſe in person saw performed in the Campe (a) even before the *Principia*: notwithstanding that he knew they were for that service advanced to higher places by CLAVDIVS. By which act of his as he grew in glory, so hee decreased in favour. And yet the same he soone recovered againe, by detecting the perfidious plot of a Romaine Knight, whom by the appeachment of his own servants he found to have attempted the death of CLAVDIVS. For, both the Senate endowed him with an honour most rare and seldom scene, to wit his owne statue erected in the *Palatium*; and also CLAVDIVS when he ranged him among the Partitians, and in most honourable tearmes praised him added these words withall, *Hee is a man, than whom I would not wish I assure you to have better Children of mine owne.* Of ALBIA TERENTIA a right noble and gallant Lady he begat two sonnes, LVCIVS TITIANVS, and a younger forenamed MARCVS, and carying the surname of his father: a daughter also hee had by her, whom as yet not mariageable, he affianced unto DRVSVS the sonne of GERMANICVS.

\* Or his, *Caius*  
*millus,*

*Otho:*

This OTHO the Emperour, was borne the 4. day before the Kalends of May, when CAMILLVS ARRVNTIVS and DOMITIVS AENOBARVS were Con-  
suls. From the very prime of his youth, hee was riotous, wild and wanton: in so much as his father twinged him well and soundly for it: reported also to use night walking; and as he met any one either feeble or cupshotten or overcome with drinke to catch hold of him, lay him upon a soldiers gaberdine, and so (b) to tolle and hoist him up into the aire. Afterwardes, upon his fathers death, a certaine Libertine woman of the Court, a dame very gracious (because hee would make the more benefit by following and courting her as his mistress) he pretended love unto: albeit an old trot shee was in manner dotting for age, By her meanes winding himselſe into the favour of NERO, he easily obtained the cheife place among his minions and favorites (such was the congruence of their humours and dispositions) and as some write by mutuall abusing also of one anothers bodie against kind. But so mightie hee waxed and bare such a side, as that in consideration of a great peece of money agreed upon, he presumed to bring into the Senate house for to give \* thanks, a man of Consular degree, who stood condemned for extortion, even before hee had fully obtained his \* restitution.

\* For pardon  
\* Restoring to  
his former  
state.

Being now, as he was, privie and partie to all the counsels and secret designs of NERO: he to avert all manner of suspicion, that very day which NERO had appointed for the murdering of his mother, entertained them both at supper with most exquisite, and the kindest welcome that might be. Semblably, Dame POP-  
PÆA SABINA, being as yet but the paramour of NERO, whom he had newly taken from her \* husband, and committed in the meane \* while unto himselſe upon trust for to keepe, under a \* colour of mariage hee received: And not content herewith that he alienated her hart from NERO and used her body, hee loved her so entirely, that he could not endure NERO himselſe to be his \* Corrivall. Certes, it is thought of a truth, that not onely the messengers who were sent to fetch her,

\* Rufus Crispus  
\* vntill he could  
put awaie Otho-  
nia  
\* So writeth  
Dionarch But  
Tacitus differ-  
eth from this  
Narration.  
\* Partner with  
him in love of  
that Mistress  
came

came againe without her: but also that one time he kept NERO himselfe without doores standing there and cooling his heeles, with threats also and prayers intermingled, demanding his \*pawne which hee had left with him, but all in vaine. Whereupon after the said marriage broken and dissolved, sent out of the way hee was under a pretence of an Embassage into *Portugal*: Which course was thought sufficient for feare least his proceeding to any sharper punishment might have told \*tales abroad and marred all the play: howbeit as secretly conueied as it was, out it came and was made knowne by this Distichon.

*Cur Otho mentito sit quaritis exul honore?*

*Exoris Machus caper at esse sua.*

Exil'd in (shew of) Embassage was OTHO. Aske yee, 'why?

With his owne wife begon he had to act (a) adulteric.

Having beene afore time in no higher place then Questour, yet governed hee a province for the space of x yeeres with singular \*moderation and \*abstinence.

4 As occasion at length and opportunitie of \*revenge was offered, he was the first that combined with GALBA in his attempts. At which very instat himself also conceived hope of the Empire: & great the same was, no doubt; considering the condition and state of those times, but greater somewhat by reason of SELEVCVS the Astrologers words: who having long before warranted him that he should survive NERO, was then of his owne accord come unlooked for & promised againe that shortly also he should be Emperour. Omittin' therefore no kind of obsequious office & ambitious popularity even to the very meanest: looke how often he invited the \*Emperour to supper, he wold deale throughout the Cohort that the warded, to every man a peece of \*gold: & no lesse carefull was he to oblige unto him one way or other, the rest of the soldiers. And when one of them went to law with his neighbour about a parcell of ground in the skirts and confines of both their lands, he being chosen Arbitratour, bought the whole land for the said souldier and enfeofed him in it. So as now by this time there was scarce one, but both thought and said that he alone was worthy to succcede in the Empire.

5 Moreover he had fed himselfe with hopes to have beene adopted by GALBA & that looked hee for daily: But after that PISO was preferred and himselfe disappointed of his hope, he turned to plaine violence: pricked thereto, over and besides the discontentment of his mind, by occasion that he was so deeply indebted: For he stucke not to professe, *He was not able to stand, unlesse he were Emperour: And is skilled not whether he were overthrowne by hisemie in the field, or fell under his creditours hands at the Barre.* Some few daies before, he had letcht over one of CÆSARS servants in a millene of Sesterces for the obtaining of a Stewardship: & with the helpe of this sum of mony, enterprised he so great a proiect. At the first he committed the matter to 5. \*souldiers employed in *Espsiall*: then to x. others whom they had brought forth with them, to wit every man twaine. To ech one of these he paid in hand x thousand \*sesterces, & promised 50000 more. By these were the rest solicited, & that number not very many: as making no doubt but presuming confidently of this that a thome besides would be ready in the very action to second it.

6 He had minded once, presently after the adoption (of PISO) to seize their campe into his owne hands, and so to set uppon GALBA as hee sat at supper in the Pallace: but the respective regarde hee had of the Cohort, which then kept watch and warde, hee checked this intent of his: for feare least the same

should incurre the intolerable hatred of the world: considering, by the guard of that very Cohort, CAIVS had beene slaine before, and NERO perfidioullie betrayed afterwards. Moreover, exception was taken against the middle time betwene, partly vpon, a \*superstition that hee had, and in part by direction from SELEVCVS. Well then, vpon a \*day appointed, after warning giuen aforehand unto those that were privie to the conspiracie, for to attend him in the market place at the golden (a) *Milliarium* under the Temple of Saturne, hee saluted GALBA in the morning, and (as the manner was) beeing received with a kisse, was present also as hee sacrificed and heard the Soothsayers predictions. Which done, a freed man of his brought him word that the Architects were come (this was the watchword agreed upō between the) wherupō as if forsooth he were to look upon an house that was to be sold, he departed, gat him quickly away through the backe side of the Palace, and hied a pace toward the place appointed. Others say, that he feigned himselfe to have an ague, and willed those that stood next to him to make that excuse in case he were asked for. Then lying hidden within a womans \*Lifter, he hastened to the Campe: and for that the Lifter bearers were tired and faint, hee alighted on the ground and beganne to runne a foote: but by occasion that his shooes latchet was slacke, he stayed behinde, untill such time as without any further delay, he was taken up on mens shoulders, and by the traine and Company there present saluted Emperour; and so with, lucky acclamations among drawn swords, came as farre as to the \**Principia* whiles every one all the way hee went adhered unto him, as if they had beene all privie and party in the conspiracy. There, after he had dispatched certaine away to kill both GALBA and PISO, he to win the soldiers hearts by faire promises, protested before them all assembled together, *That himselfe would haue and hold no more, then inft that which they would leaue for him.*

7 This done, as the day drewe toward euening, he entred into the Senate: and briefly laying before them a reason of his proceeding, as if he had beene caried away perforce out of the market place and compelled to take the Empire upon him (which he would administer according to the generall will and pleasure of the al), to the pallace he goeth. Now when as beside other sweet & plausible words deliuered by such as did congratulate and flatter him, he was by the base comon people called NERO, he gaue no token at al that he refused it: nay rather as some haue reported, euer in his patents, graunts and missives which he first wrote unto certaine presidents & gouernours of Prouinces, he added unto his stile the surname of NERO. This is certain, he both suffered his \*images and \*Statues to be erected againe in their own places: & also restored his Procuratours & freed men to the same offices that they had enioyed before. Neither, by his imperiall prerogative and absolute power subscribed he any, thing, before a warrant for fiftie \*millions of Sesterces to the finishing of (NEROES) golden house. It is said that the same night being affrighted in his sleepe hee goned very sore, and was by his seruitors that ran thick into the chamber found lying on the bare floore before his bed: also that he assaied by all kind of propitiatorie sacrifices and peace offerings to appease the \*spirit of GALBA, whome hee had seene in his sleepe, to thrust and drive him forth: Semblably, the morrow after as he was taking his \*Auspices, there arose a sodaine tempest wherupon

\* Scrupulosity.  
\* 15 Januarij

\* Or close  
chaire, wherein  
women use  
to be carried.

A.V.C. 822  
\* A principall  
place within  
the Camp.

\* Which either  
were of wax, or  
peinted.

\* Commonly  
of brasse solid  
or such solid  
matter.

\* quingentias  
His or Sesteris  
num

\* Or Ghost.  
\* by observing  
the faced  
Birds:

hee

\*pledge or  
gage, to wit  
Poppas

\*How Nero  
had beene ex-  
cluded & shut  
out of doores  
&c.  
\* ij, Verses.

\* Without  
rigour  
\* Without pil-  
ling, polling &  
extortion.  
A.V.C. 821  
\* Of Nero.

\* Galba.  
\* 15, S. 7, D.  
ob, English,

\* Speculatribus  
\* 100, Aureo-  
very Aureas  
being 15, S.  
7, D, ob,



hee caught a grievous fall, and oftentimes hee mumbled this to himselfe.

Τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροὺς αὐλῶν;

For, how can (a) I (whose blast is short)

With these long haubtboies filly sort?

8

And verily about the same time, the forces and Armies in (a) *Germanie* had sworne fealtie and alleageance unto VITELLIVS, which when he understood, hee pronounced unto the Senate, *That an Embassage might be sent thither, to auvertise the that there was an Emperour chosen already, and advise them with all to peace and concord: yet, by entercourse of messengers and letters between, he made offer unto VITELLIVS to partake equally with him in the Empire, and accept of a marriage with his daughter:* But when there was no way but one and that by open warre: seeing that

\*For Fabius Pictus and Aulus Cicerus were come with a power out of *Germanie* into *Italie*.

\*By Otho & the Senate.

\*with which the 17<sup>th</sup> cohort set for out of the *Colonie Ostia* before to Rome should be amended.

\*The Pretoria or guard Soldiers.

\*who to the number of four score, with many Latins were at supper that night with Otho and by the soldiers suspected to have plotted his death.

\*Or Mars.

\*Gall.

\*The infernall God so named *quasi dives* i. rich as *Pluto*, of *Pluto's* riches because all things arise out of the earth and fall into it againe.

now already the Capitaines and forces which VITELLIVS had sent before, approached hee had good prooffe what loyall and faithfull hearts, the pretorian souldiers caried towards him, even to the utter ruine and destruction well neere of the most honourable degree of Senators. Nowe decreed it had \*beene, that by the Sea servitours the \*armour should be conveyed over and sent backe (to *Ostia*) by shipping. And as the said armour was in taking forth out of the armorie in the Campe, at the shutting of the Evening, some (souldiers) suspecting treacherie and treason; raised a tumult and gave an Alarum: wherewith sodainly all of \*them without any certaine leader to conduct them, ranne to the Palace, calling hard to have the \*Senate massacred: and when they had repelled some of the Tribunes who assaied to repress their violence, and killed other of them, all embroied in blood as they were, and askinge still where the Emperour was? they rushed in as farre as into his banquetting rowme, and never rested untill they had seene him. Then set he forward his expedition lustilie: and beganne with more hast then good speed; without any care at all of religion and the will of God: as having onely stirred and taken those sacred \*shields (b) called *Ancilia*, and not bestowed them quietly againe in their due place (a thing in olde time held ominous and ever presaging ill lucke): Besides, the very same day it was upon which the priests and ministers of (*Cybele*) the mother of the Gods, beginne to lament, wepe and waile: to conclude, when all signes and tokens, were as crosse as possibly they might be. For not onely in the beast killed for sacrifice unto Father \*Dis, he found the Inwards propitious (whereas in such a sacrifice as that the contrarie had beene more acceptable) but also as his first setting out, staied he was by the inundation, and swelling of the riuer *Tiberis*. At the twentieth miles ende likewise, he found the high way choaked and stopped up against him with the ruines of certaine houses fallen downe.

9

With like inconsiderate rashnes, albeit no man doubted but that in good policy, the warre ought to have been protracted, because the enimie was distressed as well with famine, as the streight wherein he was pent, yet resolved hee with all speed, to hazard the fortune of the field and to trie it out by fight; as one, either impatient of longer thought and pensiveness hoping that before the comming of VITELLIVS most part of the businesse, might be dispatched, or else because hee could not rule his souldiers calling so hotely upon him to give battaile. Yet was not he present in that conflict but staied behind at *Bryxellum*. And verily in three several skirmishes

skirmishes, which were not great, to wit, upon the Alpes, about *Placentia* and at *Castoris*, \* (a place so called) he wan the victorie: but in the last battaile of all, (which was the greatest) he lost the day, and was by a treacherous practise vanquished, namely, when upon hope of a parly pretended, as if the soldiers had been brought out of the Campe to treat of conditions of peace: sodainly and unlooked for, even as they \*saluted one another, there was no remedie but fight it out they must. And straight wayes in a melancholy, he conceived a resolution to make himselfe away (as many are of opinion and not without cause) rather for shame, that he would not be thought to persevere in the maintenance of his soveraine dominion with so great jeopardie of the State and losse of men, than upon any dispaire or distrust of his forces. For still there remained a puissant armie whole and entier, which he had detained with him for tryall of better fortune: and another poure was comming out of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Mesias*. Neither verily were they discomforted so much daunted and dejected, but that, for to be revenged of this disgrace and shamefull foile, ready they were of themselves, and alone without helpe of others, to undergoe any hard adventure whatsoever.

10 In this warre served mine own father SVETONIUS LENIS, in qualirie of a Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, and by degree a Senator\* of the seconde rancke. He was wont afterwards very often to report that OTHO even when hee lived a private person, detested all civile warres so farre forth, that as one related at the table the ende of CASSIVS and BRUTVS, he fell a quaking and trembling therat. Also, that he never would have beene GABRIEL concurrent, but that he confidently thought, the quarrell might have ended without warre. Well then, upon a new accident incited he was to the contempt of this present life, even by the example of a common and ordinary souldier: who reporting this overthrowe of the armie, when he could of no man have credite, but was charged one while with the lie, another while for his feare and cowardise (as who was run away out of the battaile) tell upon his owne sword at OTHOES feete. At which sight, hee cryed out aloud and said, *That he would no more call so brave men and of so good desert into danger*. Having exhorted therefore his owne brother, his brothers sonne & every one of his freinds severally, to make what shift they could for themselves, after hee had embraced & kissed them each one, he sent them all away: And retrying himselfe into a secret rowme, two letters he wrote full of consolation unto his sister, as also to MESSALLINA, NEROES widow, whom he had purposed to wed, recommending the reliques of his bodie and his memoriall. And looke what Epistles soever hee had in his custody, he burnt them all, because they should breed no man any danger losse, or displeasure with the conquerour. And out of that store of treasure which hee had about him, he dealt monie to his domestical servitours.

11 Being now thus prepared and fully bent to die, perceiving by occasion of some hurtliburly, which while he made delay, arose, that \*those who began to slip away & depart, were (by his souldiers) rebuked as traytors & perforce detained. Let vs quoth he, prolong our life yet this one night: Vpon which words and no more, hee charged that no violence should be offered to any; but suffering his bedchamber (doore) to stand wide open until it was late in the evening, he permitted all that wold to have access unto him. After this, having allayed his thirst with a draught of cold water he caught up two \*daggers, & when he had tryed how sharpe the points of them both were, and layed one of them vnder his \*pillow: & so the doores being fast shut

\*Tacitus calleth it *Castellum*, or rather *Castellum* of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

\* By the name of *Commilitones*: in ipsa consulatione. Some read in ipsa consulatione, as they were in consultation.

\* Or Colonel, *Angustidivus*.

\* i. The Senators.

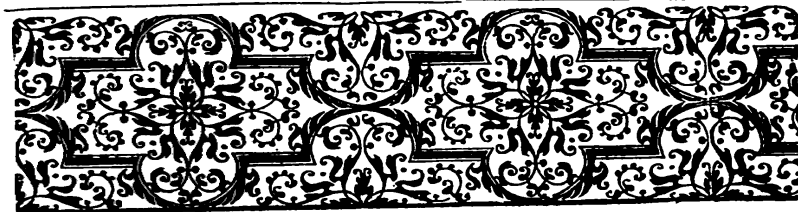
\* Or rapier  
Or beds-head  
he

he tooke his rest and slept most soundly. Wakening then at last about day light and not before, with one onely thrust under his left pap he stabbed himselfe. And whe at the first grone that he gave, his seruants brake in, hee one while concealing and another while discovering the wound, yeelded up his vitall breath, and \* quicklie (according as he had given charge before) was brought to his funerall fire: in the yeere of his age 38. and the 95 day of his Empire.

\*For feare his head should be severed from his bodie &c. A, V, C, 822.

\*Or counterfeit cap of false haire.

12 Vnto so great a mind & generous courage of OTHO, neither was his perso nor habite answerable: For he was by report of a meane and low stature: feeble feet he had besides, and as crooked shanks. As for his manner of attire, as fine and nice he was well neere as any woman: his bodie plucked and made smooth: wearing by reason of thin haire a \* perrucke, so fitted and fastened to his head, that no man there was, but would haue taken it for his owne. Nay his very face he was wont euery day to shave and besieere all ouer with (a) soked bread. Which devise he tooke to at first, when the downe began to bud forth, because he would neuer haue a beard. It is said moreover, that many a time hee openlie celebrated the diuine seruice and sacred rites of Iesus, in a religious vestiment of linnen. VVhereby, I would thinke it came to passe, that his death nothing at all consonant to his life was the more wondered at. Manie of his souldiers who were present about him, when with plentifull teares they had kissed his hands and feete dead as he lay, and comended him with all for a most valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was, presently in the place, and not farre from his funerall fire, killed themselves. Many of them also, who were absent, hearing of the newes of his end, for very greife of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death. Finally most men who in his life time cursed and detested him, now when he was dead highly praised him: so as it came to be a common and rife speech abroad, That GALBA was by him slaine; not so much for that he affected to be Soueraine Ruler as because he desired to restore the State of the Republike, and recouer the freedome that was lost.



# THE HISTORIE OF Aulus Vitellius, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



**A**S touching the Originall and beginning of the VITELLI, Chap. 1  
some write this, others that; and all as contrary as may be:  
reporting it partly to be auncient and noble; and in part now  
start up and obscure, yea and very base and beggerly. Which  
I would suppose to have hapned by meanes of the flatterers  
and backbiters both, of VITELLIVS the Emperour: but  
that I see there is sometime variance and diversity about the  
very condition of that family. A little booke there is extant of one (a) Q. EULO-  
GIUS his making, written unto Q. VITELLIVS, Questor to AVOUSTVS C-  
sar of sacred memorie: wherein is contained thus much, That the Vitellij descen-  
ded from FAVNVS K. of the Aborigines and Lady VITELLIA (who in many places  
was

Chap. 1

\*Extat Q. Eul-  
logij.

was worshipped for a Goddesse) reigned over all Latium: That the of-spring remaining of them, removed out of the Sabines Country to Rome, and were taken into the ranke of the Patritij: That many monuments giving testimony of this race, continued a long time, to wit, the high way VITELLIAREACTING from \* Ianiculum to the sea: like-wife a Colonie of the same name, the defence and keeping whereof against the Aequuli, they in times past required, with the strength onely and puissance of their owne family: Moreover, that afterwards in the time of the Samnites warre, when a garrison was sent \* into Apulia, some of the Vitellij remained behind at Nuceria: and their progenie many a yeere after returned to Rome and recovered their Senaturs degree.

Contrariwise, more Authors there be, who have left upon record, that their Stock-father was a Libertine. CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others as well as hee, doe write That the same man was also a very \* Cobler: whose sonne having gotten more by \* chaffering (a) at a price for the confiscate goods of men \* condemned, and by games arising of (a) undertaking mens suites, of a common naughty pack, the daughter of one ANTIOCHUS a Baker, begat a sonne, who proved afterwards a Gentleman of Rome. This difference of opinions I leave indifferent for men to beleve which they will. But, to the purpose; PUBLIUS VITELLIVS borne in Nuceria, (whether he were of that auncient linage, or descended from base parents and Grandfathers) a Romaine Gentleman doublelesse, and a Procurator under AUGUSTUS of his affaires, left behind him foure sonnes, men of qualitie all and right honourable persons; bearing also their Fathers \* surname: and distinguished onely by their forenames, AULUS, QUINTUS, PUBLIUS and LUCIUS. AULUS died even when he was Consul: which dignity he had entred upon with DOMITIUS the Father of NERO CESAR: a man very sumptuous otherwise in his house and much spoken of for his magnificent suppers. QUINTUS was displaced from his Senatours estate, what time as by the motion and perswasion of TIBERIUS there passed an Act: That such Senatours as were thought insufficient should be called out and removed. PUBLIUS a Companion and Dependand of GERMANICUS, accused and convicted CN. PISO his \* mortall enemy, and the man who murthered him: And after the honourable place of Prætor, being apprehended among the Complices of SEIANUS Conspiracie and committed to the keeping of his \* brother, with a penknife cut his owne veines: and after that, not so much repenting that hee sought his owne death, as overcome with the earnest intreatie of his friends about him, suffered his wounds to be bound up and cured: but in the same \* imprisonment hee died of sickness. LUCIUS, after his Consulship being \* Provost of Syria: with passing fine flights and cunning deuises trained and enticed forth ARTABANUS King of the Parthians, not onely to parly with him, but also to worship and adore the Standard, of the Romaine Legions. Soone after, together with CLAUDIUS the Emperour, he bare two ordinarie Consulates, one immediatly upon another, and the Censureship also: likewise the charge of the whole Empire, whiles CLAUDIUS was absent in the expedition of Britaine, he sustained: an harmlesse person; active and industrious: howbeit blemished with a very bad name, for the love (b) he bare unto a Libertine woman: whose spittle mixed with honey he used as a \* remedie (and that not closely and seldome but every day and openly) washing therewith his \* pipes and throat. He was besides of a wonderfull glavering nature and given to flatteries. He it was, that first by his example brought up the order to \* adore CAIUS CESAR as a God, what time as being returned out of Syria, he durst not

come

come into his presence otherwise than with his head \* covered, turning himselfe about, and then falling downe prostrate before him at his feete. And because he would omit no artificiall meanes to curry favour with CLAUDIUS, a Prince so (b) addicted to his wife & freed men, he made suit unto MESALLINA, as if it had beene for the greatest gift thee could bestow upon him, to doe him the grace that he might have the Doffing of her shoes: and the (c) right foote pumpe which he had drawne off, hee caried in his bosome continually betweene his gowne and inward clothes: yea, and many times would kisse the same. The golden images also of NARCISSUS and PALLAS hee reverently honoured among his domesticall Gods. This was a word likewise of his, when he did congratulate CLAUDIUS at the exhibiting of the \* Secular plaies, *Septuaginta*. i. Many a time may you this doe. He died of a (a) palsey, the very next day, after it tooke him: leaving behind him two sonnes, whom SEXTILIA his wife a woman for her vertue highly approved, and of no meane parentage descended, bare unto him. Them he saw both, Confuls, and that in one yeere, yea and the same throughout; for that the younger succeeded the elder for fixe moneths: When hee was departed this life, the Senate graunted unto him the honour of a publick funerall: a statue likewise before the *Rostra* with this Inscription, *Pietatis immobilis erga principem*. i. \* Of constant ce-votion and irremoveable pietie to his Prince.

3 AULUS VITELLIVS the sonne of LUCIUS, and Emperour, was borne the \* eighth day before the Calends of October: or, as some will have it, the \* leventh day before the Ides of September, when DRUSUS CÆSAR and NORBANUS FLACCUS were Consuls. His \* Nativity foretold by the Astrologers, his parents had in such horrour; that his father endevoured alwaies what he could, that no Province whiles he livd should be committed unto him: and his mother what time he was both sent unto the Legions and saluted \* Lord Generall. straight-waies lamented as if then he had beene undone for ever. His childhood & flower of youth hee spent at Caprea among the Strumpets and Caranites that TIBERIUS kept there: Himselfe noted alwaies with the surname of \* SPINTRIA, was thought also by suffering the abuse of his owne body to have beene the cause of his fathers rising and advancement.

4 All the time also of his age ensuing stained as he was with all manner of reproachable villanies, so hee caried a principall sway above others in the Court, grown into familiar acquaintance with CAIUS for his love to chariot running, and with CLAUDIUS for his affection to dice-play: but in greater favour he was a good deale with NERO, both in the selfe same regards afore-said, as also for this especiall demerite, in that being president at the solemnity called *Neronenum* when NERO was desirous to strive for the prise among the Harpers & Musicians, but yet durst not promise so to do, (notwithstanding all the people called instantly upon him) and thereupon went out of the Theater: hee pretending that hee was sent Embassadour unto him from the people persisting still in their earnest request, had called him back and so brought him in the end to be entreated.

5 Through the favourable indulgence therefore of three Emperours, being advanced not onely to right honourable offices of State, but also to as high Sacerdotal dignities, he managed after all these the Proconsulate of *Africa*, & executed the charge of surveying and supravising the publick works: but with mind and reputation both, far unlike. For in his Province he demeaned himselfe for two yeeres

X 2

together

\* Or cauley.  
\* An hill on the other side of Tiberis, adjoining to Rome by a bridge.  
\* B. the Romaines:

2

\* Suborem veteramentarium.  
\* Or proscinded and outlawed:  
\* Scilicetibus cognituris:

\* Which as O-mphrius saith, was Nepos.  
A, V, C. 785

\* Of Germanicus Cæsar:  
A, V, C. 713

\* Aulus.  
A, V, C. 788  
\* Or restraint of liberty and dureffe.  
A, V, C. 788  
\* Or President  
A, V, C. 787  
796  
800  
809  
797

\* A Collusion,  
\* Arterian.  
\* Or salute after a devout manner.  
\* Caligula.

\* Which bethe reuerer: gestures used in worshipping the Gods See, Plin. l. b. 18, cap. 2.

\* So called, because they were solenized but once in an hundred, or an hundred & x. yeeres  
A, V, C. 768

\* Subaudi (a man).  
\* 14 September 7th, Of September.  
\* Or fortune by the Horoscope of his Nativity.  
\* Or Emperour  
\* A deifier of new fashions & formes of filthy uncleannes

together with singular *innocencie* and integrity; as who after his brother succeeded in his stead, staid there still in quality of his Lieutenant. But in his office within the Citie, he was reported to have secretly stolen away, the oblations, gifts and ornaments of the Temples; to have embecilled and chaunged some of them; yea, and in lieu of gold and silver to have foisted in Tinn and Copper.

6

Hee tooke to wife *PETRONIA* the daughter of one that had beneene Confull, by whom hee had a sonne with one eye named *PETRONIANVS*. Him being by his \* mother ordained her heire upon condition that he were freed once out of his fathers power, he manumitted in deede: but soone after (as it was thought) killed: having charged him besides with parricidie, and pretending withall, that the poison which was provided to worke that mischiefe; hee upon remorse of conscience had drunke himselfe. After this, he wedded *GALBIA FUNDANA*, whose father had beneene Pretour: and of her body also begat children of both sexes: but the male child had such an impediment of stutring and stammering, that little better he was than dumbe and tonguelesse.

7

By *GALBA*, sent he was contrary to all expectation into the Low-Countries of *Germanie*: furthered as it is thought by the voice and favour of *T. VINIUS* a man in those daies most mighty; and unto whom long before, he had been wonne by favourizing the \* faction (s) unto which they both were equally affected: but that *GALBA* professed plainly, that none were lesse to be feared than those who thought of nothing but their victuals onely, and that his greedy appetite and hungry belly might bee satisfied and filled with the plenteous store that the Province did yeeld. So that evident it was to every man, that he chose him in contempt rather, than upon any speciall grace. This is for certaine knowne, that when he was to goe forth, he wanted provision for his journey by the way; and for the maintenance of his family was driven to those hard shifts and extremities, that muing up his wife and children (whom he left at *Rome*) in a little upper \* lodging that he \* rented: and let out his owne dwelling house for the rest of the yeere: yea, and tooke from his mothers care a pearle, which he laid to gage: and all for to defray the charges of that voiage. As for a number verily of his Creditours, who waited for him as ready to stay his passage: and among them, the *Sinuessanes* and *Formians*, whose publick imposts, tollage, and renewes he had intercepted and converted to his owne use, he could not be rid of; but by terrifying them with an action of the case: serving one of them, and namely a *Libertine* (who very eagerly demanded a debt) with proceffe upon an action of batterie, as if he had stricken him with his heele; and would not withdraw the suit before he had extorted from him fiftie thousand *Sesterces*. In his comming toward the Campe, the armie maliciously bent against the Emperour, and ready to intertaine any revolt and chaunge of State, willingly and with open armes received him, as a gift of the Gods presented unto them from heaven above; the sonne of one thrice Confull; a man in the vigour and strength of his yeeres; of a gentle disposition besides, and of a frank and prodigall heart. Which opinion and persuasion, being of old conceived and settled in mens heads, *VITELLIVS* had augmented by some fresh proofes lately given of himselfe: kissing all the way as hee went along every meane common Souldiour that hee met: so courteous and affable above all measure, to the very mulitiers and wayfaring passengers, in every Inn and baiting place, that he would

\* Deceased:

\* *Venus*, which *Galba* likewise with them favoured.  
A, V, C, 831

\* For in such, tenants dwelt, whereas the Lord himselfe kept beneath.  
\* Took for rent.

in a morning betimes aske them one by one, whether they had yet broken their fast? and shew unto them even by his belching, that hee had bene at his breakfast already.

8

Now when hee was entred once into the Camp, no suit denied he to any man: nay, of his owne accord hee tooke off their marks of ignominie who stood in disgrace; dispented with those that were obnoxious to the Lawes for wearing poore and sullied garments; and forgave condemned persons their punishments. Whereupon, before one moneth was fully come and gone, without all respect either of day or time, when the very evening was now shooing in, suddainly by the Souldiours called forth he was out of his bed-chamber: and clad as he was in his domestickall and home-apparrell, saluted by the name of *Imperator*, and caried round about through the most frequented and populous \* townes, holding in his hand the naked sword of *IULIUS* (Dictator) of famous memorie: which beeing taken out of the temple of *Mars*, was at the first gratulation presented by one unto him. Neither returned he into the \* Pretorium, before the dining room was on a light fire, by occasion of the chimney there, where it first caught. And then verily, when all besides were amazed and in great perplexity upon this adverse and ominous accident; *Be of good cheere*, quoth hee, *it hath shined faire upon us*: and no other speech at all made hee unto his Souldiours: After this, when the armie also of the higher Province, consented now by this time with the other, (that armie I meane which had revolted before from *GALBA* & sided with the Senate): the surname of *GERMANICVS* generallie offered unto him hee gladly accepted; the addition of *AUGUSTVS* he put off; and the stile of *CÆSAR* hee utterly for ever refused.

A, V, C, 832

\* *Vicus*, or street: of *Colonia Agrippina* where all this was done, as some write.  
\* The L. Generals lodging.

9

And soone after, when newes came unto him that *GALBA* was slaine; having settled the State of *Germanie*, he divided his forces thus; sending one part thereof \* before, against *OTH*; and minding to leade the rest himselfe. Vnto the armie which was sent before, there hapned a fortunate and luckie signe: For on the right hand, all on a suddaine flew an Eagle toward them: and when thence had fetched a compasse round about the Standerds and Ensignes, hovered softly before them as they marched on the way. Contrariwise, as himselfe removed and set forward, the Statues on horseback, erected in many places for him, all at once suddainly brake their legges and tumbled downe: and the guirland of Lawrell, which most devoutly he had done about (his head) fell from it into a running river. Within a while after, as he sat iudicially upon the Tribunal to minister Justice at \* *Vienna*, a Cock first settled upon his shoulder, and anone perched upon his very head. Vpon which prodigious fights, ensued an event correspondent thereto. For the Empire which by his Lieutenants was confirmed and established unto him, he by himselfe was not able to hold.

\* Under the conduct of *Fabius Valens* by the Alpes and of *Catina*, over the Apennine.

\* In Fraunce within the province *Narbonensis*.

10

Of the victorie before *BERRIACUM* and the death of *OTH*, he heard whiles hee was yet in *Gaul*: and without delay, whosoever belonged to the Pretorian Cohorts, hee by vertue of one edict cased and discharged all, for the most daungerous precedent and example that they had \* given, commaunding them to yeeld up their armour into the \* Marshalls hands. As for those hundred & twenty, whose

\* In betraying *Galba* their Sovereigne.  
\* Of Tribunes.

X 3

Suppli-

Supplications exhibited unto OTHO hee had found, such I meane as claimed rewards for their good service in killing G A L B A, hee gave commaundement they should be fought out and executed every one. A worthy beginning I assure you, and a magnificent: such as might give good hope of an excellent Prince, had hee not menaged all matters else, according to his owne naturall disposition and the course of his former life, rather than respecting the maiestie of an Emperour. For no sooner put he himselfe in his journey, but he rode through the midst of Cities in Triumphant wise: and passed along the great rivers in most delieate barges, garnished and adorned with Coronets of sundry sorts: Faring at his table most sumptuously and served with all manner of dainty Viands: observing no discipline either of household servitour or of Souldiour: but turning the outrages, villanies and licentious pranks of them all to a iest: who, not content with their ordinary diet allowed and provided for them in every place where they came at the common charges of the State; looke what slaves or Aliens it pleased them, they manumised and made free: but paid as many as withstood them with whipping cheere, blowes, knocks, bloudie wounds oftentimes yea, and otherwhiles with present death. When hee came into the fields where the \* battaile was fought:

\* Before *Eschri-*  
acum, or *Bretir-*  
acum.

\* Some con-  
clude y former  
p: iode heare,  
and begin a  
new sentence  
thus *Pari vanti-*  
*te &c.* with  
like vanitie &c.  
\* *M. Othonis,*  
*Plutarch.*

\* Or *Mausoleum*  
\* Or *wake.*  
\* Or among  
the *Standards*  
and other *En-*  
*signes. interfig-*  
*ura et vexilla,*

\* Or *Folk*  
*mote.*

\* *Nero.*

and some of his traine loathed and abhorred the putrified corruption of the dead bodies, he stuck not to harten and encourage them with this cursed speech: *That an Enemy slain had a very good smell, but a Citizen farre better.* Howbeit to qualifie and allay the strong savour and sent that they cast, hee poured downe his throat before them all, exceeding great store of strong wine, and dealt the same plentifully about, \* with as much vanity as insolent pride. When he beheld the Stone, under which OTHO lay interred, with an Inscription \* in his memoriall: *Worthy was he of such a monument,* quoth hee. And the very same dagger where with he had killed himselfe, he sent to COLEIN for to be dedicated unto MARS. Certes, upon the top of the *Apennine Hill*, hee celebrated a sacrifice, with a \* *Vigil* all night long.

## II

At length hee entred the Citie with warlike sound of trumpet, in his coate-armour, and with a sword girt unto him, among \* Ensignes, Banners and Flags: his followers and dependants clad in militarie cassocks, and the armour of all his fellow Souldiours discovered in open view. Thus neglecting more and more from time to time, all Law of God and man, upon the very disastrous day (a) *Alliensis*, he was enstalled in the Sacerdottall dignity of High Priest. Hee ordained, that the solemne assembly \* for Election of Magistrates should be held every tenth yeere; and himselfe bee perpetuall dictatour. And to the end that no man might doubt what patterne hee chose to follow for government of Common-weale, calling a frequent number of the publick Priests about him in the middle of *Mars* field, hee sacrificed to the Spirit and ghost of NERO: and at a solemne feast openly put the Harper in minde singing as he did to his great contentment, for to say somewhat also of \* DOMITIUS (b): And as he began to chaunt NERO'S Canticles, he was the first that leapt for ioy and clapped his hands withall.

## I2

Having in this manner begun his Empire, a great part thereof he administered no otherwise, than according to the advise & pleasure of the basest Stage-plaiers and

and chariotiers that could be found: but especially of ASIATICVS, a freed man of his owne. This ASIATICVS when he was a very youth had in mutuall filthines with him abused his owne bodie: and afterwards lothing that abominable sinne, runne his way. Now, finding him once at *Puteois* selling of a certaine drinke made of \* water and Vineger; first he laied him by the heeles, and hung a paire of fetters at his feete: but forthwith \* loosened him and intertained him as his derling againe. After which a second time being offended with his contumacy & malapert \* stubbornesse: hee sold him to one of these common fencers that went from market to market, and by occasion that he was vpon a time put of to the last place in a sword fight for to play his prizes: at unwares he privily stole him away: and no sooner was hee gone into his province but he manumised him. The first day of his Empire, as he sat at supper, hee dubbed him knight of *Rome*: and gave him the golden Ring: notwithstanding that the very morning before, when all the souldiers intreated in his behalf, he detested so foule a blot to dissteine and discredit the worshipsfull degree of knighthood.

## I3

But being given most of all to excessive bellie cheere and crueltie; he devided repast into three meales every day at the least, and sometime into foure, to wit, Breakefast, Dinner, Supper and \* rere-bankets; able to beare them all very well, \* hee used to (a) vomit so ordinarily. Now his manner was to send word that hee would breake his fast with one (freind) dine with another, &c. and all in one day. And everie one of these refections, when it stood them in least, cost \* 40000 Sesterces. But the most notorious and memorable supper above all other was that, \* which his brother made for a welcome at his first comming (to *Rome*) at which by report were, served up to the Table before him, two thousand severall dishes of fish the most daintie & choicest that could be had, & seven thousand of foule. And yet, even this (as sumptuous as it was) himselfe surpassed at the dedication of that \* platter, which for the huge capacitie therof he vsed to call the targuet of *Minerva*. and *αγία Πόλις*, i. the sheild of the Cities \* protectresse. In this he hudled and blended together the livers of (b) \* Giltheads: the delicate braines of Pheasants & Peacocks: the tongues of the Birds Phoenicopterie: the tender small guts of Sea-lampries set as farre as from the Carpathian sea and the straights of *Spaine*, by his Captaines over Gallies. And, as a man that had not onely a wide throat of his owne to devour much, but also as greedie a stomach to feede both unseasonably and also grossly of what ever came next hand, he could not so much as at anie sacrifice whensoever, or in any iourney wheresoever forbear but amonge the altars snatch up by and by the flesh, the parched corne also and meale even from the very hearth, and ate the same: yea and at every victualling house by the way side, fall to viands piping hote, yet reaking and not cooled one iote; and not spare so much as meats dressed the day before and halfe eaten already.

## I4

Being forward enough to put to death and punish any man, what cause soever was pretended; Noble men, his schoole fellowes, and play-ferres in times past, (whom by al faire meanes & flattering allurements he had enticed & drawn to the societie as it were of the Empire with him) by sundrie sorts of fraud & trechery, he killed & one above the rest he made away with poyson, which he raught unto him with his owne hand in a draught of cold water, that he called for lying in a fit of an

## X 4

ague

\* *Pescum, ory-*  
*craton.*  
\* *Statinum sol-*  
*vit.*  
\* *Ferocitatem or*  
*furacitatem.*  
*theutric.*  
\* *In manner of*  
*mount banks.*

\* *3129. l. 1. 1. 1.*  
*ling.*

\* Or charger.  
\* *Minerva*  
\* *Scororum,*  
\* *Per nauarchos*  
*activimus*  
*Hen dio duo;*



\* As our Scri-  
uaries and At-  
turneyes do, for  
other men.

ague. As Vsurers, \* takers of bonds and obligations, and publicanes, who ever at any time had demanded of him either at Rome debt, or by the way as he travailed toll and custome, hee hardly spared one. And one of them, whom even as he came to salute him and doe his dutie, he had delivered over to the executioner for to suffer death, hee called straightwaies backe againe: and when all that were by, praised him for his clemencie, he commanded the said partie to bee killed before his face, saying with all, *That he would feede his eyes*. At the execution of another, he caused two of his sonnes to beare him companie; for nothing in the world, but because they presumed to intreat for their fathers life. Ther was besides a gentlemā of Rome who being haled away to take his death, cryed alowd unto him, *sir I have made you my heire*. Him he compelled to bring forth the writing rables containing his last will: and so loone as he red therein that a freed man of the Testatours was nominated fellow heire with him, he commanded both Maister and man to be killed. Certaine Commoners also, for this onely that they had railed alowd upon the faction of the \* watcher liverie, he slew: being thus conceited, that in daring so to doe, they had him in contempt and hoped for a day. Yet was he to none more spitefully bent than to the wiseards and Astrologers. Was any of them presented and enforced against? he made no more a do, but without hearing what he could say for himselfe, bereaved him of his life. Netled he was and exasperate against them, for that after an edict of his, wherein he gave commandement that all iudiciall Astrologers should depart out of Rome and Italie before the first of October: presently, there was a writing or libell set up in open place to this effect, that the \* *Chaldeans* made this Edict, as followeth, *BONVM FACTVM EST. WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS, VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDIS OF THE SAID OCTOBER, HE BE NOT \* EXTANT IN ANY PLACE WHERE SO EVER*. Suspected also hee was to be consenting unto his owne mothers death, as if hee had straightly forbidden that any food should be ministred unto her lying sicke: induced thereto by one \* *CATTIA*, a wife woman, (in whom hee rested as in an Oracle.) That then and not before, hee should sit sure in his Emperiall Throne and continue very long, in case he overlived his mother. And others report, how his mother her selfe wery of the present state, and fearing what evill dayes were toward, obtained at her sonnes hand poison, and that without any great intreatie.

15

In the eight moneth of his Empire, the armies of *MÆSIA* \* both the one and the other, as also at *Pannonia* revolted from him: likewise, of the forces beyond sea, thole of *Iurie* and of *Syria*, and some of them sware allegiance unto *VESPASIAN* who was present among them. To retaine therefore the love & favour of all other men, he cared not what largesses he made both in publike & private, beyond all measure. Hee mustred also and levied souldiers within the City, with this covenant and faire \* condition, That all voluntaries should by vertue of his promise, have not onelie their discharge from service after victorie, but also the availes & fees due unto olde souldiers for serving out their full time, But afterwards, as the enemie came hotely upon him both by land and sea, on the one side he opposed his brother with the fleet and younge untrained souldiers, together with a crewe of sworde fencers: on the other, what forces hee

had about *Bebriacum* and the Capitaines there: And in everie place, being their discomfited in open feild or privily betrayed, he capitulated & covenanted with *FLAVIVS SABINVS* brother of *VESPASIAN*, (to give up all) reserving his owne life, & a 100. millions of sesterces. And forthwith upon the veriestaires of the Palace professing openly before a frequent assemblie of his souldiers; how willing he was to resigne up that emperiall dignity which hee had received against his will, when they all gaine said it, hee put of the matter for that instant; and but one night betwene, even the next morning by breake of day, hee came downe in poore and simple array to the *Rostra*; where, with many a teare, he recited the same words out of a little written skrow. Now, as the souldiers & people both, interrupted him a second time and exhorted him not to cast downe his heart, promising also with their utmost endeavour, and striving a vie who should do best to assist him; heeooke courage againe and pluckt up his spirits: So that now \* fearing nothing at all hee came with a sodaine power and violently chased *SABINVS* and the rest of the *FLAVIANS* into the Capitoll: & there having set on fire the Temple of *IUPITER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS* vanquished & slew them: whiles himself beheld both the fight & the fire out of *TIBERIUS* his house, \* sitting ther at meat & making good cheere. Not long after repenting what hee had done, and laying all the fault vpon others, hee called a publicke assembly: where hee swore & compelled all the rest to take the same oth, *That he and they would respect nothing in the world before the common peace*. Then loosened he his \* dagger (a) from his side, and raught it first to the Consul, the upon his refusal to the other Magistrates; & anon to the Senatours one after another. But when none of them all would receive it, hee departed, as if hee ment to bestow it in the Chappell of Concord. Now when some cryed out unto him, *That himselfe was Concord*, hee came backe againe, and protested, that hee not onely retained still the blade with him, but also accepted the surname of Concord.

16

Hereupon hee mooved and advised the Senate, to send Embassadours together with the vestall virgins to craue peace, or else some longer time to Consult vpon the point. The next morrow, as he stood expecting an answer, word was brought unto him by his espall, that the enemie approached. Immediately therefore shutting himselfe close within a \* bearing chaire, accompanied with two persons onely his \* baker and his Cooke, secretly hee tooke his way to the *Aventine* (hill) and his fathers house: minding from thence to make an escape into *Campania*. Soone after, upon a flying and headlesse rumour *That peace was obtained*, he suffered himselfe to be brought backe to the Palace. Where, finding all places solitary and abandoned: seeing those also to flinke from him and slip away who were with him, he did about him a \* girdle full of golden peeces of coine, and fled into the Porters lodge, having first tied a ban-dog (a) at the doore & set against it the bedsted and bedding thereto.

17

By this time had the Avantcurriers of the (*FLAVIANS*) maine armie broken into the Palace: and meeting noe bodie searched as the manner is, everie blind corner. By them was hee plucked out of his lurking hole: and when they asked who hee was? (for they knewe him not) and where, upon his knowledge *VITELLIVS* was: he shifted them of with a lie: After this beeing, once knowne, hee

\* *Nihil iam metuerem*, some read *metuerem*, to this sense, that hee chafed them fearing no such thing. \* The faction of *Flavius Vespasianus*. \* For yee must remember how much hee was given to gourse and mandise. \* *Pugionem* or rapier a puggendo: quia paulatim potius quam cito vim vulnerat.

\* Or *Lifter*, \* that made his deinty pasty works & sweet meates: meete groo ns to accompanye such a glutton. \* Or *bandelier* \* 15 Shilling peeces and better. \* Or the vaward

\* Of Charivari-  
mers: *rimas fac-  
tionis*.

\* Astrologers

\* Or first day,  
\* Or to bee  
seene

\* Not in Rome  
and Italy onely,  
as before he  
denounced vnto  
them

\* Or by a wife  
woman of that  
country where  
the people  
*Catti* inhabit,  
in *Germania*

\* *Mæsianum* be-  
cause there  
was the high &  
the low.

\* Or offer.

hee intreated hard (as if he had somewhat to deliver concerning the life and safetie of VESPASIAN) to be kept sure in the mean season, though it were in some prison: & desired not untill such time as having his hands pinnioned fast at his backe, an halter cast about his necke, and his apparell torne from his bodie, he was haled halfe naked into the \* *Forum*. Among many skomefull indignities offered un to him both in deede and word throughout the Spacious street\* *facta via* from one end to the other, whiles they drew his head backward by the bush of his haire (as condemned malefactours are wont to be serued) and set a swordes point under his chinne. And all to the end he might shew his face and not hold it down: whiles some pelted him with dung and durty mire, others called him with open mouth \* *Incediarie* and \* *Patinarium*: and some of the common sort twitted him also with fautes and deformities of his bodie: (For, of stature hee was beyond measure tall: a red face he had, occasioned for the most part by swilling in wine, and a grand fat paunch besides: hee limped somewhat also by reason that one of his thighes was enfeebled withe the rush of a chariot against it, what time he serued C. AIVS as his henchman at a Chariot running) and at the last upon the staires GEMONJAE with many a small stroke all to mangled he was and killed in the end: and so from thence drawne with a drag into the River *Tiberis*.

18 Thus perished he with his brother and sonne together, in the 57. yeere of his age. Neither falsified he their coniecture who had fore told him, that by the prodigious signe which befell unto him (as we have said) at *Vienna*, nothing else was portended, but that he should fall into the hands of some (a) Frenchman. For, dispatched he was by one ANTONIVS PRIMVS a Capitaine of the aduerse part: who being borne at *Toleza*, was in his childhood furnamed \* *Baccus* which in the French tongue signifieth a Cockes-bill.



\* Or market place.

\* *Sacra via*, reach th from the palace to the *Forum*.

\* As a pag

\* Or firebrand because he burnt the *Capitol*

\* Or Platter Knight, for his gormandize & image platter asore said.

\* *Caligula*.

A.V.C.822.

\* Or Becco a beak in Eng-

lish, which may somewhat confirm the learned c. nesture of him, who guesseth that both our ancient nation and language were extract from *Gaul*



# THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Vespasianus Augustus,

written by Caius Suetonius Tran-  
quillus.



**T**He Empire standing thus a long time in doubtfull termes, unsettled & wandering (as it were) by occasion of the rebellious broils & bloody slaughter of three princes: the *Flavii* at length tooke into their hands & established: a house I must needs say, of obscure descent and not able to shew any pedigree and images of aunccestours to commend their race; howbeit, such as the common weale had no cause to dislike and bee ashamed of; although it be well knowne that Domitian abidd condigne punishment for his avarice and crueltie. TITUS FLAVIVS PATRONIANUS, a burgesse of the free borrough Reate, and a Centurion, siding in time of the ciuill warre, with POMPEIVS (but whether he serued voluntarie or was called forth and prest, it is uncertaine) fledde out of the battaile in PHARSALIA and went home to his house. Where afterwarde, having obtained his pardon and discharge from warre-  
fare,

\* *Galla, Otho, Vitellius*.

\* Or, after the battaile, fled from him.

fare, he became a bailife under the Bankers and money changers to gather up their monies. This mans sonne furnamed SABINVS, nothing martiall nor skilfull in feates of armes (although some write, that he had beene a principall leader of the foremost Cohorts: and others that whilest he led certaine companies, hee was acquitted from his militarie oth by \* occasion of sicknesse) came to be a \*Publicane in *Asia*, and gathered the custome or impost (a) Quadragesima for the state. And there remained certaine Images which the Cities in that province erected for him with this title and superscription, *καλὸς τελευτῶν*. i. *For him that was a good and faithfull \*Publicane*. After this he put forth money to vsurie among the *Helvetians*, where he ended his life, leaving behinde him his wife POLLA VESPASIA, and two children which he had by her. The elder of which, named SABINVS, was advanced to the provostship of the Cittie: the younger called VESPASIANVS, attained to the dignitie Imperiall: This dame POLLA, borne at *Nursia* and descended of worshipfull parentage, was the daughter of VESPASIVS POLLIO, one that had beene a \*militarie Tribune thrice, and \*provost Marshal of the Campe besides: and sister to a man of Senatours degree, and promoted to the dignitie of Prætor. There is a place moreover even at this day sixe miles from *Rome*, (as men goe to *Spoleum* from *Nursia*) upon the hill top, bearing the name of *Vespasia*: where many monuments of the VESPASII are to be seene: a great evidence to prove the Noblenesse and antiquitie of that family. I cannot deny, that some have given out, how the father of that PETROIIVS came out of the \* Transpadane region, and was an undertaker by the great, to hire those labourers and hines which were wont yeerely to repaire out of *Umbria* into the Sabines Countrie for to till their grounds: how hee planted himselfe and stayed in the Towne *Reate* aforesaid, and there married a wife. But my selfe could never finde (make what search I could) any signe or trace to lead me thereto.

\* VESPASIAN was borne in the Sabines territorie beyond *Reate* within a smal village named *Phalacrine*, the fifteenth day before the \*Calends of December, in the evening, when Q. CAMERINVS and CAIVS POPPÆVS SABINVS were consuls: five yeeres before that AVGVSTVS departed out of this world. His bringing up he had under TERTVLLA his grandmother by the fathers side, in the land and living that she had about *Cosa*. Whereupon, when hee was Emperour hee both frequented continually the place of his birth and breeding, the Capitall house and manour remaining still as it had beene in former times, nothing altered (because forsooth, his eyes should have no losse nor misse of that which they were wont to see there) and loved also the memoriall of his grandmother so deere, that on all solemne and festivall, and high daies, hee continued ever drinking out of a silver pot that was hers and out of none other. After he had put on his \*virile gowne, he refused a long time the (a) Senatours robe, although his brother had attained thereto: neither could he be forced to seeke for it at last but by his owne mother. Shee in the end wrought perforce so much from him, by way of reprochfull taunts more than by faire intreatie or reverent authoritie: whiles, ever and anon, shee called him in taunting wife, his brothers huisher. He served as Tribune: military in *Thracia*: and in quality of Questor had the government of *Crete* and *Cyrene*, provinces by lot fallen unto him. When he sued to be Aedile, & afterwards Prætor: he hardly attained to the former Offices (and not without some repulse) euen in the sixth place:

\* Such be called *Causary*.  
\* Publicanum, or Publicum both to the same effect.  
\* Or customer

\* Or Colonel.  
\* Or camp maister,

\* Beyond the river Po in the precinct of *Rome*.

\* The Emperour,

\* 17,th of November,

\* In 17th yeere of his age,

place: but presently at his first suit and with the formost being chosen Prætor, and upon displeasure taken, maliciously affected against the Senate; because he would by all maner of demerite win the favour of CAIUS the Emperour, he earnestly demanded extraordinary playes & games in honor of him for his victory in *Germanie*. and gave opinion in the Senate house, that to augment the punishment of certeine conspiratours (against him), their dead bodies should be cast forth and left unburied. Hee gave him also solemne thanks before that right honorable degree, for vouchsafing him the honor to be a guest of his at a supper.

Amid these occurrents, he espoused FLAVIA DOMITILLA, the freed woman of STATILIUS CAPPELLA, a Romane gentleman of *Sabracæ*, and an Africane borne, committed unto him sometime upon trust, and enfranchised in the freedom of *Latium*: but afterwards pronounced a gentlewoman born & naturalized a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Iudges delegate, upon claime made by her father FLAVIVS LIBERALIS borne at *Ferentinum*, (a man that never rose higher than to be a \*Scribe to a Questour) who vouched her freedome. By her he had issue, TITUS DAMITIANUS, and DOMITILLA. His wife & daughter he overlived, and buried them whiles he was yet in State of a private person. After his foresaid wives decease, he called home againe to cohabite with him in his house CENIS a freed-woman of ANTONIA, and her \*Secretarie, whom he had fancied in former time: and her he kept when he was Emperour, in steede of his true and lawfull wife.

Vnder the Emperour CLAUDIVS, by especiall favour of NARCISVS, sent he was into *Germanie* as Lieutenant of a legion: from thence being removed into *Britaine*, he fought thirtie battailes with the enemy: Two most mightie nations, and above twentie towns, together with the Isle of *Wight* lying next to the said *Britaine*, he subdued, under the conduct partly of A. PLAVTIUS Lieutenant to the consul, and in part of CLAUDIVS himselfe, for which worthy acts he received triumphall ornaments, and in short space two sacerdotall dignities with a consulship besides which he bare the two last moneths of the yeere. For the middle time between, even until he was Proconsul, he led a private life in a retyring place out of the way, for feare of AGRIPPINA, who as yet bare a great stroke with her \*sonne, and hated to the heart all the friends of NARCISVS, although deceased. After this, hauing the province of *Africke* allotted unto him, hee governed the same with singular integritie, & not without much honor & reputation: but that in a seditious commotion at *Aurumetum*, there were \*Rape-(a) rootes flung at his head. Certaine it is, that from thence he returned nothing richer than he was; as who not able to keepe credit, but grown almost bankrupt, was driven to mortgage all his houses and lands unto his brother: and of necessitie, for the maintenance of his estate and dignity, went so low as to make gaires by hucksters \*trade pampering \*beastes for better sale. Whereupon he was commonly named MULIO i. Mulitier. It is said also that convicted he was for extorting from a young man 200 thousand sesterces, in consideration that by his means hee had obtained a Senatours dignitie even against his owne fathers will, For which hee had a sore rebuke. Whiles he travailed through *Achaia* in the traine and inward company of NERO, he incurred his heauie displeasure in the highest degree, for that

Y

whiles

3

\* Or notario,

\* Or Keeper of her books and accounts.

4

A.V.C. 804.

\* NERO

\* Or Tuffeps;

\* Mangonicæ questus.

Which extendeth also to slaves & old wares or thrip<sup>d</sup> pelie.

whiles he was chaunting, either he made many starts away out of the place, or else slept, if he staid there still. And being forbidden not only to conuerse in the same lodging with him, but also to salute him publikely with others, he withdrew himselfe aside into a small cittie, and which stood out of the way: untill such time, as lying close there and fearing the worst, the government of a \*pro-  
 \*Iurie, vince with the commaund of an armie was offred unto him. There had been spred throughout all the East parts an opinion of olde, and the same fetled in mens heades and constantly beleaved, *That by the appointment of the destinies about such a time there should come out of IVRY those, who were to be Lords of the whole World*: which being a prophesie (as afterwards the event shewed) foretelling of the Romane Emperour, the \*Iewes drawing to themselves, rebelled: and having slaine the \*President there, put to flight also the \*Lieutenant generall of Syria (a man of consular degree) comming in to ayde; and tooke from him the \*Ægle. To repressse this insurrection, because there was neede of a greater armie and a valiant Captaine, yet such an one, as to whom a matter of so great consequence might safely be committed; himselfe was chosen above all others, as a man of approved valour and industrie; howbeit no way to be feared for the meannesse of his birth, linage and name. Having therefore under his hand an addition to the former poure, of two \*legions, eight  
 \*Romaine, \*these cornets and cohorts seeme to bee  
 \*Auxiliaries  
 \*Tutus, \*Or Provinces rather in the East part  
 \*cornets of horse and tenne cohorts (offoote): taking also unto him among other Lieutenants, his elder \*son, no sooner arrived he in that province, but the other \*states likewise next adjoyning, he brought into admiration of him, for reforming immediatly at his first comming the discipline of the campe, and giving the charge in one or two battailes with such resolution, as that in the assault of a castle, he caught a rap with a stone upon his knee, and received in his targuete some shot of arrows.

After NERO and GALBA, whiles OTHO and VITELLIUS strove for Soveraintie, hee had good hope of the Empire, conceived long before, by these presaging tokens (which I wil now relate) within a countrey ferme by the Citie side, belonging to the *Flavij*, there stood an olde Oke consecrated unto MARS, which at 3. childbirths of VESPASIA sodainly did put forth every time a several bough from the stock: undoubted signes fore-shewing the destinie & fortune of each one. The first was small and slender, which quickly withered (and therefore the girle at that time borne lived not one yeere to an end): the second grewe very stiffe and long withall, which pretended great felicitie: but the third, came to the bignesse of a tree. Whereupon SABINUS the father (of VESPASIAN) beeing confirmed beside by the answer of a  
 \*One of these, \*Southsayer, brought word hake (by report) unto his owne \*Mother, *that she had a Nephew borne who should be.* \*CÆSAR: Whereat, shee did nothing else but set up a laughter, meruailing that her sonne should have a cracked braine and fall a doting now, since that his Mother had her wittes still whole and sound. Soone after, when CAIUS CÆSAR, offended and angrie with him, for that beeing Ædile hee had not bene carefull about sweeping and clensing the streetes, had commanded hee should bee all bedawbed with mire that the Souldiours gathered up and threw into the lap of his embro-  
 \*dred

dred robe, some were ready to make this interpretation thereof, *that the common weale troddem one day under foote and forlorne by some ciuill troubles, should fall into his protection and as it were into his bosome.* As hee was at his dinner upon a time, a strange dog brought into his dining roome a mans hand and layed it under the boarde. Againe, as hee sate another time at supper, an Oxe having beene at plough and shaken of his yoke, rushed into the parlour where hee was at meate: and when hee had driven the waiters and seruitors out, as if all on a sodaine hee had bene wearie, layed him downe along at his feete where hee sate, and gently put his necke under him. A Cypresse tree likewise in his Grand-fathers land without anie force of tempest plucked up by the roote and layed along, the very next day following rose up againe greener and stronger than before. But in ACHAI A hee dreamed, *That hee and his, should beginne to prosper so soone as NERO had a tooth drawn out of his head.* Now it fortunied, that the morrow following, a Chirurgion that came forth into the court-yard shewed unto him a tooth of NERO S newly drawn. In Iurie, when hee consulted with the Oracle of the god (a) CARMELUS, the answer which was given, assured him in these tearmes, *That whatsoever he thought upon and cast in his minde (were it never so great) it should so come to passe:* And one of the Noble men of that Countrey taken captive, named \*IOSEPHUS, when hee was cast into prison, avouched and sayde unto him most constantly, that hee should shortly be set at liberty even by him, but hee should be Emperour first. There were moreover significant tokens presaging no lesse reported unto him out of the very Citie of Rome: and namely, *that NERO in his latter dayes, a little before his death, was warned in a dreame to take the sacred Chariot of IUPITER Optimus Maximus forth of the Chappel where it stoode, into VESPASIANs house, and so from thence into the Cirque.* Also, not long after, as GALBA held the solemne election for  
 \*Inde in Circum  
 \*Vespasian.  
 his second Consulship, the statue of IULIUS, late CÆSAR of famous memorie, turned of it selfe into the (b) East. And at the field fought before *Bebriacum*, ere the battailes joyned, two Ægles had a conflict and bickered together in all their fights: and when the one of them was foyled and overcome, a third came at the very instant from the sunne rising and chased the Victresse away.

Yet for all this attempted he no enterprife (notwithstanding his friends & souldiours were most prest and forward yea and urgent upon him) before that hee was solicited by the unexpected favour, of some, who as it fell out were both unknowen to him and also absent. Two thousand drawn out of the three legions of the *Mesian* armie and sent to ayde OTHO, when they were upon the way marching (albeit newes came unto them that hee was vanquished and had layed violent hands upon himselfe,) held on their journey nevertheless as farre as to *Aquileia*: as giving small credit to that rumour whereafter they had by vantage of opportunities offred, and vncontrolled libertie, committed all manner of robberies and outrageous villanies, fearing least if they returned backe againe, they should answer for their misdemeanours, and abide condigne punishment therefore; layed their heades together, and consulted about the chusing and creating of an EMPEROVR. For, worfe they tooke not themselves nor inferiour, cyther to the  
 Y 2  
 armie

\* Who wrote the Iewish historie.

armie in *SPAINE* that had set up *GALBA*: or to the Pretorian bands, which had made *OTHO*: or to the Germanician forces who had elected *VITELLIUS*, Emperours. Having purposed therefore and nominated of the Consular Lieutenants as manie, as they coule in anie place thinke upon: when they misliked all the rest, taking exceptions against one for this cause and another for that: Whiles some againe of that third Legion, which a litle before the death of *NERO* had been translated out of *SYRIA* into *MESIA*, highly praysed and extolled *VESPASIAN*; they all accorded thereto, and without delay, wrote his name upon their flagges and banners. And verily, for that time this project was smuddled, the companies for a while reclaimed, and all brought into good order. But when the sayde fact was once divulged: *TIBERIUS ALEXANDER* \*Provost of *EGYPT* was the first that forced the Legions to sweare allegiance unto *VESPASIAN*, upon the \*kalends of *IULY*, which ever after was celebrated for the first day and beginning of his Empire. After them; the armie in *Iurie* took the same oath before *VESPASIAN* himselfe, the \*fifth day before the Ides of *Iulie*. These enterprizes were very much farthered, by the copie of a letter that went commonly through mens hands (true or false I wote not) of *OTHO* now deceased, to *VESPASIAN*, charging and willing him now at the last cast, of all love to revenge his death, and winning him withall, to relieve the distressed state of the Common-wealth: by a rumour also spread abroad, That *VITELLIUS* upon his victorie ment fully to make an exchange of the legions winter harbours: namely, to remove those that wintered in *Germanie* into the \*East Provinces, as to a more secure service and easier warfare. Moreover, among the Governours of Provinces, *LUCIUS MUCIANUS*, and of the Kings, *Vologesus of Parthia*, had promised the \*one (laying downe all grudge and enmitie which unto that time he openly \*professed upon a humour of emulation) the *Syrian* armie: and the \*other fortie thousand archers.

\*Or Governour.  
\*The first day.  
\*The 11 of Iuly.  
\*No maruaille then, if the armies there inclined to *Vespasian*.  
\*Mucianus.  
\*Unto *Vespasian*.  
\*K. *Vologesus*.

7  
*VESPASIAN* therefore having undertaken a civill warre, and sent before him his Capitaines and forces into *Italie*, passed over in the meane time to *ALEXANDRIA*, for to be possessed of the frontier streights and *AVENUES* of *Egypt*: Heere when he had voided all companie from him and was entred alone into the Temple of *Serapis*, after he had, upon much propitious favour of that god obtained, devoutly at length turned him selfe about; him thought hee sawe (a) *BASILIDES* one who was knowen to have had access unto no man; and long since for the infirmities of his sinewes, scarce able to set one foote before another, and withall to bee absent a \*great way of, to present unto him *Veruaine* & sacred herbes guirlands also and loaves of bread, (as the manner is in that place. And heere upon immediately letters came unto him, emporting thus much, that the forces of *VITELLIUS* were discomfited before *CREMONA*: reporting besides, that himselfe was killed at *ROME*: The onely thing that hee wanted; (being as one would say, a Prince unlooked for, and as yet new come to the Empire) was Countenance, authoritie, and a kinde as it were of royall majestie. But even that also came on apace (by this occasion) It fortuneed that a certaine meane commoner starke blinde

\*The Palfrey.  
\*80 Miles, hap pily, the same whom *Tacitus* reporteth to have been the Prielt of *Carnelius*.

blind; another likewise with a feeble and lame leg, came both together unto him as hee sat upon the tribunall, craving that helpe and remedie for their infirmities which had been shewed unto them by *SERAPIS* in their dreames: namely, That \*hee should restore the one to his sight, if hee did but spit into his eyes: \*V. *Vespasian*, and strengthen the others legge, if hee vouchsafed onely to touch it with his heele. Now when as hee could hardly beleieve, that the thing anie way would finde successe and speede accordingly, and therefore durst not so much as put it to the venture: at the last through the perswasion of friends. openly before the whole assembly, hee assayed both meanes, neither missed hee of the effect. About the same time, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, by the Instinct and motion of Prophets, there were digged out of the ground in a consecrated place, manufactures and vessels of antique worke: and among the same an image, resembling for all the World *VESPASIAN*.

8

Thus qualified as hee was and graced with so great fame, hee returned to *ROME*: and after his triumph over the Iewes, hee added eight Consulships more to that which olde hee had borne. He tooke upon him also the Censureship: and all the time of his Empire esteemed nothing more deare, than first to establish and afterwards to adorne the Common weale, brought almost to utter decay, and at the point to fall downe. The fouldiours, some presuming bololy of their victories, others in griefe for their shamefull \*disgrace were grown to all manner of licentiousnesse and audacitie. The Provinces likewise and free states, yea and some kingdomes, fell to discord & sedition tumults among them selves. And therefore of the Vitellians hee both cassed and also chatticed very many. As for the partners with him in victorie: so farre was hee from allowing them any extraordinary indulgence, that their very due and lawfull rewardes hee payed not but slackely. And because hee would not let slip anie occasion of reforming militarie discipline, when a certain gallant youth smelling hote of sweet balmes and perfumes came unto him, to give thanks for an \*Office obtained at his hands; after a strange countenance shewing his dislike of him, hee gave him also in words, a most bitter and grievous checke, saying, I would rather thou haddest stunk of garlicke, and so revoked his letters patents for the graunt. As touching the mariners and sea seruitours, such of them as are wont to passe to and fro on foote, by \*turnes from *Ostia* and *Puteolis* to *ROME*; who were petitioners unto him that some certaine allowance might bee set downe for to finde them shoes: hee thought it not sufficient to sende them away without answer, but commanded that for ever after they should runne up and downe betwene \*unshod. And so, from that time they use to doe. *ACHAIA*, *LYCIA*, *RHODES*; *BIZANTIUM* and *SAMOS*, \*first disfranchised: likewise, *THRACIA* *CILICIA* and *COMAGENE*, subiect untill that time to Kings hee reduced all into the forme of a province. Into *Cappadocia*, for the continuall rodes and incursions that the Barbarians made, he brought a poure besides, of Legions, and in lieu of a Romane knight, he placed there for Ruler, a man who had beene Consul. The Citie of *ROME* by reason of olde skare-fires

A.V.C. 823  
824  
825  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
\*In taking part against him.

\*Or charge.

\*Per vias, some made per vias, along the townes and villages.

\*Barefoote. \*Whereas they had been free States.



fires and ruines was much blemished and disfigured. Hee permitted therefore any man to seize as his owne all vacant plots of ground, and to builde thereupon, in case the owners and Land-lords were slacke in that behalfe. Him selfe tooke upon him the reedifying of the Capitoll, and was the first man that did set his hand to the ridding of the rubbish and rammell, yea and upon his owne necke caried some of it away: three thousand tables of brasse also which were burnt with the sayd Temple, hee undertooke to make and set up againe, having searched and sought ought from all places the patrones and \*copies thereof. A most bewtiful instrument and right auncient record of the whole Empire hee compiled and finished; wherein were contained from the first beginning well neere of the Citie, all actes of Senate, all deedes passed by the Communalty as concerning Leagues, Alliances and priviledges granted to any whatsoever.

9

Hee built also newe workes: the temple of peace, situate next unto the *Forum*: That likewise of *CLAVDIVS* late Emperour of sacred memorie, seated upon the mount *Celins* which verily had beene begun by \**A-GRIFFINA*, but almost from the very foundation destroyed by *NERO*. Item a most stately Amphitheatre in the heart of the Citie, \*according as hee understood, that *AVGVSTVS* intended such an one. The two \*degrees wasted by sundry massacres and disteined through the negligence of former times, hee cleansed and supplied, by a review and visitation of Senate and gentry both: wherein he removed the unworthiest persons and tooke in the most honest that were to be found, either of Italians or provincial inhabitants. And to the end it might be knowne, that both the said degrees differed one from another not so much in libertie as in dignitie; he pronounced in the case of a certaine braule betweene a Senatour and a knight of *Rome*. *That Senatours might not be provoked first with foule language: mary to answer them with evill words againe, was but Civilitie and a matter allowed.*

10

Suites in law depending one upon another were grown in everie Court exceeding much: whiles the old Actions by the Intervall of \*Jurisdiction, hung still undecided and new quarrels arose to encrease them, occasioned by the tumultuous troubles of those times. Hee chose therefore certaine commissioners by lot, some by whome the Gods taken and caried away perforce during the warres might be restored; and others, who extraordinarily should determine and iudge betweene partie and partie in (a) \*Centumvirall cases; (which were so many, as that the \*parties themselves, as it was thought, could hardly by course of nature live to see an end of them) and reduce them all to as small a number as possible might be.

11

Wanton lust and wastfull expence, without restraint of any man had gotten a mightie head. Hee mooved the Senate therefore to make a decree: *That, what woman soever joyned herselfe in \*wedlocke unto another mans bondservant, should be reputed a bondwoman*. Item that it might not be lawfull for *Vulgers* to demand any debt of young men whiles they were under their fathers

thers tuition for mony credited out unto them: I mean, not so much as after their decease. In all other matters, from the very first beginning of his Empire unto the end, hee was curteous enough and full of Clemencie.

12

His former meane estate and condition, hee dissimuled not at anie time: nay hee would often of himselfe professe the same and make it knowne openly: Yea and when some went about to fetch the originall of the Flavian Linage, from as farre as the founders of *REATE*, and the companion of *HERCULES* whose monument is to be scene in the way \**Salavia*, hee mocked and laughed them to skorne for their labours. And so farre was he from desiring anie \*outward ornaments in shewe of the World, that upon his triumph day, being wearied with the slow march and tedious traine of the pompe, he could not hold but say plainly, that hee was well enough served and iustly punished; who being an aged man had so foolishly longed for a triumph: as if forsooth it had of right beene due unto his \*forefathers, or ever hoped for \*by him selfe. Neither accepted he so much, as the tribunes authority and addition, of *Pater patrie* in his stile, but it was long first. For hee had forlet altogether the custome of searching those that came in duty to salute him even whiles yet the Civill warre continued.

13

The \*franke-speech of his friendes; the figurative tearmes and quippes of Lawyers pleading at the barre, and the unmannerly rudeness of Philosophers hee tooke most mildely. \**LICINIVS MUCIANUS*, a man notorious for preposterous wantonnesse but (presuming confidently of his \*good deserts) not so respective of him as reverent duty would, hee could never finde in his heart to gird and nip againe but secretly: and thus farre forth onely as in complaining of him unto some good friend of them both to knit up all with these words for a conclusion, yet \*am I a man. When \**SALVIUS LIEBRALIS*, pleading in the defence of a rich client was to bolde as to say. *What is that to \*CESAR, if HIPPARCHUS be worth an hundred millions of Sesterces?* him selfe also commended and thanked him for it. *DEMETRIUS* the \*Cynicke meeting him in the way after hee was come \*to his Sovereigne dignitie, and not deigning once to rise up nor to salute him, but rather barking at him I wore not what, he thought it enough to call (a) Cur-dogge.

14

Displeasures to him done, and enmities, he never caried in mind nor revenged. The daughter of *VITELLIUS* hisemie he married into a most noble house: he gave unto her a rich dowry withall, and furniture accordingly. VVhen as, by reason that he was forbidden the Court under *NERO* hee stood in great feare, and was to seeke what to do or whether to goe: one of the gentlemen huishers, whose office it was to admit men into the presence, in thrusting him out, had bidden him *abire \*Morbomiam*, i. to be gone in a mischief. When this fellow afterwards came to aske forgiveness, he proceeded no further in heat of anger but to wordes onely, and to quite him with just as many and almost the very same. For, so farre was hee from working the overthrowe and death of anye person, upon anye suspicion or feare conceived:

Y 4

that

\*For in them were engraven the publike evidences and words, &c

\**Claudius* his wife.  
\**Ve* destinasse compererat Augu-  
stum, amplissimis  
\*Of Senatours ad gentlemen

\*The vacation during the Civ-  
vil troubles:

\*Which per-  
tained to the  
Centumvirs  
Court to wit,  
Civile causes  
between private  
persons, as pro-  
bates of Testa-  
ments &c,  
Vide *Cicer. 3. de*  
*Oratore*.  
\*Plantiffs &  
defendants.  
\**Suum* iet, as  
Sabellicus ex-  
poundeth it:  
or, at large,  
camally.

\*By which salt was brought out of the Sabines countrey to Rome.

\**Extrinfecus*: who were but of meane calling.

\*Being three-score of age, & therefore past the ambitious desire of such glory.

\**Libertatem* which the greekes call *Parrhesian*.

\*His friend.

\*For he was the chiefe helper of him to the Empire.

\*Whatsoever you are: noting him for that he was *Patricius*.

\*A Lawyer.

\*Noting *Vespa-*  
sian, as if he had a longing eye after his wealth and therefore sought his con-

demnation.

\*A philosopher

\**Post dominati-*  
onem *alias dam-*  
*na*sonem, after he was conde-

ned for *Vespassia* had banished all Philosophers out of Rome & confined this

*Demetrius* to an Island *Xiphilin*.

\*Or *Morbomiam* according to which phrase we say, the soule ill take thee.

that when his friendes admonished him to beware of MÆTIUS POM-  
 POSIANUS, because it was generally beleeved that the Astrologers  
 had by the horoscope of his nativitie assured him to bee Emperour another  
 day, hee advanced the same MÆTIUS to the Consulship, presuming and pro-  
 mising in the mans behalfe, that hee would be one day mindfull of this benefit  
 and good turne of his.

15

There is not lightly found an innocent person to have beene punished,  
 but when hee was absent and not ware thereof: or at leastwise unwilling  
 thereto and deceived. With HELVIDIUS PRISCUS who onely had fa-  
 luted him after his retume out of SYRIA, by his private name, \*plaine VES-  
 PASIAN: and being pretour in all his Edicts and Proclamations passed him o-  
 ver without any honour at all, or once naming him, hee was not angry and  
 displeased, before that he had, with his most insolent altercations made him  
 in manner contemptible and little better than an ordinarie person. Him also,  
 notwithstanding he was first confined to a place and afterwards commanded  
 to bee killed, hee would have given a great deale to have saved by all meanes  
 possible: as who sent certein of purpose to call backe the murderers: and saved  
 his life hee had, but that false word came backe that he was dispatched already.  
 Otherwise he never rejoyced in the death of any but rather when malefactours  
 were justly punished and executed, hee would weepe and groane againe.

16

The onely thing, for which hee might worthily bee blamed was covet-  
 ousnesse. For, not content with this, To have revived the taxes & pay-  
 ments omitted by GALBA: to have laied unto them other newe and heave  
 impositions: to have enhaunted also the Tributes of the provinces, yea and  
 of some dupled the same: he fell openly to negotiate and deale in certaine  
 trades, which, even for a private person were a shame to use: buying up  
 and engrossing some commodities for this purpose onely to put the same of,  
 afterwarde at an higher price. Neither made hee it straung to sell either  
 honourable places unto suiters for them: or absolutions and pardons, to  
 men in trouble, whether they were innocent or gultie it skilled not. Fur-  
 thermore, it is verily thought that of his Procuratours, if any were greedy  
 and given to extortion more than other, his manner was to promote such for  
 the nonce to higher offices: to the ende, that when they were more enriched,  
 hee might soone after condemne them. And commonly it was sayd, that  
 those hee vsed as sponges, for that hee did wet them well when they were  
 drie, and presse them hard when they were wet. Some write that hee was by  
 nature most covetous; & that an old Neat heard upbraided him once therewith  
 who being at his handes denied freedome without paying for it (which hee  
 hūbly craved of him now invested in the Empire) cryed out with a lowd voice  
 and said, *The Wolfe might change his haire, but not his qualities.* Contrariwise there  
 bee againe who are of opinion, that hee was driven to spoyle, to pill and  
 poll of necessitie, even for extreame want both in the common treasure and  
 also

\*Not Caesar  
 nor Augustus  
 nor Imperator

also in his owne exchequer: whereof he gave some testimonie in the begin-  
 ning immediately of his Empire; professing that there was neede of fortie  
 thousand Millenes to set the STATE upright againe. Which also see-  
 meth to sounde more neere unto the truth. Because the monie by him ill got-  
 ten: Hee used and bestowed passing well. To all sorts of men hee was most  
 liberall. The (a) Estate and wealth of Senatours he made up to the full. To de-  
 caied men that had beene Consuls, hee allowed for their maintenance 500  
 thousand Sesterces by the yeere. Very many Cities throughout the World  
 by Earth-quake or fire ruinate, hee reedified better then they were before.

17

Fine wits and cunning Artisanes hee set much store by, and cherished  
 them above all others. Hee was the first, that out of his owne coffers ap-  
 pointed for professed RHETORICIANs, as well in Latine as in Greeke,  
 an yeerely Salarie of an hundred thousand Sesterces a peece. Excellent  
 POETS, as also \*Actours he \*bought up. Semblably, upon the workman  
 who had repaired and set up againe, the Geantlike Image called COLOS-  
 SVS, hee bestowed a notable \*congiarie, and endowed him with a great  
 stipend beside: to an Engineer also, who promised to bring into the Capitoll  
 huge Columns with small charges, hee gave for his devise onely no meane re-  
 ward; and released him his labour in performing that worke, saying withall by  
 way of preface, *That he should suffer him to \*feed the poore commons.*

\*Artifices, for  
 so Livie ter-  
 meth Ludi or et  
 histrionici, stage  
 players.  
 + Or hyred.  
 \*Or reward  
 \*To allow the  
 wages for their  
 painful labor  
 in such works  
 rather then to  
 have the same  
 done without  
 them: and as  
 we say, to keep  
 poore people  
 at worke.

18

At those playes during which the stage of MARCELLUS Theatre newly  
 reedified, was dedicated: he had brought into request and vse againe even the  
 olde \*(a) Acroames. To APOLLINARIS the Tragædian hee gave foure  
 hundred thousand sesterces. To TERPNUS and DIODORUS two harpers,  
 two hundred thousand a peece: to some one hundred: and to whom hee gave  
 least fortie thousand, over and above a great number of golden Coronets. Hee  
 feasted continually: and for the most part by making \*full suppers and those  
 very plentifull: for why? His meaning was to helpe the Butchers and such as  
 solde viſuals. As hee delivered forth giftes unto men at the Saturnalia, so  
 hee did to Women upon the (b) Kalends of MARCH. Yet verely for all  
 this, coulde hee not avoide the infamous name of his former avarice. The  
 men of ALEXANDRIA termed him still CYBIOSASTES after the  
 surname of one of their Kings, given to most base and beggerly gayne. And  
 even at his very funerals, FAVOR the Arch-counterfaict representing his  
 person, and imitating (as the manner is) his deeds and wordes whiles hee li-  
 ved, when hee asked the Procuratours openly, what the charges might bee  
 of his funerall and the pompe thereto belonging: No sooner hearde that it  
 would arise to tenne Millenes of Sesterces, but hee cried, Give mee one hun-  
 dred thousand, and make no more ado but throw mee into TIBER.

\*Have delights  
 as Players Mu-  
 ſicians, &c.

\*Reſt: in op-  
 position to,  
 sportula

19

Of a middle stature hee was: well set: his limmes compact and strongly  
 made: with a countenance as if he streined hard for a stoole. Whereupon one,  
 of

\*A round place  
of exercise be  
loging to the  
baines, some  
would have it  
to be a tennis  
court.

\*Naturali, 24  
houres.

\*Or arose be  
fore day, de  
nocte vigilabat

Sextus Aurelius  
writeth of him  
that he wat-  
ched all night.

Plinie also saith  
Nocte vii foli-  
um: ut diem

actum noctibus,  
et nocturnos di-  
ebus traieceret.

\*A Secrete, or se-  
tiring place

of these plaisants came out with a pretie conceit. For when VESPASIAN seemed to request the fellow for to breake a iest upon him also, as well as upon others, that I will quoth he, If you had done your businesse once upon the seage. His health hee had no man better: although for the preferuation thereof hee did no more, but rub his owne chawes and other parts of the bodie to a certaine iust (a) number within the \*Spharisterium: and withall, monethly interpose abstinence from all foode one \*whole day.

20

This course and order of life for the most part he held. Whiles hee was Emperour he waked alwayes very early, and \*late in the night. Then, having red through all missives, and the Breviaries of everie office: hee admitted his friends: and whiles hee wat saluted, he both put on his own shooes, and also apparailled and made himselfe ready. After dispatch of all occurrent businesse, hee tooke himselfe to (a) gestation, and so to rest: having one of his Concubines, lying by his side: of whom hee had appointed a great number in steede of CENIS deceased. From his \*privie closet, hee passed into his Baine and so to his refection rounge. Neyther was he, by report, at any time fuller of humanitie, or redier to doe a pleasure: And such oportunities of time as these, his domestical servants waited for especially, to preferre their petitions in.

21

At his suppers, and \*otherwise at all times with his friends being most pleasant and courteous, hee dispatched many matters by way of mirth. For given exceedingly hee was to skoffs, and those to skurrie and filthy, that he could not so much as forbear words of (b) ribaudrie. And yet there bee many right pleasant conceited iests of his extant. Among which this also goes for one. Being aduertised by MENSTRIVS FLORUS, a man of Consuls degree, to pronounce \*Plaustra, rather than *Plastra*, hee saluted him the next morrow by the name of \* (c) FLAURUS. Having yeelded at length to a certaine woman enamoured of him, and readie as it were to dye for pure love, when she \*was brought to his bed, and had given him fortie thousand sesterces for lying with her, his Steward comes to put him in minde in what manner and forme hee would have this summe of money to bee set downe in his \*booke of accompts: marie thus quoth he, VESPASIANO *adamato* i. Item given to (d) VESPASIAN beloved.

22

Hee used Greeke Verses also in good season and aptly applied: as namely of a certaine fellow, tall and high of stature, but (a) shrewde and testie withall, in this mannner,

Μακρὰ βεβήεις κραδίαν δολιχόχρουν ἔγχος,

and especially of CARYLUS, his freed-man: upon whom, for that being exceeding rich, yet to avoyde a payment sometime to his Exchequer, hee began to give it out that hee was free borne, and so changed his name and called himselfe LACHES, VESPASIAN placed in these tearmes:

Ὁ Λάχης Λάχης, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀποβάτης,  
αὐδὴς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰρησὶ κίβηλα.

O LACHES, LACHES, wert thou once dead in grave:  
Thine olde name CARYLUS, againe thou shalt have.

Howbeit, most of all hee affected a kinde of dicacitie in his unseemely gayne and filthy lucre: to the end, that by some skoffing cavill; hee might put by and doe awaie the enuie of the thing, turning all to merrie jests. A Minister and seruitour about him, whom hee loved deere, made suite in the behalfe of one as his brother; for a Stewardship. When hee had put him off to a farther day, hee called unto him the partie himselfe, that made meanes for the thing: and having \*exacted so much monie at his hands, as hee had agreede \*Or received: for with the Mediatour aforesayd, without more delay, he ordained him Steward. Soone after when the Seruitour interposed him selfe, *Goe your wayes* quoth he, *seeke you another to be your brother: For, this fellow whom you think to be yours is become mine.* Suspecting that his mulitier who drave his carroch alighted one time, as it were to shoo his Mules, thereby to winne some advantage of time and delay, for one that had a matter in lawe and was comming unto him: hee asked the Mulitier what might the shooing of his mules \*cost? and so covenanted with him to have part of his gaines. When his sonne TITUS seemed to finde fault with him for devising a kinde of tribute, even out of urine: the monie that came unto his hand of the first paiement, hee put unto his sonnes nose: asking withall; *whether he was offended with the smell, or no,* and when he answered *No: and yet quoth he, it commeth of Urine.* Certaine Embassadors brought him word, that there was decreed for him at the common charges of the States a gearlike image, that would cost no meane summe of money. He commanded them to reare the same immediately, shewing there-with his hand \*hollow. Here is the base quoth he and \*piedfall for it, ready. And not so much as in the feare & extreme perill of death forbare he skoffing. For when as among other prodigious signes the \*Mausoleum of the CESARS opened sodainely, and a blazing starre appeared: The one \*of them he sayde, did concerne IUNIA CALVINA a gentlewoman of \*AUGUSTUS (CESARS) race: the other had reference to the King of the Parthians, who ware his haire \*long. In the very first accesse also, and fit of his disease, *Me thinkes* quoth he, *I am \*a deiffing.*

23

In his ninth Consulship, after he had been assayled in Campania with some light motions and grudgings of his sicknesse, and thereupon returned forth-with to the Citie, hee went from thence to Catilie and the lands he had about Reate, where every yeere hee was wont to summer, Heere, having (besides the maladie still growing upon him) hurt also his guttes and bowels with the use of \*colde (a) water, and yet neverthelesse executed the functions of an Emperour, after his accustomed manner, in so much as lying upon his bed, hee gave audience to Embassadors: when all of a sodaine he fell into a loofnesse of the bellie, that hee fainted and was ready to swoound therewith, an Empe-  
rour quoth he ought to dye standing. As he was arising therefore and streining still to \*ease his bodie he dyed in their hands that helped to lift him up, the 8th day \*before the Calends of July: when he had lived threescore yeeres and nine, \*seven moneths and seven dayes over:

\*The partie that came to sollicite his owne cause.  
\*For to receive the monie.

\*Meaning his hand.

\*Monumēt or Sepulchre.

\*The Mausoleum.

\*Whereas himselfe was not of that line.

\*A blazing starre.

\*Whereupon is called *Stella Crinita* & *Comete*: in Greeke.

\*Am a dying, & to grow to be a god.

\*These waters of Catilie as Plinie writeth were exceeding cold.

\*To avoid the order of the guttes.

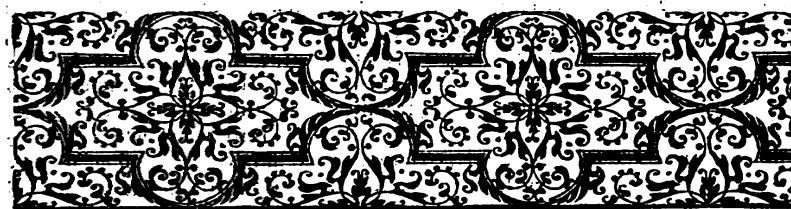
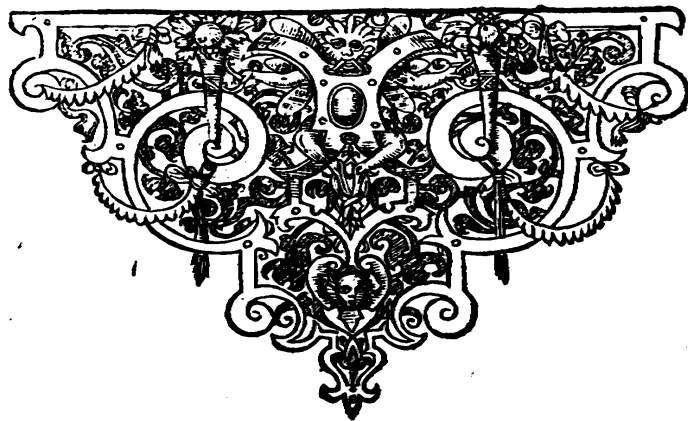
A.V.C. 832.

\*24. lune.

\*Superq; mēsem ac diem p. p. m. m.

All

All writers agree in this, that so confident he was alwayes of his owne  
 \*Or nativitie, \*Horoscope and his childrens, that after so many conspiracies continually  
 plotted against him hee durst warrant and assure the Senate *that either his owne  
 Sonnes should succede him or none*. It is sayde moreover, that hee dreamed up-  
 on a time, How hee sawe a paire of skales hanging in the midst of the porch  
 and entrie of his house palatine, with the beame thereof even ballanced, so as  
 in the one ballance stoode CLAUDIUS and NERO: in the other, himselfe  
 and his sonnes. And it fell out so indeede: for they ruled the  
 Empire of both sides so many yeers, and the like  
 space of time just.



# THE HISTORIE OF Titus Flavius Vespasianus Au-

gustus, written by *Caius Suetonius  
 Tranquillus.*



**T**ITUS, surnamed as his Father was, VESPASIANUS, the  
 lovely darling and delightfull ioy of Mankinde (so fully was  
 he, either endued with good nature and disposition, or en-  
 riched with skilfull cunning, or else graced with fortunes fa-  
 vour; and that (which is hardest of all) in his Imperiall  
 State; considering that whiles hee lived as a private person  
 under the Emperour his Father, he could not avoid the very  
 hatred and much lesse thereprooffe of the world.) This TITUS, I say, was borne  
 the \* third day before the Calends of Ianuarie: in that yeere which was remarke-  
 able for the death of CAIUS the Emperour, neere unto the (a) *Septizonium*,  
 within a poore ill-favoured house, in a very little Chamber and darke with-  
 all: For it remaineth yet to bee scene. His Education hee had in the Court to-  
 gether with BRITANNICUS, trained up in the like Arts and Disciplines, under  
 the

\* 30 of De-  
 cember,  
 A.V.C. 794

\* Metoposoj.

\* Britannicus.

\* Britannicus.

the same teachers. At which time verily, men say, that a \* (b) Fortune-teller, whom NARCISSUS the freed man of CLAUDIUS brought to see BRITANNICUS, after Inspection affirmed in oft constantly, that by no means \* Hee, but TITUS who then stood hard by, should surely bee Emperour. Now were these two so familiar, that (as it is verily thought) of the same cup of poison whereof BRITANNICUS drank addicted, TITUS also sitting neere unto him, tasted: whereupon he fell into a grievous disease, that held him long and put him to great paine. In memorie of all which premisses, he erected afterwards for \* him one Statue of gold in the *Palatium*; as also another of Ivorie on horsebacke (which at the *Circian* Games is even at this day caried before in the Solemne pomp) he dedicated, and accompanied accordingly.

2

\* Authoritatis,  
which Tacitus  
calcth maue-  
statem.

At the very first, even in his child-hood, there shone forth in him, the gifts both of body and minde: and the same more and more still by degrees as hee grew in yeeres: A goodly presence and countenance, wherein was seated no lesse \* maiestie than favour and beauty: A speciall cleane strength, albeit his stature was not tall: but his belly bare out somewhat with the most. A singular memorie: and aptnesse to learne all the Artes, in manner, as well of warre as of peace. Most skilfull he was in handling his weapon, and withall a passing good horseman: For his Latine and Greeke tongue, whether it were in making Orations or composing Poemes, prompt and ready even to the performance thereof *ex tempore*. Neither was he unskilful in Musick as who could both sing and also play upon instruments sweetly and with knowledge. I have heard also many men say, *That he was wont to write with Cyphers and Characters* most swiftly, striving by way of sport and mirth with his owne Clerks, whether he or they could write fastest: to expresse likewise and imitate what hand so ever hee had seene: yea, and to professe many a time, that he would have made a notable forger and counterfaiiter of writings.

3

\* Temperate  
behaviour.

\* In underta-  
king caus: s of  
greatest im-  
portance  
\* I. entertain-  
ing al matters  
whatsoever.  
A.V.C. 820  
\* Neere to the  
Lake Geneva  
reth.

In quality of Tribune Militare, he served in the warres both in *Germanie* and also in *Britaine*, with exceeding commendation for his industrie and no lesse report of \* modestie, as appeareth by a number of his images and (a) titles to them annexed, throughout both Provinces. After this warfare of his, hee pleaded causes in Court, which he did rather to winne credite and \* reputation, than to make it an ordinarie \* practise. At which very time, he wedded *ARRICIDIA*, the daughter of *TEXTULLUS* a Gentleman of *Rome*, but Capitaine sometime of the Praetorian Bands: and in the roome of her deceased, he tooke to wife *MARTIA FLAVIA*: and from her when she had borne unto him a daughter, he divorced himselfe. After this, upon his Questureship, being Colonell and Commaunder of a whole Legion, he brought under his subiection \* *TARICHEA* and *GAMALA* two most puissant Cities of *Iurie*: Where, in a certaine battaile having lost his horse under him (by a deadly wound) within his flanks, hee mounted another whose rider in fight against him had bene slaine and was fallen.

4

A.V.C. 822

\* In Paphia  
citic as thin the  
Isle Cyprus.

Afterwards, when *GALEA* was possessed of the State, being sent to congratulate his advancement: What way so ever he went, he turned all mens eyes upon him, as if he had bene singled forth to be adopted. But so soone as he perceived all to be full of troubles againe, hee returned back out of his very journey, and visited the Oracle of *VENUS PAPHIA*: Where, whilst he asked counsell, about his passage at sea, hee was confirmed withall in his hope of the Empire. Having attained thereto within short time, & being left behind to subdue *Iurie* throughly in

in the last assault of *Hierusalem*, hee slew twelue enemies that defended the wall, with iust so many arrowes shot: and wonne the Citie upon the very birth-day \* of his daughter, with so great ioy and favourable applause of all his Scouldiours: that in their ratulation they saluted him Emperour: and soone after, when he was to depart out of that Province, deteined him: in humble manner, yea and eft-soones in threatening wise instantly calling upon him, To stay, or else to take them all away together with him. Whereupon arose the first suspicion, That he revolted from his father, and had attempted to chalenge the kingdome of the East parts for him selfe. Which surmise himselfe made the more, after that in his way to *Alexandrea*, as he consecrated at *Memphis* the *Ox Apis*, he wore a (a) Diademe: VVhich he did in deed according to the custome & rites of the auncient religion there. But there wanted not some, who construed it otherwise. Making hast therefore into *Italie*; after hee was arrived first at *Rhegium* and from thence at *Puteoli*, embarked in a Merchants ship of burden; to *Rome* he goes directly with all speed & most lightly appointed: and unto his father looking for nothing lesse, *I am come* quoth he, father, *I am come*: checking thereby the rash and inconsiderate rumors raised of him.

5

From that time forward hee ceased not to carie himselfe as partner with his Father, yea and Protectour also of the Empire: VVith him hee triumphed: with him hee jointly administred the Censureship: His Colleague hee was in the Tribunes authority: his Companion likewise in seven Consulships. And having taken to himselfe the charge well-neere of all Offices, whiles hee both endited letters and penned Edicts in his Fathers name: yea, and read \* Orations in Senate, and that in the Questours turne, he assumed also the Captainship of the Guard, an Office never to that time executed but by a Gentleman of *Rome*. In this place hee demeaned himselfe nothing civilly, but proceeded with much violence: For ever as he had any in most ielousie and suspicion, he, by sending secretly and under-hand certaine of purpose, who in the Theaters and Campe should require for to have them punished (as it were with his Fathers consent) made no more ado but brought them all to their end. As for example, among these, hee commaunded *AULUS CECINA*, a man of Consular Degree, and a guest by him invited to supper, when hee was scarce gone out of the Banqueting parlor to bee stabbed. I must needs say, that driven he was to this violent proceeding upon an extremity of daunger: considering that he had found out his hand-writing bearing evidence of a conspiracie that he plotted with the Scouldiours. By which courses, as he provided well and sufficiently for his owne security another day: so, for the present time he incurred very much displeasure and hatred of the world: In so much, as no man lightly, when so adverse a rumor was on foote, and that which more is, against the wills of all men, would have stepped to the Imperiall throne.

6

Beside his cruelty, suspected he was also for riotous life: in that he continued banquetting untill midnight with the most profuse and wastfull spend-thrifts of his familiar minions: For want of lust likewise, by reason of a sort of stale Caramites & guelede Eunuchs that he kept about him: and the affectionate love that hee was noted to beare to \* *Queene BERENICE*, unto who also, as it was said he promised marriage. Suspicion there was moreover of his pilling & polling. For certain it was, that in the \* commissiōs & hearing of causes which his father held, he was wont to seel

Z 2

the \* Agnitionis;

\* 12 Profuge  
natores.  
\* 814 Of Sep-  
tember, Joseph.  
lib. 7 de bello  
Iudaico.

A.V.C. 824  
\* 825, 824  
\* M. J. 111  
A.V.C. 823  
825, 827, 828  
829, 830, 832

\* The sister as  
some thinke of  
Agrippa, & wife  
for a while of  
Polemon King  
of Lycia, others  
say, she was the  
wife first of A-  
ristobulus after  
wards of An-  
tiper.



the decion of matters, and to make a gaine thereby. After this, men both reputed and also reported him to be even another NERO. But this name that went of him proved good for him and turned to his greatest commendation: considering that no grosse vice could be found in him, but contrariwise many excellent vertues. The feasts that he made were pleasant meriments, rather than lavish and sumptuous. He chose for his friends such, as in whom the Emperours also his successours rested themselves, and whom they used especially as necessarie members both for them and also for the Common-wealth. As for Queene BERENICE, he sent her quickly away from the Citie of Rome; but full loath they were both of them to part a sunder. Certaine of his minions and dearlings whom hee favoured and fancied most, albeit they were such artificiall Dauncers, that within a while after they caried the greatest praise and prise upon the stage, he forbore quite not onely to huggle and embrace long together, but to behold so much as once in any public meeting and assembly. From no Citizen tooke he ought: and from aliens goods he abstained, if ever any did. Nay, he received not the very contributions graunted and usually paid. And yet, being inferior to none of his predecessours in munificence, as having dedicated an \* Amphitheatre, and built the Baines hard-by, with (a) great \* expedition, he exhibited a Spectacle of Sword-fencers, with all kinds of furniture thereto belonging in most plentifull manner. Hee represented also a navall fight in the old *Naumachia*; In which very place he brought forth likewise his sword-fencers to play their prizes: and in that one day he put out to be baited 5000 wilde beasts of all sorts.

\* At which solemnity 5000 wilde beasts were killed. As *Ensebus Chronographus* and *Eutropius* write. \* *Calistrus*.

Furthermore, being of his owne nature most kinde and gracious; whereas by a constitution and order that TIBERIUS began, all the CÆSARS his Successours held not the Benefits graunted by former Princes good and in force, unlesse they also themselves made new graunts of the same againe: hee was the first, that by vertue of one sole edict, ratified and confirmed all that had passed before: neither suffred he any petition to be made unto him for them. In all other Suits and Requests, hee ever more held most constantly mens mindes at this passe, that hee would send none away without hope. And when his Domesticall Ministers about his person, would seeme to tell him, *That he promised more than he was able to performe*: What! quoth he, *there ought no man to depart from the speech of a Prince, sad and discontented*. Calling to minde one time as he sat at supper, That he had done nothing for any man that day, hee uttered this memorable and praise-worthy *Apophthegme*, *My friends, I have lost a day*. The people especially in generall he intreated in all occasions, with so great courtesie, that having proposed a solempne Sword-fight, he made open profession, that he would set it forth, not to please himselfe but to content the beholders. And verily, even so hee did: for, neither denied he ought to them that would call for it: and of his owne accord, willed them to aske what their mindes stoode to. Moreover, shewing plainly, that hee stoode well affected to the manner of the Thracian \* swordfencers fight and their Armature, hee would many times even with the rest of the people both in word and gesture (as a favourer of that kinde) iest and make sport: yet so, as hee kept still the maiestie of an Emperour: and withall iudged with equitie indifferently. And because hee would pretermitt no point of popularity, sometime as hee bathed in his

\* Who were opposite to the *Mirmillones*, y were armed after the french fashion.

owne baines hee admitted the Commons thither unto him. There fell out in his daies certaine mischaunces and heaveie accidents: as, the burning of the mountaine *Vesuvius* in *Campania*. A Skar-fire at Rome, which lasted three daies and three nights; as also a \* pestilence, the like whereof, had not lightly beene knowne else where at any other time. In these calamities so many and so grievous, he shewed not onely a Princely care, but also a singular fatherly affection: sometime comforting (his people) by his Edicts; otherwhiles helping them so farre forth as his power would extend. For repairing the losses in \* *Campania*, he chose by lot certaine Commissioners to looke thereto; even out of the ranke of those that had beene Consuls. The goods of such as perished in the said mount, whose heires could not be found, hee awarded to the reedification of the ruinate Cities adioyning. And having made publick protestation, that in the said skare-fire of the Citie, there was no losse at all but to himselfe: Look what ornaments were in any of his owne \* Palaces and royall houses, the same he appointed to the Citie buildings and the Temples: For which purpose hee made divers of Knights degree Supravisors, to the end that every thing might be dispatched with greater expedition. To cure the sicknesse and mitigate the furie of those contagious Diseases, hee used all helpe of God and man; having sought out what soever kinds of Sacrifices and remedies might be found: Among the adversities of those times, may be reckoned these Promoters and Informers, with such as under hand set them a worke, occasioned all by old licentiousnesse and impunitie. And those he commaunded to be whipped and beaten with cudgels ordinarily in the open Markers place: and last of all, when they had beene brought in a Shew through the Amphitheatre, partly to be solde in port-sale for slaves: and in part to be caried away into the roughest and bleakest lands that were. And because hee would for ever restrain such, as at any time should dare to doe the like: hee made an Acte among many others, prohibiting. One and the same matter to be sued by vertue of many Statutes and Lawes enacted in that behalfe: or to make inquisition as touching the estate of any man deceased, after the terme of certaine yeeres limited.

\* Wherein there died ten thousand a day. *Enes.*

\* By the burning of *Vesuvius* which consumed many towns & much people.

\* In the Country, as Columns, statues painted tables, &c.

Having professed, that he tooke upon him the High-Priesthood in this regard, because hee would keepe his hands pure and innocent, hee made good his word. For, after that time, never was hee the principall Author of any mans death, nor priuie and accessarie thereto; (albeit hee wanted not sometimes iust cause of revenge) but sware devoutly, *That hee would rather die himselfe, than doe others to death*. Two noble men of the *Patritian* ranke, convicted for affecting and aspiring to the Empire he proceeded against, no farther than to admonish them to desist and give over, saying, *That Sovereigne power was the gift of Destinie and Divine providence*. If they were Petitioners for anything else, he promised to give it unto them. And verily, out of hand, to the mother of the one who was then farre of (wofull and pensive woman as shee was) he dispatched his owne courtitours and foote-men to carie word that her sonne was safe: As for themselves hee not onely invited them to a familiar and friendly supper that night: but also the next day following, at the sight of Sword-fencers placing them of purpose neere about his owne person, the \* Ornaments of the Champions that were to fight, presented unto him, hee reached unto them for to (a) view and peruse.

\* As their armour, weapons &c.

\* Ascendents  
of their Nati-  
vity.  
\* Domitian.

It is said moreover, that having knowledge of both their Horoscopes, he avouched that daunger was toward them both and would light upon their heads one day, but from some other; as it fell out in deede. His owne \* brother never ceasing to lay waite for his life, but professedly in manner soliciting the armies against him: plotting also and intending thereupon to flie and be gone, hee could never endure either to kill or to sequester and confine, no nor so much as to abridge of any honour: but, as hee had alwaies done from the first day of his imperiall dignity, persevered to testifie and declare, that Partner he was with him in the Sovereigne government, and his heire apparent to succcede him: otherwhiles secretly with teares and prayers beseeching, *That he would vouchsafe him yet at length, minnall love and affection*

9 Amid this blessed course of life, cut short he was and prevented by death, to the greater losse of mankind than of himselfe. After he had finished the folemne Shewes and Games exhibited to the people, in the end and upshot whereof, hee had shed teares abundantly: he went toward the Sabines territorie somewhat more sad than usually he had beene: by occasion, that as hee sacrificed, the beast brake loose and gat away: as also because in faire and cleere weather (a) it had thundered. Hereupon, having gotten an ague at his first lodging and bairing place, when he was removing from thence in his Lister, it is said that putting by the Curtaines of the windowe, hee looked up to heaven, and complained very pitcously, that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to die: For there was no fact of his extant, of which hee was to repent, save onely one. Now what that one should be, neither uttered he himselfe at that instant, neither is any man able readily to guesse thereat. Some thinke, he called to minde the over-familiar acquaintance that he had with his brothers \* wife. But DOMITIA devoutly sware, That he never had such dealing with her: who no doubt would not have denied it, if there had beene any folly at all betweene them: nay, shee would rather have made her vaunt thereof: so ordinary a thing it was with her to glory in all naughtinesse and shamefull deedes.

\* Domitia

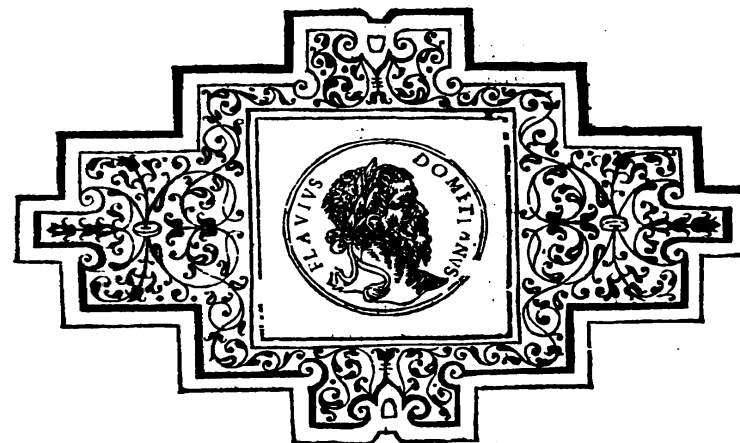
\* 13 of Sep-  
tember,  
A.V.C. 834

10 He departed (a) this world, in the very same Country-house wherein his father died before him: upon the \* Ides of September, two yeeres, two moneths & twenty dayes after that he succeeded his father, and in the two & fortieth yeere of his age. Which being once notified and knowen abroad, when all men throughout the Citie mourned no lesse than in some domesticall occasion of Sorow and Lamentation: The Senate before they were summoned and called together by any Edict, ranne to the Curia, finding as yet the doores fast locked: but when they were set open, they rendred unto him now dead so much thanks, and heaped upon him so great a measure of praises, as they never did before, at any time, whiles he was living and present among them.



# THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Domitianus, vwritten

by Caius Suetonius Tran-  
quillus.



**D**OMITIAN was borne the \* ninth day before the Calēds\* 24. Octobris: of November what time his father was Consul Ele&, and A.V.C. 104 to enter upon that honorable place the \* moneth ensuings 31. Ianuarie. within the sixt regio of Rome Citie, at the \* Pomegranate: A place so called like as be fore, ad capita Butula and ad Gallinas. The floure of his tender yeeres and the verie prime of youth, he passed by report, in so great povertie & \* infamy withal, that he had not one peece of plate or vessel of silver to be served with. And full well it is knowen, that CLODIUS POLLIO, a man of Pretours degtee (against whome there is a Poem of NEROES extant, intitled

\* For his impure life.

\* Or Bil.  
\* Or abuse  
gather,

\* Betweene  
Vitellius & his  
father Vespasian  
and their  
factions.

\* The Empe-  
rours sonne &  
heire apparant  
of the Empire.  
\* As being a  
young Prince  
and a Cesar.

entitled LVSCIO kept by him a \* skro of his owne hand writing, yea and other  
whiles brought the same forth to bee scene, wherein he promised him the \* use of  
his bodie one night. Neither wanted some who constantly vouched, that DOMI-  
TIAN was in that sort abused, even by NEBVA who soone after, succeeded him.  
In the Vitellian troubles he fled into the Capitol with his Vnkle SABINVS, & part  
of the forces which were then present. But when the aduerser faction brake in: and  
while the Temple was on fire, hee lay close all night in the Sextaines lodging and  
early in the morning disguised in the habit of a priest of Iſis, and among the sacrifi-  
cers belonging to that vaine superstition, after hee had passed over Tiberis ac-  
companied with one onely person, to the mother of a schoole fellow of his, hee  
lurked there so secretly, that a beir the ferschers traced him by his footing yet could  
hee not be found. At last after victory obtained hee went forth and shewed him-  
selfe; & being generally saluted by the name \* of CESAR; the honourable dignitie  
of the Citi-Prætor in the consular authoritie, hee tooke upon him in name and  
title onely: the iurisdiction whereof hee made over to his next Colleague. But in  
all power of \* Lordly rule, hee caried himself so licentiously & without controlment  
that hee shewed even then betimes, what a one hee would prove hereafter. And  
not to handle every particular, having with uncleane hands offered dishonour to  
many mens wives, hee fled a way and married also DOMITIA LONGINA the  
wedded wife of ELIUS LONGINVS: and in one day gave and dealt above  
twentie offices, within the Citie and abroad in foraine provinces: in so much as  
VESPASIAN commonly said, *That hee marvelled, why he sent not one also to succeed  
in his place.*

2

Hee enterprised moreover a voiage into *Gaule* and *Germanie*, Notwithstan-  
ding the same was needlesse, and his fathers freinds dilwaded him from it; onely,  
because hee would equallize his brother both in \* workes and reputation. For these  
prankes of his rebuked he was: and to the end he might the rather be put in mind  
of his young yeeres and private condition, hee dwelt together with his father: in  
a lister hee attended the (Curule) chaire of father and brother, whensoever they  
went forth of doores: and being mounted upon a white Courser accompanied  
them both, in their tryumph over *Iurie*. Of 6 Consulships hee bare but one \* ordi-  
nary; and the same by occasion that his brother TITVS yeilded unto him his own  
place and furthered him in his suite. Himselfe likewise made wonderfull semblance  
of modestie. But above all, hee \* cemed outwardly to affect Poetrie (a studie which  
he was not so much unacquainted with before time, but he despised and reiected it  
as much afterwards) & recited his owne verses even in publike place. Yet neverthe-  
lesse, when VOLOGESVS King of the *Parthians* required aide against the *Alanes*,  
and one of VESPASIANs two sonnes to be the Generall of those forces, hee labou-  
red with might and maine, that himselfe before all others should be sent: and bee-  
cause the quarrel was \* dispatched alreadie to his hand, hee assaid by gifts and large  
promises to sollicite other Kings of the East, to make the same request. When his  
father was dead, standing in doubtfull tearmes with himselfe a long time, whe-  
ther hee should offer unto the souldiers a donative duplicate to that of his brother  
TITVS, hee never stuck to give out and make his boast, That left hee  
was to bee partner with him in the Empire, but that his fathers will was  
verie much abused. Neither would hee give over from that time forward  
both

\* Overtures,  
deeds and ex-  
ploits.

\* Which began  
the first of Ia-  
nuary, in his  
owne right &  
not in a vacant  
roome of  
others.

\* Peace con-  
cluded between  
the 2. nations

both to lay wait secretly for his brother, and also to practise openly against him,  
untill such time as he gave commandement when hee was stricken with greivous  
sickenesse, that he should be left for dead before the breath was out of his bodie: and  
after he was departed indeed, vouchsafing him no other honour but his \* consecra-  
tion, hee carped also at him many a time as well in glauncing figurative speeches  
as in open Edicts.

\* Canonization  
for a Goa.

In the beginning of his Empire his manner was, to retire himselfe daily into a  
secret place for \* one houre, and there to do nothing else but to catch flies, and with  
the sharp point of a bodkin or writing Steele pricke the through: In so much, as whe  
one enquired, whether any bodie were with CESAR within? VIBIUS CRIS-  
PVS made answer not impertinently, no, not so much as a flie. After this, DOMI-  
TIAN his owne wife, who in his second Consulship had borne him a sonne, and  
whome two yeeres after hee had saluted as Emperesse, by the name of AVGVST-  
TA, her I say, falling in fanisie with PARIS the stage player and ready to die for  
his love, hee put away: but within a smal while after (as impatient of this breach  
and divorce) tooke her home, and married her againe, as if the people had instantly  
called upon him so to do. In the administration of the Empire hee behaved him  
selfe for a good while variable, as one made of an equall mixture and temper of  
vices and vertues, untill at length hee turned his vertues also into vices: being, (so  
far as we may coniecture) over & above his naturall inclination, for want coverous  
and greedie; for feare bloody and cruell.

\* Horarium or  
for a certaine  
time of the day:  
some say three  
houres.

4

Hee exhibited ordinarily magnificent and sumptuous shewes not onely in the  
Amphitheatre, but in the Cirque also. In which, beside the usuall running of  
Chariots, drawn as well with two steedes as foure. Hee represented likewise two  
battailes of horsemen and foote men both: and in the Amphitheatre a Navall  
fight. For, baitings of wild beasts, and sword fencers, he shewed in the very night  
by cresset and torch lights: and hee brought into the place not men onely  
to fight, but women also to encounter wild beaſts. Furthermore, at the games of  
swordfight set out by the Questours (which having in times past been discontinued  
and forlet, hee brought into vse againe) hee was alwaies present in person, so  
as he gave the people leave to choose two paire of swordfencers, out of his owne  
schoole, and those hee brought in, royally, & courtlike appointed in the last place.  
And at all fights of sword players, there stood ever at his feet a little dwarfe arraied  
in skarlet with a small head that it was wonderfull: with whom hee vsed to talke  
and conferre otherwhiles of serious matters. Certes, over heard he was, when hee  
demanded him of what he knew & what he thought, of the last dispose of the Provin-  
ces: and namely of ordaining MATIUS RIVUS, Lieutenant generall of Ægypt.  
Hee exhibited navall battailes performed in manner, by full fleets and compleat  
navies: having digged out a great pit for a lake, and built a stone wall round about  
it, neere unto Tiberis: and those he would behold in the greatest storms & showers  
that were. Hee set forth also the Secular plaies and games making his computati-  
on from the yeere, not wherein CLAVDIVS, but AVGVSTVS longe before had  
made them. During these, upon the daie of the Circeptia solemnities, to the end  
there might be an hundred \* courses the sooner runne, hee abridged the races of  
every one, to wit, from 7. to 4. He ordained moreover, in the honour of IVPITER

\* Circumstrulle

\* Missa. every  
of which ordi-  
narily consists  
of 7. races.

CAPITOLINVS,

**CAPITOLINVS**, **Quinquennall Games** of three fold Maisteries, musicke, horseriding, & Gymnicke exercises: & in the same, rewarding victours with Coronets, more by a good many then now they be. Herein the concurrents strove also for the prise in Prose, both Greeke & Latin: and besides single harpers; there were Setts of thole also that played vpon the harpe, yea and consorts of such as sung thereto, in a quire. In the running place, Virgins also ran for the best games. At all these masteries and solemnities, he sat as president in his Pantofles, clad in a robe (a) of purple after the Greekish fashion, wearing on his head a golden Coronet; with the Image of **IUPITER IVNO** and **MINERVA**: having the priest of **IUPITER** and the Colledge of the religious, called **FLAVIALES**, sitting by him in like habit; saying that in their Coronets there was his Image also. Semblably, hee celebrated everie yeere vpon the Albane mount, the **Quinquatria** of **MINERVA**. In whose honor he had instituted a Societie, out of which there should be chosen by lot, Maisters and Wardens of that solemnitie who were to exhibite peculier and especiall Beastsbaitings and stage playes, yea and contentions for the prise, of Oratours and Poets besides. He gave a \* largesse to the people thrice: to wit, three hundred sesterces a peece: & at the \* shew of the swordfight a most plenteous dinner. At the \*solemne \*Septimontiall sacrifice, hee made a dole of Viands, allowing to the Senatours and gentlemen faire large paniers to the commons, final\* maunds with Cates in them: and was the first himselfe that fell to his meat. The next day after, he\* skattered among the, \*Missils of al sorts: and because the greater part thereof, fell to the ranks of the common people, he pronounced by word of mouth for every skaffold of Senatours and gentlemen, 50. tickets or tallies.

Manie buildings, and those most stately, which had been consumed with fire, hee reedified: and among them the Capitoll which had been \*fired again: but all under the title of his owne name, without any memoriall of the former founders. Mary, he founded a new Temple in the Capitoll to the honour of IUPITER CVSTOS: also the *Forum*, which is now called *Nerua Forum*: like wise the Temple of the FLAVIAN familie: a new place for running and wrestling: another for Poets and Muficians to contend in, and a Naumachie for ships to encounter. Of the stone that was about which, the greatest Cirque of al was afterwards built, by occasion that both sides thereof had been burnt downe.

Expeditions hee made, some voluntary; some upon necessitie: Of his owne accord that against the Catti: upon constraint one, against the *Sarmatians*. By occasion that one whole Legion together with their Lieutenant fell upon the sword: two against the *Daci*, the former, because *OPPIUS SABINVS* a man of Consuls degree was defeated and slaine; and the second, for that *CORNELIUS FVSCVS*, Capitaine of the Praetorian bands (unto whom he had committed the whole conduct of that war) lost his life. Over the *Catti* & *Daci* (after sundry feilds fought with varietie of fortune) he triumphed twice. For his victory of the *Sarmatians*, hee presented only *IvETER CAPITOLINVS* with his Lawrel guirland. The civill warre stirred up by *LVCIVS ANTONIVS* governor of the higher *Germanie*, hee dispatched and entied \* in his absence: and

\* **Convincing**

\* *Xiphidium*

\* So, Called of  
the leauen hils,  
whereupon the  
Cittie stood.

\*Or Baskets.

\*Or Sent.

\* Gifts of fa-  
vours.

**\*In 7 essential  
days.**

\* By Norbanns  
Appins who  
flew the said  
intention.

and that by a wonderfull good hap: when, as at the very houre of conflict, the *Rhene* swelling and overflowing sodainly staied the *Barbarians* forces as they wold have passed over to *ANTONIVS*. Of which victorie hee had intelligence by pre-  
sages, before the newes by messengers came. For uppön that very day when the  
battaile was fought, an Eagle after a straung manner having overspred his statue  
at *Rome* and claped it about with her wings, made a great flapping noise in token  
of much ioy; and within a little after, the bruit was blown abroad so rife and  
common, of *ANTONIES* death, that many vouched confidently, they had seene  
his head also brought home (to *Rome*.)

Many new orders besides in matters of common use, hee brought uppe. The dole of Viands given and distributed in little baskets in lieu of a publike supper; hee abolished; and reduced the auncient custome of \* compleat and formall suppers: Vnto the \*4 factions in former time, of severall crewes running with Chariots at Circean games, hee added twaine; to wit the golden and purple livery. Players & Actours of enterludes hee forbad the open stage: but within house verily, hee granted free and lawfull exercise of their Art. Hee gave commandement that no males should be guelled: And of such Eunuchs as remained in the hands of \* Hucksters, hee abated the price and brought it downe to a meaner. By reason one time of an exceeding plentiful vir tige, and as much scarcity of Corne, supposing that by the immoderate care employed upon Vineyards, tillage was neglected hee made an Edi&th, *That no man in all Italie should plant any neweyoung Vineyardes*: and that in (a) foraine Provinces they should cut them all downe reserving at the most but the one halfe. Howbeit, hee continued not in the full execution of this A&th: Some of the greatest offices hee communicated indiffer&thly between Libertines & souldiers. Hee prohibited, that there should be two \* Camps of the (b) legions: Item that any man should lay up more than a thousand Sesterces about the (c) Camp: in signes. For that L. A N T O N I U S intending rebellion in the wintering harbour of two Legions, was thought to have taken heart and presumed more confidently upon the great summes of monie there bestowd in stocke. Hee added a fourth stipend also for souldiers, to wit, 3. \* peeces of gold by the poll.

In ministring iustice precise he was & industrious. Many a time, even in the common place, sitting extraordinarily upon the Tribunal he reversed the definitive sentences of the Centumvirs, given for favour and obtained by flattery. He warned & chiselled the commissioners and Judges delegate, not to accommodate the elues & give eare unto perswasive and Rhetoricall \* Assertions. The Judges that were bribed and corrupted with monie hee nored and disgraced every one, together with their Assesours upon the bench. Hee mooved also and perswaded the Tribunes of the Commons to accuse Iudicially for extortion, and to force vnto restitution, a base and corrupt \* Aedile: yea and to call unto the Senate, for to have a Iurie empannelled upon him. Moreover, so carefull was hee to chastise as well the magistrats within Rome, as the Rulers of Provinces abroad of their misdemeanours, that never at any time, they were either more temperate or iust in their places. The most part of whome after his dayes, we our selues have seene culpable, yea and brought into question for all manner of crimes. Having taken upon him the censuring and reformation of manners, he inhibited that licentious libertie taken up in Theatres,

Whereas con-  
trariwise vnder  
Nero, publica  
cana ad sportu  
reducta

White  
Blew  
Red  
Greene  
Who gueldd  
parpered and  
set them cut  
to sale.

Y \* *Geminari*  
: *confira* the great-  
- *ter* and the less  
e *as we read in*  
e *Little &c.*

\*Every one  
about 15, s. 7 d.  
ob, sterling.

re \*Of such bond  
or men, as against  
f. their Lordes &  
ne Masters Right  
de claimed free-  
n- dome, & vsed  
es therein the  
er plea of Ora-  
art tors.  
to \*who by taking  
n oncy exerci-  
sed his office  
otherwise then  
he ought.

of beholding the playes and games pell-mell: one with another in the quarter and ranks appointed for gentlemen. Diffamatorie libels written & divulged, wherein men and women of good make were touched and taxed, hee abolished not with out shame and ignominie of the Authors. A man of Questours degree, because he tooke pleasure in Puppet-like gesturing and dauncing, hee remooved out of the Senate. From women of dishonest carriage, hee tooke away the priuiledge and use of their Listers: hee made them incapable also of Legacies and inheritances. A gentleman of Rome hee rased out of the Roll and Tables of Iudges, for receiving his wife againe into Wedlocke, whome hee had before put away and sued in an action of adulterie. Some of both degrees, as well Senatours as Gentlemen, hee condemned, by vertue of the law \*Scatinia. The incestuous whoredomes committed by vestall votaries; negligently passed over, by his father and brother both, hee punished after sundrie sorts. The former delinquents in that kinde, with simple death: the later lost according to the auncient manner: (d) For, having given libertie unto the sisters, \*Ocellata as also to Varomilla, for to chuse their owne deaths, and banished those who had deflowered them, hee afterwards commanded, that Cornelia \*Maximilla, who in times past had bene acquit, and a long time after was calied into question againe and convicted, should be buried quick: and the parties who had committed incest with her, beaten with rods to death in the Comitium: except on alone a man of Praetours degree, unto whom whiles the matter remained yet doubtful, and because he had confessed and bewraied himselfe (upon his examination by torture which was uncertaine) he granted the favour of Exile. And that no religious service of the Gods should be contaminated and polluted without condigne punishment, the monument or Tombe, which his freedman had built for a sonne of his with the stones appointed for the Temple of Iupiter Capitolinus, hee caused his souldiers to demolish: and the bones and reliques therein hee drowned in the Sea.

9 At the first hee abhorred all bloodshed and slaughter, so farre forth, as that (while his father was yet absent) callinge to remembrance this Verse of Virgil.

*Impia quam casis gens est epulata iuvenit,*

*Ere godlesse people made thir feasts*

*With Oxenflaine, (poore harmelesse beasts.)*

Hee purposed fully to publish an Edict, Forbiddinge to kill and sacrifice any Oxe. Of \*Covetousnesse also and avarice, hee gave scarcely the least suspicion; either at any time when hee led a private life, or a good while after hee was Emperour: but contrariwise rather, he shewed great prouises oftentimes, not of abstinence onely but also of liberalitie. And whensoever he had bestowed gifts most bountifully upon those that were about him, hee laied upon them no charge before this nor with more earnestnesse, *than to do nothing basely and beggerly*. Moreover, one Legacie put downe in the last Will of Rvsicius Cæpio who had provided therein, *That his heire should giue yearly unto every one of the Senatours, as they went into the Curia, a certaine summe of money*, he made void. All those likewise, whose suits had hung and depended in the Chamber of the Cirie, from before five yeeres last past, hee discharged and delivered from trouble. Neither suffered hee them to be sued and molested againe; but within the compasse of one yeare and with this condition, that the accuser (unlesse hee overthrow his \*adversarie by that time) (should be banished for his labour, The Scribes and Notaries belonging to the

Questours, who by an olde custome (but yet against the Law *Clodia*) used to negotiate and trade, he pardoned onely for the time past. The od ends and cancells of grounds, which after the division of lands by the \*Veteran Souldiours, remained heere and there cut out, as it were, from the rest, hee graunted unto the olde owners and Landlords as in the right of Prescription. The false information of matters, whereof the penalie came to the Exchequer, hee repressed: and sharplie punished such Informers. And this (by mens saying) was a speech of his, *The Prince that chasteneth not Promoters, setteth them on to promote.*

But long continued he not in this traine, either of clemencie or of abstinence. And yet fell hee somewhat sooner to crueltie than to covetousnesse. A Schollar of the cunning player and counterfeit *Paris*, being as yet of tender yeeres, and at that time very sicke, hee murdered: for that, both in skill and also in countenance and feature of body he seemed to resemble his Maister. Semblably dealt he with *Hermogenes* of *Tarsus*, for certaine figures \* of Rhetorick interlaced in his Historie: and withall, crucified the Sctivenars and VVriters that had copied it out. An (a) Householder, for saying butt these words, That the *Thracian* \* Fencer was (b) equall to the mirrillon; but inferiour to the letter forth of the \* Game, hee caused to be plucked downe from the scaffold in the Theater, into the plaine beneath; and there to be cast before the greedy Mastiyes, with this title, *Impie locustæ Parmularius*. The \* *Parmularius* (c) hath blasphemed. Many Senatours, and some of them which had bene Consuls, hee killed. Among whom *Civicus Cerealis*, in the very time when he was Proconsull in *Asia*; *Salvidienus Orfitus* and *Acilius Glabrio* during the selfe exile, he put to death; pretending that they practised Innovation in the State: all the rest every one for most slight causes. As for example, *Ælius Lamia*, for certaine suspitious iests (I must needs say) but such as were stale and harmlesse; namely, because unto *Domitian* when (after he had taken from him \* his wife) he tell a praising of her voice, he said, *I (d) hold my peace*, *Helas*. As also, for that unto *Titus*, moving him to a second marriage, he made answer, *Me kasu Gamesai Theleis*: What! (and if I should wed another) would not you also marie her? \* *Salvius Coccrianus*, because he had celebrated the *Birth-dages-minde*, of *Otho the Emperour*, his \* Vnkle. \* *Mæcius Pomposianus*, for that it was commonly said, *He had the Horoscope in his Nativity of an Emperour*; and caried about him the Map or Geographical description of the \* world in certaine parchments; and withall, the Orations of Kings and brave Capitaines written out of *Titus Livius*; for imputing likewise the names of *Mago* \* and *Annibal* upon some of his slaves. *Sallustius Lucullus* Lieutenant generall of *Britaine*, for suffering certaine speares of a new fashion to be called \* *Luculleæ*. *Iunius Rusticus*, for publishing the praises of \* *Pætus Thrasea* and \* *Helvidius Priscus*; and calling them most holy and upright persons. By occasion of which criminous imputation (charged upon *Rusticus*) hee packed away all Philosophers out of the Cirie of *Rome* and *Italie*. Hee slewe also *Helvidius* the \* sonne, for that in an Enterlude (as it were), and by way of an *Exodium* upon the Stage, hee had under the persons of *Paris* and *Oenone* \* acted the Divorse betweene

A a

\* Who being persecuted by *Nero* cut his owne maister veines. \* The sonne in lawe of *Thrasea*, even another *Cato* or *Brutus* and a man of most free speech in the behalfe of the Common wealth. \* For the father, *Vespasian* had slain before, *Trallasse*, \* handled, *al, tasse*, \* taxed or reproved.

\* Against the filthy sin of *Pederastie* or *Sodomie*.  
\* As to loose their head.  
\* Surnamed so of a tunic in *Rome*.  
\* Or *Maxima Scythalis*, the chiefe of those Nuns, as Lady Priorresse or Abbess.

2. *Georgicorum*. This hath relation to the last word (*Ante*) in the verse preceding.

\* *Cupiditatis* *quoque atque avaritiæ*. By covetousnesse hee meant the greedy desire of other mens goods; by avaritie, in this place the pinching expense of his owne.

\* Plaintiff.  
\* Defendant.

\* As *Ironia* and *Antiphrasis*, &c. whereby he seemed to glance at him. \* Who was armed with a buckler: of swordfight. \* The favourer of the armed fencer *Thrax* above saide.

*Domitia longina* \* *Veneriamus*, &c. *Lamia*, his voice as some expound it. \* As if he had uttered these words: This is mine injury but I must say nothing.

\* Understand here, and in the other following, (he slew or put to death) \* For his father *L. Salvius Thrasea* was *Otho*s brother.

\* See *Vespasian*, cap. 14.

\* Or earth. \* Two most renowned warriors: of the Carthaginians, and mortall enemies of the Romans.

\* O his owne him name.



\* him and his wife. FLAVIUS SABINVS, one of his cousin germanes, because upon the Election day of the Consuls, the Crier chaunced to mistake a little, and before the people to pronounce him (being Consul Elect) not Consull, but Emperour. And yet, after his victorie in the \* Civill warre, hee became much more cruell: For, many of the aduerse part, even such as \* lying hid a good while were found out by those that were privie unto them, hee by devising a new kinde of torture made to confesse: namely by thrusting fire into the passage of their secret parts: Some also hee dismembred by cutting off their hands. And this is for certaine knowne: That two onely and no more, of the most notorious among them, to wit, a Tribune of Senatours degree, and a Centurion, were pardoned: Who the sooner to shew that they were unguiltie, had proved themselves to have bene effeminate Catamites, and therefore could not possibly be of any reckoning, either with Capitaine or Souldiours.

Now, in this Crueltie of his hee was not onely excessive, but also subtile and craftie; comming upon men when they looked least for it. A \* Controller of his owne, the very day before he crucified him, hee called into his bed-chamber, and made him to sit downe by him upon a pallet or beds side: he dismissed him light-harted and merie: he deigned him also a favour and \* remembrance from his own supper. Vnto ARETINVS CLEMENS, a man of Consuls degree, one of his familiar minions and bloodhounds to fetch in Booties, when he purposed to condemne to death, he shewed the same countenance, as before time, yea and more grace than ordinary: untill at last, as hee \* went with him in the same Lictor, by occasion that hee espied the Informer against him, *How sayest thou*, quoth hee, CLEMENS, *shall wee to morrow heare this most errant knave and varlet, what hee can say?* And because hee would with greater contempt and disdain abuse mens patience, hee never pronounced any heaue and bloudie sentence, without some preambie and preface of Clemencie: So that, there was not now, a surer signe of some horrible end and Conclusion, than a milde beginning and gentle exordium. Some that stood accused of Treason he had inducted into the \* Curia; and when he had premised a Speech, *That hee would make triall that day, how deere hee was unto the Senate*, hee soone effected thus much thereby, That the parties should have their iudgement, to suffer \* *More maiorum*: And then, himselfe, affrighted as it were with the rigorous cruelty of that punishment, would *intercede*, in these words (for, it shall not bee impertinent to knowe the very same as hee delivered them) *Permit my good L.L. this to be obtained of your gracious Piety (which I know I shall hardly obtaine) that yee would doe so much favour unto these persons condemned; as that they may choose, what death they will die: for, by this yee shall spare your owne eyes, and all the world shall know, that I was present in the Senate.*

12

Having emptied his coffers with expences of buildings and Games exhibited to the people, as also with that \* Stipend paid unto the Souldiours, over and above the former; hee assaied verily for easement of the charges belonging to the Camp, for to diminish the numbers and companies of Souldiours. But perceiving that heereby he was both in danger of the Barbarians, and also never the lesse to seeke which way to be relieved from burdens: hee made no reckoning at all, but to raise booties, to rob and spoile he cared not how? The goods of quick

and

and dead both, were every where seized upon: who the Accusers were? or what the matter was? it skilled not. Sufficient it was, if any deede or word whatsoever, were objected against one, to make it high treason against the Prince. Inheritancess, were they never so farre off and belonging to the greatest strangers, were held confiscate and adiudged to the Emperours Coffers: in case but one would come forth and depose, *That hee heard the party deceased say while hee lived, That CÆSAR (a) was his heire*. But, above all others the (b) Iewes were most grievously plagued in the Exchequer. Vnto which were presented as many of them as either professed in Rome to live as Iewes, or else dissimulating their Nation, had not payed the Tributes imposed upon them. Remember, that my selfe being a very youth was in place when an aged Iew, fourescore and tenne yeeres olde, was by the \* Procuratour in a most frequent Assembly searched, whether he were circumcised or no? From his very youth nothing civil \* and sociable hee was: holde of hart, audacious withall, and as well in words as deeds beyond all measure excessive. Vnto CÆNUS his fathers Concubine newly returned out of *Isria*, and of fring to kisse his lips (as her manner was) hee put forth his hand. Taking it haughtily that his \* brothers sonne in Law had attending about him his, Servitours also, clad in faire white, he cried out,

*There is no good Plurality  
In Lordship and in Soueraigntie*

13

But when hee was mounted once to the Imperiall Seate, hee stucke not in the very Senate to make his boast, *That he it was who had given unto his father and brother both, The Empire, and they had but delivered it up to him againe*. Also when after Divorcement he brought home and remarried his wife, hee bashed not to give it out, that she was called to his \* sacred bed. Moreover, upon the day when hee made a great \* Dinner unto the people, hee was well content and pleased to heare their acclamation throughout the Theater in these words,

*Domino et Domina, felicite!*

All happines, to our Lord and Lady.

Likewise at the Solemnity of Trying Maisteries in the *Palatium*, when all the people besought him with great consent and one accord, to \* restore PALFURIUS SURA (one in times past degraded and thrust out of the Senate, but at that time crowned among the Oratours for his Eloquence) hee vouchsafed them no answer, but onely by voice of the publicke crier Comaunded them Silence. With semblable arrogance, when as in the \* name of his Procuratours he ended any formall Letters, thus hee began, *Our Lord and God thus commaundeth*. Whereupon afterwards this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech of \* any man he should be otherwise called. No Statues suffred he to be erected for him in the Capitoll, but of gold and silver; and the same of a certaine weight, iust. As for two-fronted IANI and ARCHES with their foure Steedes, together with the Ensignes and Badges of Triumph, hee built them stately and so many in every quarter and Region of the Cittie, as that in one of the laide Arches there was this Mot in Greeke written, *ἄρκος (a) ἵ.* It is enough. Hee rooke upon him seventene Consulships, more than ever any man before him. Of which, those

A a 2

seven

\* Quo nitenti sacri cerneno pondere vultus Caesaris

\* Or Master of the Exchequer.  
\* But proud & scornfull.

\* Who married Titus his daughter Iulia.  
\* An Hemistichium out of Homer Iliad 2. *Plisses* words as it he should say, I like not so many *Cæsars*

\* Palfurius still as if he had bene a God for, their Gods and Goddeses they bestowed in certaine bed-foists called *Palfuriaria*. \* During the solempne Games exhibited unto them, \* To his Senators places \* Or behalfe \* Common talke

\* Ponderis certis Sabellum recedeth centena, of an hundred pounds according to Statius Papius of Domitians Statue Syl 5. Da Capitolinum æternū sedibus antumo

\* Domitian,

\* Of the Flavians and Vitellians.

\* Dedit latentes, per confectos in vestigatos

\* A *More summum*.

\* A dish of meate, &amp;c.

\* Simul gestamus

\* Senate house.

\* To have their necks fast locked in pillory, and so to be beaten with rods to death.

\* i. of 3. aurei.

\* Not above 4 months.  
 \* Not a fortnight full.  
 \* Over the Caesar and Daci.  
 \* September.  
 \* Oct. ber.

14  
 \* Minions,

seven in the middle, hee bare continually one after another; and in manner all, in name and title onely: but none of them beyond the \* Kalends of May; and most, to the \* Ides onely of Januarie. Now, after his two \* triumphs, having assumed into his stile the Addition of GERMANICUS, hee chaunged the Denomination of the moneths September & October; calling them after his owne names GERMANICUS and DOMITIANUS: for that in the \* one hee entred upon his Empire, and was borne in the \* other.

In these courses that hee tooke, beeing both terrible and odious also unto all men, surpris'd he was in the end, and murdred by his \* friends and freed men that were most inward with him; who together with his wife conspired his death. The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also and what kinde of death he should die, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldaean Astrologers had fore-tolde him all. His Father also one time at supper, when hee saw him forbear to eate Mushromes, laughed him to scorne as ignorant of his owne destinie, for that hee did not feare the sword rather. And therefore beeing alwaies timorous and stricken into his pensive dumps upon the least suspitions presented, hee was beyond all measure troubled and disquieted: In so much as it is credibly reported, that no other cause moved him more, to dispense with that Edict which hee had proclaimed for the cutting downe and destroying of Vineyards, than certaine Pamphlets and Libels scattered abroad with these verses.

\* ΚΑΝ ΜΕ ΦΑΓΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΙΣΙΝ, ΟΜΩΣ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΩ,  
 ΟΣΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΚΙ ΘΥΟΜΕΝΩ.

*Eate me to roote, yet fruit will I beare still and never misse,  
 Enough to poure on CÆSARS head whiles sacrific'd he is.*

In the same fearefulness hee refused a new honour and that which never was devised before, offred by the Senate unto him, (though otherwise most eager and greedy of all such things) whereby they decreed, *That so often as hee was Consull, the Gentlemen of Rome, as it fell by lot to their turnes, should in their rich and gay coates and with military Lawnces march before him among the Litours and other Sergeants and Apparitions.* When the time also of that daunger drew neere which he suspected, he became perplexed every day more than other: and therefore he garnished the walls of thole galleries wherein hee was wont to romehimselfe and walke, with the stone *Phengites*; by the images rebounding from the brightnesse whereof he might see before his face whatsoever was done behind his back. The most part of prisoners and persons in duresse, hee would not heare but being alone and in a secret place, taking holde first of their chaines in his owne hand. And because he would perswade his household servitours, that no man should be so hardy as to lay violent hand upon his owne Patrone to kill him, no though much good might ensue thereof; hee condemned EPAPRODITUS the Secretarie of NERO, for that it was thought, his Lord & Maister (after he was forlorne and forsaken of all) had his helping hand to dispatch him out of the world.

To conclude, his Vnkles sonne (a) FLAVIVS CLEMENS (a man for his lither-nesse and negligence most contemptible) whose sonnes being yet very little ones, hee had openly ordained to bee his Successours: and abolishing their former names, commanded the one to be called VESPASIAN and the other DOMITIAN, he killed sodainely, upon a slender & small suspition, even when he was scarce out of his Consulship. By which deede of his most of all, he hastened his own end and

and destruction, For 8. moneths space together, so many lightnings were seene & reported unto him, that he cryed out, *Now let him strike whom he will.* The Capitol was smitten and blasted therewith: the Temple also of the FLAVIAN Linage: likewise his owne house in the Palatium, and verie bedchamber. Moreover, out of the \* base of his triumphall Statue, the \* Tiele being driven by force of a storme, fell down into the Sepulcher next adioyning: That tree which being laid along, had risen up againe when VESPASIAN was yet a private person, fell sodainely then a seconde time. The Image of fortune at \* Preneste, which all the time of his Empire, when he recommended unto her the new yeere, was wont to give him an happy answer & alwaies the same, now in this last yeere, delivered one most wofull, and not without mention of blood. He dreamed, that MINERVA, whom he worshipped superstitiously, departed out of her Chappell, and said, *She could not protect him any longer*, for that shee was by IUPITER. disarmed. But with no one thing was hee so much disquieted, as with the answer of ASCLETARIO the Astrologer: & the accident that chanced unto him thereupon. This ASCLETARIO beeing enforment against, and not denying that he had delivered what by his art and learning he foresaw, he questioned with and asked, what his owne end should be? & when he made answer & affirmed, *That his destinie was to be torne in peeces with dogs*, & that shortly after, he caused him presently to be killed: but to reprove the rashnes and uncertainty of his skill and profession, he commanded with all, that he should be buried with as great care as possibly might be. In the doing whereof accordingly, it fortuneed that by a sodaine tempest, the corps being cast downe out of the funerall fire, the dogs tare and rent peecemeale, when it was but halfe burnt: and the same happened to be reported unto him among other \* tales and newes, of that day, as hee sat at supper, by LATINVS the player and counterfeite iester, who as hee passed by, chanced to see and marke so much.

16 The day before his death, when he had given commandement that certaine Mushromes set before him should be kept against the morrow, he added moreover, if I may have vie of them: & turning to those that were next him he said, *The day following it would come to passe, that the Moone should embrace her selfe with blood in the signe Aquarius, and some act be seene, whereof men should speake all the world over.* But about midnight, so \* kared he was, that he started out of his bed. Hereupon in the morning betimes he gave hearing unto the Soothsayer sent out of Germanie, who being asked his opinion about the lightning, had foretold a chaunge in the state: and him he condemned. And whiles he scratched verie harde at a wart in his forehead which was festered and growne to be sore, seeing blood run out of it, would God quoth he, this were all. Then asked he what was a clocke? and insteade of the 5 th. houre which he feared, word was brought for the nonce that it was the 6 th. Being ioious hereupon that the danger was now past, and hastening to cherish his body and make much of himselfe, PARTHENIUS his principall Chamberlaine turned him an other way, sayinge there was one come who brought tidings (I wot not what) of great consequence, & of a matter in no wise to be deferred. Voiding therefore all persons from him, he retired into his bedchamber, and there was he murdered.

17 As touching the manner how he was forlaide and of his death, thus much (in manner) hath beene divulged. While the conspiratours were in question with themselves and doubtfull, when, and how, they should set upon him? that is to say, whether he bathed or sat at supper: STEPHEN the procuratour of \* Domitilla, & at the same time in trouble for intercepting certaine monies, offered his advise and helping

\* Jupiter or God.

\* Or Pied stoole.  
 \* Or Inscription.

\* Where was on Oracle.

\* Fabulous narrations to make Princes merry

\* He dreamed haply that Iord as Rusticus whom hee had killed came vpon him with a naked sword.

Xiphilin.  
 \* 11 Of clock

\* Whom Enobarbus reporteth to haue beene neipee by the sister of Flavius Clemens and a Christian, therefore confined to the Island Pontia

\* Alluding to the like verses of the Poet Evander: which Ovide seemeth to expresse: *Fastorum in Lacinthius. Redde caper ritum, tam quibz cū stobis ad aras. I. tunc quod spargi cornua possit, aut*

15

helping hand, who having for certaine dayes before bound up and enwrapped his left arme (as if it had beene amisse) with wool and swadling bandes, thereby to avert from himselfe all suspition, at the very houre interposed fraud and made a lie. For, professing that hee would discover the conspiracy, and in that regarde being admitted into the chamber, as DOMITIAN was reading of a bill which hee preferred unto him, and therewith stood amazed, hee stabbed him benesh in the very share neere unto his privie parts. When hee was thus wounded and beganne to struggle and resist, CLODIANVS<sup>a</sup> Comicularius, and MAXIMVS<sup>a</sup> a freed man of Parthenius, and SATVRIVS the Deane or Decurion of the Chamberlaines with one out of his owne swordfencers schoole, came in upon him, gave him seven wounds, and killed him out right. A youth and page of his, who stood by (as his wonted manner was) because he had the charge of his bedchamber (a) LABRIS, and was present at this murder committed, made this report moreover, that DOMITIAN, at the very first wound given, immediately bad him reach the dagger, that lay under his pillow, and to call in his ministers and servitours: but at the beds head hee found nothing at all thereof save the haft onely: and as for the doores besides, they were all fast shut: Also, that DOMITIAN in this meane space, tooke hold of STEPHEN, bare him to the ground and wrestled with him a long time: That he one while assaiied to wrest his sword out of his hands, another while (albeit his fingers were hurt and mangled) to plucke out his eyes. Well, killed he was, the 14 th day before the Kalends of October, in the 45 th yeere of his age, and the 15 th of his Empire. His dead bodie was caried forth upon the common bierre by the ordinary bearers: and PHYLIS his nourse burned it in a funerall fire: within a country manour of his owne neere unto the Citie, situate upon the high way Latina. But the reliques thereof shee bestowed in the Temple of the FLAVIAN family, and blended the same with the ashes of IULIA the daughter of TITVS, whom she had reared and brought up.

Of stature he was tall, his countenance modest, and given much to (a) rednes: his eyes full and great, but his sight very dimme. Besides, faire he was and of comely presence especially in his youth: well shaped all his body throughout, excepting his feet: the toes wherof were of the <sup>a</sup>shortest. In proceesse of time, he became disfigured and blemished with baldnesse, with a fat grand-pance and slender shanks: & yet they grew to be so leane upon occasion of a long sickenes. For his modesty & shame facednesse he so well perceiued himselfe to be commended, that one time before the Senate he gave out these words, *Hitherto certainly ye have liked wel of my minde and of my countenance.* With his bald head he was so much yrked, that hee tooke it as a reproach unto himselfe, if any man els were either in bord or good earnest twined therewith: albeit in a certaine little booke, which he wrot unto a freind of his, concerning the nourishment & preferuation of the haire of the head, he by way of consolation both to that friend and also to himselfe, inserted thus much.

Ἰχὲρ ὁράας οὐκ ἠγάγας καλὸς τε μέγας τε.

*See'st thou not yet how big and tall*

*How faire I am and comely with all*

And yet quoth he, my <sup>a</sup>destinie and fortune will be to have the same defect of haire: & with a stout heart I endure, that the bush of my head waxeth olde in my fresh youth. And this would I have you to know, that nothing is more louely, nothing more fraile and transitorie than beautie and favour.

19 Being impatient of all labour and paines taking, he was not lightly seene to walke in the Citie. In any expedition and march of the army feldome rod he on horse-

<sup>a</sup> Certaine soul  
dies were so  
scarred,

<sup>a</sup> Or rapier

<sup>a</sup> 17, th. of Sep-  
tember,

<sup>a</sup> Refrilliores  
drawn inward

<sup>a</sup> Homer Iliad  
a 1. Lycan the  
Sonne of Pri-  
amus unto Achil-  
les.  
<sup>a</sup> Eadem me ma-  
nent some read  
(te).

horsebacke, but was caried in a <sup>a</sup>lictour. No affection had hee to beare armes or wield weapons: but delighted he was especially to shoot arrows. Many men have seene him oftentimes, during his retiring abode at *Alba*, to kill with shot an hundred wild beasts of fundrie sorts at a time. & of very purpose to sticke some of them in the head; so, as that with two shoots hee would let his shafts in their fronts like a paire of hornes. Sometimes he would drive his arrows point blanke to iust against the palme of a child's right hand, standing farre off and holding it forth stretched open for a marke, as they should all directly passe through the void spaces be-  
tweene the fingers, and do him no harme at all.

20 All liberall studies in the beginning of his Empire he neglected: albeit hee tooke order to repaire the Libraries consumed with fire, to his exceeding great charges: making search from all parts for the copies of bookes lost, and sendinge as farre as to <sup>a</sup>ALEXANDRIA, (a) to write them out and correct them. But never gave he his minde to know histories; or to have any skill in verbe, or to write ought, though necessitie so required. Except it were the commentaries and acts of TIBERIUS CAESAR, hee never used to read any thing. For his Epistles, Orations and Edicts, hee employed the wits of other men to drawe and frame them. Howbeit, his ordinary speech was not unellegant: and other whiles you shold have him come forth even with mirable sentences and Apophthegmes. As for example; *Would God quoth he, I were as faire and well favoured, as METIVS thinks himselfe to be:* And seeing ones head <sup>a</sup>partly coloured, with yellowish and white silver haire intermingled: Hee said it was <sup>a</sup>snaw and mede mixed together. His saying it was *that the condition of Princes was most miserable, who could not be credited as touching a conspiracie plainly detected unlesse they were slaine first.*

21 Whensoever his leisure served, he solaced himselfe with dice play, even upon the very worke daye, and in morning houres. Hee bathed <sup>a</sup>by day time, and made his dinner so liberall to the full, that feldome for his supper hee tooke any thing, unles it were a <sup>a</sup>Matium Apple, and a smal supping or portion out of a narrow mouthed and great bellied glasse. Hee fasted often, & that very plentifully, but his feasts were short and after a snatching manner: Certes, hee never sat past sunne setting, nor admitted any reare bankets after supper. For, towards bedtime, hee did nothing, but in a secret chamber walke by himselfe alone.

22 To fleshly lust he was over much given. The ordinary use of VENUS, as it were a kind of exercise, hee named Clinopale, as one would say, bed-wrestling. The report went, that him selfe used, with pinlers to depilate his concubines, and to swim among the cominonest naughtie packes, that were. His brothers <sup>a</sup>daughter offered first unto him in marriage whiles she was yet a maide, when he had most resolutely refused, by reason he was entangled and overcome with the marriage of DOMITIA; not long after when she was bestowed upon another, of his owne accord he sollicitated, and was naught with her: even verily whiles his brother TITVS yet lived. Afterwards when she was bereft of father and husband both, hee loved her with most ardent affection, and <sup>a</sup>that openly: in so much, as that hee was the cause of her death, by forcing her to miscarie and cast away the untimely <sup>a</sup>fruit wherewith she went.

23 That he was killed the people tooke it indifferently: but the souldiers, to the very heart: and forthwith went about to canonize him a God, and to call him <sup>a</sup>DIVUS: ready enough also to revenge his death; but that they wanted heads to

<sup>a</sup> Upon mens  
shoulders,

<sup>a</sup> In Aegypt.

<sup>a</sup> Of two co-  
lours.  
<sup>a</sup> A kind of  
delicate drinke  
among the  
Remains,

<sup>a</sup> De dit,  
<sup>a</sup> It tooke the  
name of one  
Matius who  
loured an horse  
yad well: like  
as Appiana and  
Scaptiana mala  
of Appian and  
Scaptian.

<sup>a</sup> Julia.  
<sup>a</sup> As his wed-  
ded wife.  
<sup>a</sup> Conceived, as  
some say, by  
her former hus-  
band: others,  
by Domitian in  
her widow-  
head: and here  
to accordeth  
Lucretia. *Quam  
tot abortiva, &c.*  
Julia vulnam  
Solucet, et pa-  
truo similis of-  
funderet ossa.  
<sup>a</sup> A Saint or of  
sacred memo-  
rie.

lead

\*Petronius and  
Parrhenius.  
Sunt, Aurel.

\*Coates of  
arms,

lead them. And yet within a while after they did it, and calling most instantly and never giving over for\* the authors of this murder to be executed. Contrariwise, the Senate so much reioiced, that being assembled in great frequencie within the Curia, they could not rule themselves, but strived a vie to rent and teare him now dead with the most contumelious and bitterest kinds of (a) acclamations that they could devise: commanding ladders to be brought in, his\* skutchions & Images to be taken downe in their sight, and even there in place to be thrown and dashed against the hard floore: In the end that all titles wherefoever bearing his name should be rased and scraped out, and his memoriall abolished quite for euer. Some few moneths before he was murdered, there was a Crowe in the Capitoll spake these wordes plainely, *ἔσσι πάντα καλῶς*. i. *All shall be well*: And there wanted not one, who interpreted this strang Prodigie thus.

*Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedis culmine cornix*

*EST. BENENON potuit dicere, dixit ERIT.*

The Crow which lately sat on top of Tarpeio newes to tell  
Tis well when as she could not say, said yet, it will be well.

And reported it is that DOMITIAN himselfe dreamed, howe hee had a golden excrecence rising & bunching behind his necke: & knew for certaine, that thereby was portended and foresignified unto the common wealth, an happier state after him. And so it fell out, I assure you shortly after: such was the abstinent and moderate carriage of the (b) Emperours next ensuing.

F. I. N. I. S.



# ANNOTATIONS VPON C. Iulius Cæsar Dictator.

**D**E VCIVSCAESAR, hee died sodainly at Pise in Italy, as hee put on his shoes in a morning, when hee was newe risen. *Plin. Natur. Hist. Lib. 7. c. 53*  
(b) FLAMEN DIALIS, i. the great Priest of IVPITER.

Three FLAMENS there were at Rome, by the first Institution. DIALIS of IVPITER, MARTIATIS of MARS, QVIRINALIS of ROMVLS; and these were the principall: unto whom (in process of time) 12. more were adjoynd, attending all upon severall Godds and Goddesses. *Carol. Sig. de ant. Iure Rom. lib. 1. cap. 39.*

(c) *Perpetuaret.* In the civil Lawe, wee observe a difference betweene *Repudium* and *Divortium*. *Repudium*, when the man rejecteth and casteth off the woman betrothed only unto him before marriage in this forme, *Conditione tui non utor*. And in this wise CAESAR and CORYTTIA parted before. *Divortium*, when hee putteth her away after shee is his wedded wife, with these solemne words: *Restuas tibi habeto*, or *Restuas tibi agito*. Howbeit, in this place *Repudiare* is to be taken in this latter sense, for CORNELIA was his wife, and had borne him a daughter. *Paul. Modestinus Cajus.*

(d) I take it, that he meaneth such inheritances, as are not *Testamentaria*, but *Legitime*: i. Which when one dieth intestate, fall unto the children, first and for default of them, to the *Agnati* and *Gentiles*: i. to the next of kinne, and to the name. These are called with us, the *Right heires at common Law*. *Vide ear Sigon. de Iudicijs lib. 1. cap. 4. De antiquis iur. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

(e) The principall of them was, CORNELIVS PHAGITAS, a Freed man of Sulla, unto whom CAESAR gave two talents, for to escape his hands. See cap. 74. and *Plutarchus*.

(f) It belonged vnto these Votaries and Nunnes of VESTA, to goe betweene parties offended, and make reconciliation. See more herof *Alex. ab Alex. andr. Gemat. die. lib. 5. cap. 17.*

(g) YOUNG gentlemen of noble blood, the better to bee trained up in martiall feats, & the knowledge of any Province affaires, were wont to attend the L.L. Deputies there, & to be entertained with them in the same pavilion, as familiar companions. *Cic. orat. pro Celio. et Plancio.*

(h) *Libertines* were such properly, as of bondmen were manumitted and made Free, although *Sueto.* elsewhere, to wit in *Cl. Cæs.* nameth the children of

such, *Libertines*; by which it appeareth that hee foundeth them with *Ingeniti*. i. Freeborne.

(i) Clients haue a relation to their Patronnes: and as these were *Patruus* and Nobles, so the other were Commoners. And such a mutuall and reciprocall entercourse of duetie was betwene them, that as the Patrons were ready to instruct in the knowledge of the lawes, to defend and protect their Clients, who had put themselves into their patronage: to these were bound to attende their Patrons when they went abroad, into the city & returned home, to relieve the with their purse in the bestowing of their daughters &c. And lawfull it was for neither of them to enforme, to depose, to giue their voices, or to side with adversaries, one against another, without the note and guilt of treachery and perfidious prodicion.

(k) Made of oken branches, or of *Ilex*, or *Efulus*, bearing mast, in defect of the *Olex*, for saving the life of a citizen. Although Generals of the field were honoured therewith, in other respects.

(l) WHO being Consull with Q. CATVLLVS LVCTATIVS, went about to repeale and annull all the Actes of SVLLA late deceased, and so kindled a newe civil warre.

(m) By the death of LEPIDVS, whom his COUNTRYMATE CATVLLVS draue out of Italy into Sardinia, where he dyed, as some write, of a violent Rheume: or as others, with a deepe thought that he took, upon intelligence that he had of his wifes adultery, in which melancholy he pyned away. *Plutarch.*

(n) These *Tribunes Militarie*, call them Colonels ouer a thousand footmen, whereupon they tooke that name first, to wit, when the *Romane Legion* consisted of 3000. according to the three ancient Tribes, *Rhamnium*, *Lucerum* & *Tattienium*: or High Marshalls, as BYDAEVS would have them to be, considering the execution of their office in the campe, not much unlike to our *Kn. Marshalls* in these daies; Some by vertue of an Act or Lawe preferred by RVTIIVS RVFVS, were chosen in the Armie by the L. General, & named RVTVLI or RVFVII, others by the voices of the people in their publick assemblies for Elections called *Comitia*, and for distinction sake, named *Comitiati*. And such a Tribune militarie was CAESAR in this place.

(o) *Regatione Plotia*. A bill preferred, and the same as a Lawe not yet enacted, was called *Regatio*, (as one would say) *Interrogatio*: for that the people were demanded and asked their opinions in this forme of words. *Pelissusne, iubeatne Quirites &c* Is it your will and pleasure, yee citizens of Rome, that such a thing should passe, or no: And of him who proposed

the same, it took the name.

(a) By the Latine Colonis, are meant here thole beyond the Po, which being before endowed Latini, i. with the freedom of Latium stood not therewith contented, unless they might be donati civitate. I. enjoy the Franchises and Freedom of Rome.

(a) COMITIUM, was one part of the Forum Romanum, wherein stood the *Rostra*, and the people used to assemble for election of Magistrates, for making of Lawes, and hearing of publike Orations.

(a) SYLLA, in the time of his proscription and outlawing of the aduicte faction of C. MARIUS, ordained two talents for every one that killed any of the proscribed and brought him his head, not sparing Master or Father: but that the servant might kill his master and the sonne his Father; nay hee made it death if they saved any such.

(b) Of Cornelius Sulla.

(a) T. LABIENVS, CICERO and HORTENSIVS pleaded for him.

21 (b) For, to kill a Tribune of the Commons, who were *Sacrosancti* and *Inviolabiles*, would beare the Action *Perduellionis*. And that was laide to *Kalinus* a Senator: his charge, although indeed hee slew him not, but one *Scandus* mary, when he was killed, hee caused his head, in most ludibrious manner to be caried about.

Now was the crime *Perduellionis*, all one with treason against the Common wealth, or a principall person of State: or else Felonie in some high degree.

(c) The liberty of appealing unto the people, was granted by *Tullius Hostilius* the third king of the Romanes, as appeareth by *LIVIVS*, in the case of *Horatius*, for killing his owne sister.

13 (a) *L. Lucius Catulus*, and *P. Servilius Isauricus*.

84 (a) *Cæsar* envying such an honour unto *Catulus*, as to receive and dedicate the Capitol consumed with fire, a peece of worke that *Sulla* the Dictator tooke in hand but finished not, and the onely thing whereby his felicity was not compleat, would have put him by it and conferred it upon another: and therefore put the matter in question, before the bodie of the people, there to be discussed and debated, whether it were their minde and; will that *Catulus* should doe it, or some other?

(b) A Lawe is said to be promulged, after it is once propoised for to be considered upon, untill it be fully enacted: during which time, reasons were alledged for the convenience thereof, or other wise; and free it was for any man who had a voice to impugn or allow it.

(c) *Optimates* and *Populares*, were in the citie of Rome opposite either against other, and are lively described by *Cicero* in his Oration, *pro Sextio*, in the words. *Duo genera in hac civitate sunt fuerunt cuncti, qui versari in res. atque in eas excellere genere studuerunt. Quibus ex quibusdam plerique Populares, alter, Optimates & haberi & esse voluerunt. Quia quæ faciunt, quæque dicunt, multis modis iuncta esse volebant, Populares: quos autem ita se creabant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarentur, Optimates habebantur. Item, Quis ergo est*

*Optimas? quis? De numero si queris innumerales, neque enim aiter stare possumus. Sunt principes consilii publici. Sunt qui consilia sequuntur. Sunt magis inordinati homines quibus patet Curia, Sunt principes Respublicæ, Roma, Sunt regenda gerentes. Sunt etiam Liberos Optimates. Wherby it appeareth, that those were counted Optimates, not simply of noble birth, and of great wealth &c. But were they *Patritii*, *Equites*, or *Plèbei*. If they stood for good things, or favoured those that so did; Nay, whether they were Burgesies or Free Burroughes, yeomen of the Country in tilling husbandry, Merchants and Tradersmen, or very Libertines, so they affected good causes, they were reckoned in the number of Optimates. On the other side, as many as aymed onely at this, to please and content the multitude, were they neuer so well borne or otherwise qualified, they went in the rancke of *Populares*; so that it seemeth, that *Populares* were the *Forumis* *follies*, that *LIVIVS* writeth of, and whome *Q. FABIVS* reduced all in to the towne *Trium urbanas*; and Optimates, the *Trium rustice*, wherein was integer *populus*, *sanctus* & *cultus* *honorum*. Thus much of the strict signification of this worde *Optimates*. But for as much as commonly fewe of the Nobilitie and Gentry of Rome were *Popular*, and as fewe of the Communalie favorers of the best things usually; by these *Optimates*, or the better sort, are meant the *Patritii* and Gentlemen.*

(d) Upon the Kalends of January, the first day of the ycare, the Consuls entered their office, on which day attended they were obsequiously by those better sort of the citizens and their friends, waiting upon them, when they went up into the Capitoll for to Sacrifice, and home againe. On this day likewise it appeareth, that *Cæsar* began his Pretorship.

(e) This purple Robe bordered, called *Prætexta*, was a Garment not proper to the Pretors onely, but to other Magistrates also. Embroidered it was or garded about with purple. For *PLINIVS* writeth, that *Livius* *pater* *Ardile Curio*, wore in his Robe, purple of a double die, called there; *p. n. Diaphe*. And thereupon it was called in Greeke *πορφύρεον*. And not onely civie-Magistrates, but Priests and children of gentle birth used the same. Setting aside the border of purple, it was otherwise while.

(f) By *Curia* simply without any addition, is meane *Curia Hostilia*, as witnessed *Alex. ab Alexandro*. A stately place built by *K. TULLIVS HOSTILIVS* in the *Forum Romanum*, neere unto the *Rostra*; where, as in the Parliament house assembled the Senators ordinarily to consult upon the affaires of State. For, other places there were, under the name of *CVRIA*, wherein likewise the Senat met together, as *CVRIA POMPEII*, in which *Cæsar* was murdered, *Divi Augusti* &c. but then they had their addition. I am not ignorant, that other *CVRIÆ* there were for the Pontifices and Priests. To say nothing how the people was divided into *CVRSÆ*, *id est*, *Parishes*, and in every of them was a *CVRIA*, and a superintendent or Curate called *Curio*.

(g) Superiour Magistrates, bee the Consuls Pre-

Pretors and Censors, the rest as *Aediles*, *Quæstors*, were accounted inferiour. &c.

18 (a) *CRASSVS* is named for one, who entred in to a bond for him of 830. talents, what time *Cæsar* deeply indebted, said, *in milles & quingentes centenas milia nullis sibi adesse oportere, ut nihil haberet, id est*, that 250. millions of sesterces would but set him cleare with the world.

(b) By the Lawes, none might make suit for a triumph, but while they remained absent without the citie, nor for a Consulship except they were present as private persons within the citie. In these streights, *Cæsar* made choise to be Consul, and gave over his right to a triumph, for the victorie obtayned in 19 Spaine over the *Celtæ* and *Lusitanes*.

(a) THE manner was at Rome, that they who sued for Magistracies should for the obtaining of the peoples voices and suffrages make promise of certaine summes of money to be distributed amonge them, and such as were appointed to deale the said Lawes, they called *Divisores*. Now, for that the Election of Consuls passed by *Comitia centuriata* that is, by the assembly of the people, by their centuries or Hundreds according as *Serv. Tullius* first ordeyned them, therefore was this money to bee divided amongst them, as they gave their voices.

(b) Provinces signifie three things, the countries conquered or yielded, and the same governed by *Roman Deputies*; and this is the proper and primitive signification thereof. also the Region wherein any *Roman General* by commission from the state maketh warr; and last of all, what publick function or affaires focuser is to be aduised in, in which sense it is heere taken.

(c) Either for the cutting downe of trees for the best comodities: or els for a guard to be kept neare unto them, to suppress the outrage committed by thieves, haunting the same and robbing and spoiling passengers.

(d) To amend the waies and beaten pathes, where, either wayfaring men or beastes should passe with more ease. And verily these were base matters and requiring no great forces to bee performed: and so by consequence, the Consuls employed therein could compass no greater projects and therefore lesse to be feared.

(e) This locustie bred the Ciuill waire that after ensued, betwene *Cæsar* and *Pompeius* unto which the Poet *Lucan* alluded writing thus. *Tu causa malorum*

30 *Italia tribus dominis communis Roma.*

(a) As well to avoid tedious canuassings and consultations as to provide for the historie and memoriall of every matter.

(b) One of the Consuls onely had the twelve *Lictors* going before him, with the rods and axes: to witte, each of them their moneths, by turnes one after the other. *Nisi ambo fasces haberent duplicatus terror videtur*. As *LIVIVS* writeth: An ordinance as auncient well neere, as the first institution of Consuls.

(c) *ACCENSVS*, an officer attendant upon Magistrate, so named *ab acciendo*, *id est*, of giuing summons to any for appearance, or of calling any to the Magistrate.

(d) Great indulgences, immunities and priviledges were granted by the *Romanes* unto those that had *iurium liberorum*: but as *APPIAN* writeth more particularly to the explication of this place, there assembled 30000 together, craving maintenance and food for every man, for three children and more that they had.

(e) *Publicanes* were they that either for a certaine rent tooke to ferme the publicke revenewes of the City, whether it were corne, pasturage, customes, imposts, &c. or undertooke by the grosse to make provision for the state, or to build and repaire any citie-workes. &c.

(a) THIS was not more *maiorum*, for then his sentence should haue bene demanded first, that by the Censors was elected *Præcepti Senatoris*, *id est*, President of the Counsell: but extraordinarily, as appeareth by *Aul. Gel. Nost. Attic. lib. 4. cap. 10. & lib. 14. cap. 7.*

(a) FOR as *LIVIVS* testifieth *lib. 38*. The *Romanes* triumphed oftener over the *Gauls*, than euer all the world beside.

(b) Which *VATINIUS* a Tribune of the Commons propoised in the behalfe of *LIVIVS Cæsar*, that for five yeares together, hee should (without casting lots, and the Senates decree), governe *CISALPINE* *Gauls*, together with *ILYRICUM*: contrarie to the Lawe *Sempronius*, which provided that such *Provincia* Gouvernours, or *LL. Deputies*, should yearly bee chosen by the Senate. *Carol. Sigon. lib. 2. cap. 1. de antiquo iure provinciarum.*

(c) *CISALPINA GALLIA*, is that, which lay betwene Italy and the Alpes, divided into *CISPADANA* and *TRANSPADANA*, according to the site thereof, either on this side, or beyond the river *Po*: it caried the name likewise of *TOGATA*, either because it was much inhabited by the *Romanes*, or for that unto this Province the *Roman Robe TOGA* was granted, or els in regard that the said Province was more civill and peaceable, than the other called *TRANSALPINA*.

(d) *COMATA GALLIA*, a part of *GALLIA TRANSALPINA*, lying beyond the Alpes, from Italy toward Spaine: so called for the long haire that they wore: and *comata* *hæret* put for the whole *TRANSALPINE* Province, like as *BRACHATA*, one part of the said Province, so called of a certaine kinde of apparell, is taken for the whole and confounded with *Comata*.

(e) This terme, which they commonly use, who threaten such as they contemne, may bee drawn to an obscene and slish sense, not heere to bee named: and albeit *Cæsar* am



heredy was galled to the quick, as privie to himselfe, of the pallive abuse of his body with K. N I C O M E D E S, yet in his answer thereto, he turned it to another signification.

(f) *Warlike women*, so called (as some write) of their paye which they did cut off and tear, thereby to bee more expedite and nimble in fight, and to shoot at greater ease. See *Strabo*, *Iust. in Q. Curtius*, *Herodotus* &c.

33 (a) For as his Questour or Treasurer had bene condemned, it would have bene a shrewde precedent for his conviction also in the same cause.

34 (a) Who stood in Election for the Consulship: so called of the whited robe, which they put on, who sued for such Magistracies and places of Honour. For whereas the ordinarie gowne that Romaine citizens daily wore, was white of it selfe, against such a time they made it whiter with chalk: so that a difference there was betweene *Toga alba*, and *candida*, whereupon they were called *Candidati*, as appeareth by *Macrobius*, and *T. Livius*, lib. 4. ab urb. condita.

(b) *Supplication*, was a solemne Honour done unto the Lord General of a Prouince upon some notable victorie. For the manner was, that L. L. Gouvernours, after they were by their Souldiers salute by the name of Emperour, Sovereigne commanders, should send them Letters dight with Lawrell unto the Senate, wherein they required both to be stiled by the laide name, and also to have solemne processions made by the people in the Temples, and thanksgiving unto the Gods for their good successe, which solemnity, at the first continued but one day, as *T. Livius* reporteth in the 304. year after the foundation of Rome: but process of time, it grew to 4. and 12. And at length, CÆSAR obtained it for 15. yea and 20. daies together, as *Plutarch* testifieth in his life, and himselfe in his owne Commentaries, of the Gauls warre.

36 (a) *Super HS. milles*. This character HS. standeth for a Silver coine in Rome, which is the three halfe pence, farthing, cue, the 4. part of *Denarius*: & is called *Sextertius quasi sesquiertius*: as one would say, valuing two brazen Asles and the halfe of a third: so common a peece of money there, that *Nummus* put absolutely alone, standeth for it and no other coine: so that *Milles sestertium* and *milles nummum*, are both one. Now if the Romaine Denier bee valued at vij d. ob. with vs. and 100. Deniers arise to one pound sterling: this summe here set downe, that is to say, a Sesterne multiplied by the Aduerbe *Milles*, amounteth by just account unto 25000. li. sterling. And thereto for the overdeale or surplussage *ducentis sestertium*, which is one 5. part of the former summe, it maketh up 270000. li. sterling. A thing that may be thought incredible, but that we reade that CÆSAR himselfe saide, hee was 250. millions in debt when he went into Spaine, and *P. C. Lodi vs.*, whom *M. T. Lolius* slew, dwelt in a house, the purchase whereof cost him almost 15. millions. No marvell therefore, if so many houses, which CÆSAR must needs buy for the plot of ground aforelaid and in so populous a city, cost not so little as a hundred millions.

(a) The dole given by a Prince or great man unto the people, was properly called a Congiarie, 27 which word took name of the measure *Congium* among the Romaines, consisting of 6. Sestertii, and is answerable to our gallon: by which Oyle or wine was given. Howbeit *congruiss*, any such publicke munificence, in money or otherwise is so called: and in this place, by it are meant other gifts bestowed upon private persons.

(a) In some copies, we reade, *Quando nec plebs sedit Pompeius postea abrogasset*. To this sense. That CÆSAR being absent, was not eligible by vertue of an Act made by POMPEIUS to that effect, considering he had not abrogated the same by any ordinance of the people, but only of his owne authority: corrected it after it stood upon record in the city chamber.

(a) This hath reference unto his violent dealing with his fellowe *Consull Libulus*. See before in the 20. chapter.

(a) The fourth finger next unto the little one, 33 honoured especially with a golde ring, for that there is an euidet arterie from the heart reaching unto it. *Gellius*. But *Plinius* allegeth another reason.

(a) He would doe any thing rather than his souldiers so well deserving at his hands, should not bee satisfied: such a credit caried the ring vpon a Romaines finger.

(c) Which is the State and worth of a Romaine knight or gentleman according to this verbe of *Horace* *Si quadrangintis sex, septem milia desunt, Pileis &c.* &c. amounteth to 3125 li. sterling.

(a) As if *Peregrinus*, *Africanus*, and *Varro* had no skill in martiall feats.

(b) He meaneth *C. Pompeius*, for his militaric knowledge and warlike exploitcs furnamed *Magnus*, i. the Greater: whose principall power was now overthrowne at *Ilerda* in Spaine.

(a) *LYCHNUCHOS* *Gestantibus*, bearing ei- 37 ther young men that caried Linckes, Torches, and erect lights: or els branches and candlestickes, resembling them, and holding the said lights: Some reade, *Lychnos gestantibus*. i. bearing lights: but to the same effect.

(a) *Super bins HS. i. Sestertia*: that is to say, 15 li. 38 12 s. 6 d.

(b) *Quaterna Sestertia*. i. 31 li. 5 s.

(c) *VICENA quaterna milia*. 187 li. 10 s. By which reckning, hee gave unto horsemen foure times as much as to footemen. Looke in the marginall note to the text, and you shall finde this donative much more: which may seeme incredible: but consider what provinces hee spoyled, and what pillage hee made, in regard whereof hee was called of the Greekes *ὑπερβασις* &c.

(d) *Denos modios*, in round reckoning may goe for ten peckes or hoopes with vs.

(e) *Totidem libras*. i. so many pynts, with the better

(f) *Trecenos nummos*. Which being put together, 1. 46. s. 10 d. ob.

(g) *Centesos*. i. 15 s. 7 d. ob.

(b) *Bino*

(b) *Bino milia nummorum*. i. 15. lib. 12. s. 6 d.  
(c) *Quingenos sestertios*. i. 31. 18. s. 1 d. ob.  
(a) *Reuocatum urbe tota*. Rome, as *PLINIVS* witnesseth, was divided into 14. regions, and euerie one of these had their severall Stage Playes by themselves.

(b) The Games Circeses, I take to be so called of the Greeke *Cirque* or *Shemplace*, wherein they were performed: and not of *Swordes*, wherewith they were environed, as one would say, *Circa enses*. In deede these games resembled the *Olympick* in Greece by *ELYS*, where the runners with chariots were heamed in of the one side with the running river, and of the other with *Swordes* pitched pointwise, that they should hold on the race directly, and not swerve aside without danger. Herein were performed running with horses and chariots, Iuting, tilt, and Turnement: Saisting and chasing of wild beastes, &c.

(c) *Pyrrhica*: Of some, thought to bee the same that *ENOPLIA*, was a kinde of Moriske daunce, after a warlike manner in harriois, devised in Greece first by *Pyrrhus*, *Plin. lib. 7. Nat. Hist. cap. 56.* In which young gentlemen were trained to exercise all parts of the body by sundry gestures as well to avoide all vices and defende themselves, as to annoy and offend the enimie.

(d) This *DECIMVS LABERIUS* was a Poet also, which in which wrote wanton Poems or lascivious Comedies called *Mimi*. For, howsoever in all Stage Playes, there is represented a lively imitation in gesture and voice of others, yet in these *Mimi*, these fables are done after a more licentious manner and without all modest reverence, even in uncleanly and filthy arguments: as *OVIO* testifieth in these words, *imitantes turpia Mimi*. It seemeth therefore, that as well the Poemes as the Authors and Actors be called *Mimi*.

(e) *Orchestra*, is here taken for the most commodious place in the Theatre, wherein the Senators and Nobles of Rome were allowed to sit and behold the Stage Playes, apart from the people. For so the Poet *IVVNAL* understandeth it in these words, *Simulque videbis Orchestram & populum*.

As touching this *Orchestra* and the Poet *LABERIUS* above named, *SENeca* in his second booke of *Controversies*, and third controversie reporteth thus, *IVLIVS CÆSAR* at the solemaite of his Playes, brought *LABERIUS* forth to act upon the Stage: and when he had misdemeaned a gentleman, or Knight of Rome, willed him to take his place among them of the degrees, but as he came toward them, they all sat so close and in one another, that there was no room for him. Now by the way, you must understand that *CICERO* then in place, had gotten himselfe a ill name, for that hee was no faith and faithfull friend, either to *POMPEIUS*, or to *CÆSAR*, but a flatterer of them both. Again, *CÆSAR* at that time had chosen many unto the range of Senators, partly to supply and make up their number, which during the late civill warres was much diminished, and in part to yfesse those who had well deserved of him and the state: *CICERO* therefore alluding to the

extraordinary number of newe Senators, sent unto *LABERIUS* as hee passed by, this word merrily, *Recepistis me nisi angustis sedem*. i. I would have taken you to mee and given you a place, but that I sit my selfe very straight. Then *LABERIUS* returned this pleasant answer backe unto him, *Atqui solebas duobus sedibus sedere*. i. And yet you were wont to sit upon two tooles, scoffing at him for his double dealing with *POMPEIUS* and *CÆSAR*.

(f) The Troy fight, was in warlike manner on horsebacke, brought by *Aeneas* into Italy. The manner whereof is described by *Virgil Aeneid. 5.*

(g) These Goales called in Latine *Mines*, above which the horses and chariots ranne, were in fashion broad beneath and sharpe above, in manner of Pyramids, Steeples or cocks of hey, and for their matter, of wood first, or of stone griststone, but afterwards of marble and laid over with gold. Concerning this Cirque why *CÆSAR* enlarged it and brought water round about it, Reade *PLINIVS 8. lib. cap. 7.* and *36. lib. cap. 15. Naturali Hist.*

(h) To try maistries in footman hippe, leaping, flinging the coit or hammer, darting & wrestling: which Game was called Pentathlon, of those five kinde of exercises.

(i) *In minore Coderia*, which was a place on the further side of *TIBERTIS* so called of certaine plots of young springs or shootes there growing which resemble horsehailes, So we reade *In marem cohibes*, that is, narrow beneath and broad above, like to the shell of a periwinkle or such like fish.

(a) This day is called *Bisextilis*, and falleth out to bee the fifth day before the end of *Februarie*, to wit, the first before the Calends of March, by intercaling whereof, was say twice Sext Calend *Martij*, of which day our leape yeare hath the name *Bis sextilis*.

(a) Which by the first institution were 300 and by occasion of the late troubles much increased.

(b) *Patrius Atrius*: For those that were *Plebei* *gentis*, might bee Senators: or els, as to ne expound it, he advanced divers to the degree & rank of the *Patrii*.

(c) All but *Consuls*, *Prætors* and *Censors*, were counted inferior Magistrates.

(d) For the Consuls with the publicke *Notaries* ordinarily toke this review, and that in *Campus Martius*, and *Villa publica*.

(e) By reason of so great a number receiving coine from the State, the parveyance hereof it did the city yearly as *Plutarch* writeth in a thousand two hundred and fiftie talents.

(f) For they might discontinie out of Italy eleven yeares. *Plutarch*.

(g) Such were called *Comites*, or *quæstores* *Prætoris*, as it were gentlemen of the privie chamber.

(h) *Novæm solentia*. To wit, when the olde bonds being cancelled, and thereby former debts remitted, new obligations were made.

(i) *Parricidii*. *Parenticidii*, such as kill fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and such like, were in blouds

as also, any other man or woman wilfully, according to the Lawe of K. NINE, *Si quis locum liberum seimus mensi dicit jactura esse.*

*Hinc quoque commemorant dulce per tempora Luna Conceptum talcm, quem sepe ruina profudit.*

(a) *Repetundarum convulsos.* Such governours as by way of extortion pilld and polled the Provinces which they ruled: who after their time expired, were many times called judicially to their answers.

(b) Many Lawes there were called *Samptuaria* and *Cibaria*, to restrain the exccesse at the table, as namely *Tannia*, *Licinia*, *Aemilia*, *Julia* &c. Read. *Ant. Cell. Quest. Ant. lib. 2. cap. 24. Macro. Saturnal. lib. 3.*

(c) Of whom *TERENTIUS* writeth thus, *Vir doctissimus undecunque Parro.*

(b) *Isthmus* is a narrow strait or forland by *Corinth*, betwixt the two seas *Le man* and *Aegæi*, or as *PLINIE* writeth, lib. 4. cap. 4. between the two Gulfs *Corinthiacum* and *Saronicum*. The cutting through whereof, was attempted before by *K. DEMETRIUS*, and afterwards by *C. CALIGULA* and *NERO*, but without effect.

(c) Which *CRASSUS* before him had not done: and therefore was overthrowne.

(a) *COMITIALI MORBO*, so called, for that the assemblies of the people called *Comitia*, were dissolved and broke up by occasion thereof, in case any one among them fell downe of that disease, according as *Q. SBERENVS SEMONIVS* hath testified in these verses. cap. 57.

*Est morbi species subiti, cui nomen ab illo est,  
Quod fieri nobis suffragia iussa remsant.  
Sæpe etenim membrum acris languore caducis,  
Conciliis populi labe, horrenda dirigit.*

As also for that, they who were subject thereto, fell into a fit thereof ordinarily at such assemblies, if they were crossed in their suites and businesses there, *CORNELIVS CELSVS* calleth it *Morbum comitalem*, i. a great sickness. It is named likewise *hypericorum*, i. the sacred disease, either because it affecteth the head, which is the seat of the Soule, or in regard of the greatness thereof, which the Gracians exact by the word *hyper*. Also *Epilepsia*, for the sodaine invasion of it. *HERCVLLVS MORBUS*, either for the strength of the malady, whereby a man is forced to fall, or because *HERCVLES* was troubled therewith. *PLINIE* nameth it, *Scnctum*, for the hurt that it doth unto the bodie: Others *Caducis*, for that upon it, men fall to the ground: it is called *Mereover Lucanorum*, of the Moon: because it keepeth time with the course of the Moone, or apprehendeth them that are borne in the change thereof, as the same *SBERENVS* reporteth in these verses.

Lastly *HIPPOCRATES* smeth it *Tadica*, i. *puerilem morbum*, for that children bee subject thereto: whereupon some teame it, *Læta puerorum*.

(b) This manner of going so closely girt, might signifie a disolute and effeminate wanton. Hereupon *CICERO* made choise in the civil warre to take part with *POMPEIVS* against *CAESAR*: And when one asked him how it came to passe, that in siding with *POMPEIVS* hee was so much overcome, for that hee had the worse, this answer hee made *Traciturna me doctissimi, decepit* I was by that loose guiding of his.

(a) *CAESAR* derived his pedigree from *Idæus* the sonne of *ÆNEAS* whose mother was *VENVS*.

(b) The grace which is in the Latine cannot be expressed well in English, because the word, *Sabgit* carrieth a double sense, the one signifieth the conquering of a nation, and so it is taken in the former place, as it is applyed to *Cæule*: the other, the wanton abuse of the bodie: in which acceptation it is to bee understood in reference to *CAESAR*, abused by *K. Nymphodorus*.

(a) In the twofold sense likewise of these two words, *Tertia* and *Delecta* lyeth the pleasant grace of this conceited speech.

By the one, may be understood, that a third part of the price was deducted: by the other *Cicero* meant, That her daughter *TERENTIA* was brought by her to his bed.

(a) This Distichon, or 12 verses, which his souldiers after their licentious manner in the *Triumph* chaunted may thus be Englished.

*Looke to your wives, ye citizens, a luster bald  
wee bring.  
In Caule seduliter costis the gold, heere tis but  
borrowing.*

For, as hee borrowed of other men, so hee lent or paid as much againe, in that his owne wife *POMPEIA*, as is thought, was kept by *P. CLODIVS*.

(a) Such a vessel as this named here *Thalamus*, and by *Senecca* 7. lib. de *Consolatione* *Nervus* *Thalamus*, as witnesseth *ATHENVS* had, which cried in length halfe a furlong in breadth, 30. cubites, and in height little lesse then 40.

(b) *Impudicitia*, I observe, that both in this Authour and also in other approved writers, *Impudicitia*, is properly and peculiarly taken for that abhominable uncleannesse onely, which

which is named *Sodomie*: Like as *Indicitia*, for the integrity of the bodie, and clearenesse from that detestable filthinesse. And so, *Indicus* and *Impudicus* are to bee understood.

(a) WHICH cometh to 23. pound, 8. shillings, 9. pence, and is not much more than halfe the worth. According to *Budeus* it was 7. pound *d.m* of Silver for one of Gold.

(b) For it was esteemed a great honour to be called *Allies* and *Associates*, or *Ruled Kings*, by the people of Rome.

(c) *ANTICATONES*. Whereas *CICERO* had written in the playe of *CATO* [*VITIENSIS*] he wrote two bucces against the said *CATO*, which hee called *Anticatones*.

(a) *VENVS* turnamed *Gemrix* i. Mother, *CAESAR* honoured, as the goddess from which hee was descended, by *JULVS* or *ASCANIVS* her nephew.

(b) The principall ensigne or standerd of the *Romane Legion* was an *Aegle* of Silver, reared upon a *Speare* toppe, the point whereof beneath was sharpe, and fastened into the ground: and the same stood within a little square, not to bee removed, but when the *Armie* was on foot.

(a) *DION*, lib. 42. and *APPIAN*. *Civil*. 2. report thus otherwise: namely, that hee forsooke the said Coat armour (it clogged him so much) and so the *Aegyptians* got it.

(a) *EVIANICO* *ivo*. Albeit *viaticum* properly signifyeth the store and provision set by for a journey, yet heere it is put for the wealth and substance of a souldier: like as in *Horat*. lib. 2. *epist*. 2.

*Luculli miles collecta viatica multis  
Aerumnis, &c.*

In which sense, *idest* likewise in Greeke it is taken.

(b) *PLINIE* calleth it *Lappana*, lib. 19. cap. 8. *Natural. Histor.* A kinde of wilde worre or cole.

(c) To be tithed, i. curie tenth man to suffer death. *Appian*.

(d) Which ordinarily consisted of 550. footmen, and 66. horse, whereof ten went to a Legion. Some, I wot well had more, some fewer. But for this place it may suffice, that it was the tenth part of a Legion.

(a) *QVIRITES* i. *Romane Citizens*. As freed now from their allageance, which by their military oath they were bound unto.

(a) WHICH was a great abuse offered, among the *Barbarians*, who set great store by their beards, and suffered them to grow very long.

(a) *THENSA* or *Ten's* & *serenissima* Chariot of Silver or Ivory with a frame in it containing the Images of the gods, which was drawn in a stately and stately manner unto the *Pulvinar*.

(b) *Pulvinar*. A bedd loft, or place where certaine rich beds were made for the laid images to be laid upon.

(c) *FLAMIN*. A certaine priest, bearing the name of that god, for whose service hee was instituted. As *Dion* of *IVPITER*, *Martialis* of *MARS*, *Quirinalis* of *ROMVLVS*, &c. *Cic. 2. Phil.* saith that *M. ANTONIVS*, was *Flamen* to *Julius Caesar*.

(d) *Luperci*, were certaine young men, who at the *Licentious feast*, *Lupercalia* instituted to the honour of *PAN LYCAEVS*, otherwise called *LYCVS*, by *ROMVLVS* and *REMYVS*, ran up and down naked in the City of *Rome*. A new kind of these *Luperci* ordained *CAESAR*, of his owne name called *IVLIANVS*. At this feast *Lupercalia*, *M. ANTONIVS* played the part of a *Lupercus*, at which solemnity, when *CAESAR* sat in a Throne of Gold, arrayed in a purple robe, the said *M. ANTONIVS* attempted to doe upon his head the royall *Band*, called a *Diadem* *Cicero*.

(e) Whereas, before it was called *Quintilis*, he named it *Julius*.

(f) This was *Caninius Rebitus*: of whose Consulship, there go divers jestes, as namely these, whereof *CICERO* was the Author, a vigilant Consul we have had of *CANINIVS*, who in all his Consulship never slept winke. Also, a counsel we have had to severe and Censur-like, as that during his Consulship, no man dined, no man supped, no man so much as once slept. Likewise *PIETHALVS* said of him. Heretofore we had *Flamines Diales*, and now wee have Consuls *Diales*, playing upon the equivocation or double sense of the word *Dialis*, which being derived of *di* & *di* *Iupiter* signifyeth his *Flamin*: but of *di*, i. a day, betokeneth a day Consul or *Flamin*.

(a) ACCORDING to *LYCANA*. *Omnia Caesar erat*. *Caesar* was all in all.

(b) Well knowne it is that *SVLLA* was passing well learned both in Greeke and Latine. But in that hee resigned up the absolute power of his Dictatorship, which hee tooke upon him, for an hundred and twentie yeares, that is to say, for ever. *CAESAR* said, hee was no *Gramarian*, *quia nesciret distare, quid munus est Grammatici*: alluding to the word *ambiguus distare* i. to endite, or give precepts as *Grammarians* doe to their scholars, as also, to commaund absolutely, whereof it may seeme that Dictator tooke the name.

(a) Who were in number, 10.

(b) Or, if I may for *Pentius Aquila*: spoken by way of a scornfull Ironia.

(a) *PLEBEO*, and not *Plēbi*, for the common could not endure that name, as may appeare by *CICERO*'s words in his second *Philippica* or invective against *M. ANTONIVS*. Thou thewest the *Diademe*. The people all over the common place gave a groane thereat. Thou wert about to set it upon his head, to the great griefe and sorrow of the people, hee rejected it, with as great joy and applause of theirs.

(b) The name *OPTIMVS*, *MAXIMVS*, wherewith the ancients styled *Iupiter*, signifyeth

most bountifull and most powerfull : wherein it is observed that Bountie goeth before Power: because as M. TULLIUS writeth, it is better and more acceptable to doe good unto all, then to haue power over all.

(c) In *Aegypti*: A renowned Citie, built by King ALEXANDER the great: for the pleasant site much commended, and therefore might bee affected by CAESAR: at which, there is no day almost through the yeare, but the Inhabitants behold the Sunne shining cleare upon them: And which AMMIANVS calleth *Verticem omnium civitatum*, i. The chiefe of Citities.

(d) *Ilium*, a Citie where Troy stood: The Citizens whereof, as STRABO writeth, CAESAR in memoriall of his progenitors from thence descended, and namely, from IULVS or ASCANIUS the Sonne of AENEAS, had indowed with many franchises and immunities, and therefore it caried some likelihood, that he ment there to make his abode.

(e) These *Quindecim-viri*, or fiftene men, were instituted in the daies of CORNELIUS SYLLA with this addition *Sacrorum*: unto whose charge it appertained to see that Sacrifices and Divine service, that supplications, and processions, expiations, & ceremoniall rites should bee due y performed, as also to peruse the booke and propheties of SYBILLA: At first they were but two, called *Duum-viri*, afterwards x. under the name of *Decemviri sacris faciendis*. *Alex ab Alex. lib. 3. Genial. dierum, cap. 16.*

(a) *BONVM factum*. A forme of preface which in olde time they use *boni omnis causa*, before their Edictes and decrees, &c. so commonly, as that these two Capital letters B. F. did betoken the same as ordinarily, as S. C. stand for *Senatus consultum*. It had the same use, as *In nomine Dei* with us.

(b) Some take these Brachæ, whereof *Erachata Gallia*, a part of *Transalpine*, *Gaulæ* tooke name, for frize rugges striped with sundrie colours, which may resemble Irish mantles; but I suppose them to be a kinde of counse breches, much like to the Irish trousses, but that they are more full.

(c) By rising up unto him, and shouting or applauding as he passed along.

(d) *Primum vires*.

(e) *Brutus quia Reges ejecit consul primus factus est: Hic, quia consules ejecit, Rex postremo factus est.*

(f) Certaine bridges there were for the time made, upon which the Tribes passed when they gave their voyces in *Lampus Martius*, at their solemne Lets and assemblies for Election of Magistrates.

(a) Some take it to bee the same that *REGVLVS*, or *TROCHILVS*. Thought to be the Wren, and is likewise named King of Birdes, in Greeke *Λαοαδης*, *OMINOVS* therefore unto CAESAR, seeking to be king.

(b) This is diversly reported by authors the occasion of which varietie ariseth upon the assignitie of these names *CASSIUS* and *CASCA*. For as there were two *CASSII* at this action, so likewise were there two *SERVILII* brethren, both surnamed *CASCA*. By *ALTER* *CASSIUS* or *CASCA* therefore, you may understand one of the two brethren, or the second of them. For some write, that the one *CASCA* gave him in the necke a wound, but not deadly, whereupon CAESAR caught hold of his dagger crying out, *Scelerata CASCA quid agis?* i. What meanest thou, O wicked *CASCA*, and then *CASCA* called unto his brother for helpe, who came in, and gave him his deathe wound, in the breast under the chanell bone, *PLUTARCH.*

(c) Albeit, *Graphium* doth signifie a writing punch, (or Steele or wiew), otherwise called *Stylus*, wherewith they wrote in hard matter, as wood, or baize, before the use of our parchment and paper, as also our pen made of a quill or other substance, as brasse, &c. in which sense it is taken in that verse of *OVID. Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 11:*

*Quid digitus opus est graphium lassare tenendo?*

And probable it is that CAESAR sitting in counsell was not without such a writing instrument: yet both *DOMINICVS MARTVS* upon the foresaid verse, and *PEROTVS* also the author of *CORNUCOPIA*, expounding this place of *SVETONIUS*, takes *Graphium*, for *pugnaculo*, i. A little poynard, poinado, or pocket dagger. And haply therewith CAESAR wounded *CASSIUS* or *CASCA* (whether you will) being more readie at hand, hanging at his girdle, than the style or Steele foresaid, which by all likelihood was yet in the case or sheath, called *Graphuarium*, considering CAESAR was but new set. But I leave the exposition of this place, in *medio*.

(d) *VALERIUS MAX.* under the title of *VERECUNDIA*, commendeth this maydenlike modestie of CAESAR, who notwithstanding that he was maked with 23. wounds, for man-hood sake forgot not to hide his nakednesse, and to die in decent manner: but as *EURIPIDES* writeth of the virgin *Ladie Polixena*.

*ὅς τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἦν ἄνθρωπος.*

Where, by the way it may be noted, that the *Romanes* wore not trusses or breches, as wee doe, to cover those inferior and secret parts.

(e) This may have reference to that which is reported before, how in his youth, he loved *SERVILIA*, the mother of this *BRUTVS*: For his age falleth out to agree fully with that time: in so much as he was commonly thought to be a sonne of his. And yet this attribute *Fili*, may sort well with the familiaritie that was betwene them.

Some read *Knowe eis inchoe. i.* And art thou one of them?

(a) *VIRIN*,

83 (a) *VIRGINI Vestalis Maxime*. That Nun or Vestall virgin, who in age and dignity excelled the rest, and was the Mistress as it were, and governess of them, they called *MAXIMA*: much like unto the Ladie Abbess or Prioresse in our daies.

(a) The argument whereof was the deciding of the contention betweene *ALEX* and *VLISSES*, about *ACHILLES* Armor.

84 (b) For some of these who tooke part with *POMPEIUS*, he had pardoned.

(c) *Quicquid praterca ad manum aderat*. Others read, *ad dextram aderat*: vnderstanding thereby those

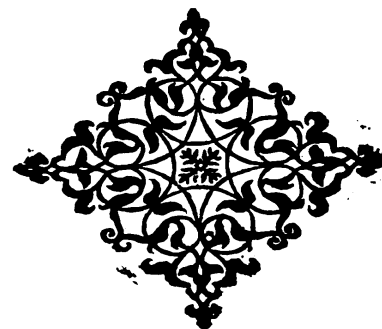
giftes which they brought as offerings to his Ghost, and be called *Inferia*.

(a) Which is counted one of the *Climacterich* years, in which it falleth out that 7. is multiplied by 8. which two numbers, as *CICERO* hath observed. 6. *de Rep.* be complete. A revolution fatal to *SCIPIO AFRICANVS* the younger to *VIRGIL* also and *PLINIE*.

(b) *APPIAN* writeth, that it was in a fodaine up-ore of the people burnt to the ground.

(c) To signifie, that vpon that day, The father of his countrie was killed.

ANNO



# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Octavius Augustus Caesar.

**A**FTER *divisores*, or *perasque Compestres*. This was thought to bee but a base occupation, namely, to give among the Tribes, such sums of money, as the *Candidati*, or those that stood in election for offices promised & pronounced for the buying of voices. The name also grew to be odious, howsoever *PLAUTVS* in *Ambul.* calleth them *Magistros Curie*. Likewise all such servitors as otherwise gave attendance in *Campo Martio*, and thereby gat a living, whom he termeth here *operas campestres*, were but of meane reckoning.

(a) *Regione Palatii*. In old time Rome was divided into foure principall regions or quarters. *Suburrane*, *Equilina*, *Collina*, & *Palatina*.

(b) The manner in old time was, that the new borne babe should be set up on the bare ground to cry and call vpon the Goddesse *Ops*, who so gently had received it. And the Goddesse forsooth, that helped to lift it vp againe, was called *Lerana*, i. a *Leranda*. *Augustinus*, *Macrobius*.

(c) THE *Virile* robe was the ordinary Roman gowne, all white without purple, which they wore when they came to be past 16. years of age.

(d) To wit, bracelets, chaines and collars, Speare staves without iron heads, trappings, chaplets and guslands, &c.

(e) This was the *Triumvirate*, so much spoken of during which, *M. ANTONIVS*, *M. LEPIDVS* & *AVGVSTVS* ruled jointly together.

(f) *MARCVS BRVTVS*.

(g) Hee meaneth *CICERO*, as appeareth by an Epistle of *D. BRVTVS* vnto *CICERO* in these words, *Narravit mihi, &c. ipsum Caesarem. (Augustum) nihil scire de re quicquam nisi dictum quod diceret, &c. dixisse laudat*

*dam adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum, se non commissurum ut tolli possit* In which words, as also in this place of *TRANQVILLVS*, there is an equivocation or doublefull sense in this Verbe *Tollendum*: which in one signification, is in manner *equivalens* with *laudandum* and *ornandum*; and betokeneth, to bee advanced, extolled, or lifted up: and so is to be taken in good part: but in another, it is all one with *tollendum de medio*, or *occidendum*, id est, to be dispatched out of life, or killed. In which sense *CICERO* meant it, and *AVGVSTVS* tooke it, namely in ill part. Much like to this, you shall read in *Nero*, *fulvis hic matris, sustulit ille patrem*. The grace lieth in the ambiguity of the Latine word *tollendum*, which cannot in English be so well delivered.

(a) The *Equitij*, as *APPIAN* witnesseth.

(b) Which by the Lawe *IVLIA* THEATRARIAS, and *ROSCIA*, were allowed for the knights or Gentlemen of Rome, whose estate was valued not under 400000. Sesterces. The lawes abovesaid, were promulged by *AVGVSTVS*, *CAESAR*, & *L. ROSCIUS OTHO* a Tribune of the Commons. And these 14. Seates named *Equestris*, were the next unto the stage after the Orcestra arising by degrees and staires, as it were higher & higher, & so farther of. Above which in the upper and more remote scaffolds sat the common people, and thereupon they were called *POPULARIA*. Howbeit, for all the lawe *Roscia*, many Commoners of good wealth and credit, used to sit indifferently in the said 14. foremost seates, untill the other Lawe *IVLIA* was enacted, which distinguished the orders more precisely. *Carol. Sigon. De Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

(c) When in stately Pompe, the sacred chariot *Thursa*, with the images of the Gods in it, was devoutly drawn according to the solemne manner.

(d) A coast towne of Italy affronting Sicile, from whence it is a very short cut over sea also called by the Greekes, as if even there a breach was made by the sea, dividing Italy

Italy from Sicile which before time was a part of the continent, or maine land: And no marvel of that Name: since that *Mistine* Region, wherein *Locris* stood, was in times past called *Magna Graecia*.

(c) In that hee put downe in his will the children which he had by *CLISOPATRA* a stranger and *Barbarian* borne, which also were begotten in bastardie, as well as if they had beene naturall Romanes and legitimate, hee faulted in common civillie, but much more, when hee proceeded to call the sonnes that he had by her, *Reges Regum*, i. the King of Kings. As absurd also and immodest hee shewed himselfe, when having by her at one birth two twinnes, the male infant hee surnamed *Sol*, i. the Sunne, and the Female, *Luna*, i. the Moone.

(d) In the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes, or *Votaries*, as *IVLVS CAESAR* had done before him: of such integritie and so good conscience they were thought to be, as things of great weight were committed unto them in trust.

(e) This surname, *TITVS* cannot truly be given to any of the *Domitij*, if that bee true which is written of them afterward in *Domitius Nero*, cap. 1.

(f) But in the behalfe of *M. ANTONIVS*, considering hee was their Patron and Protector. For other forren States and Cities usually were shrouded under the favour of Gentlemen at Rome. In which regard, hee laid not to their charge that they had not sided with himselfe, but rather taken part with their Patron *ANTONI*: considering that nere bond wherewith such Protectors and Clients or Dependents were linked together: which *DIOMITIVS* supposed to bee almost as ancient as Rome it selfe, and almost equal to that of *Allies*, yea and kinfolke in blood.

(g) A Promontorie or Cape in *ETRVS*, shooting into the way *Ambracium*, in the view whereof the sumptuous *Armada* of *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* was defaced.

(h) THESE *Pyllis* are people in *Affricke* supposed to have bodies of a singular vertue to kill Serpents, as also a speciall skill in sucking forth venom out of the wound made by their sting. Yet *CORNELIVS CILVS*, lib. 5. cap. 27. is of opinion, that they have no principall gift or cunning in this feat: about other men, but more boldnesse rather, confirmed by use and practise: For the venom of a serpent, saith hee, hurteth not by being tasted, but as it is infused by a wound, which hee proveth by those poysons that the French use especially in hunting. And therefore a verie Snake or Adder it selfe, may be eaten safely: how ever the sting is deadly: and if whilst it lyeth asstonied or benumbed (the cast wherof these *Monte-banks* or jugglers have by meanes of certaine medicines) one put his finger into the mouth thereof, and be not bitten or stung withall, there is no frettle or slimie humours there to doe harme. So that whosoever else, by example of these *Pyllis* shall sucke a wound and inflicted by a Serpent, hee shall doe it safely, and cure besides, the party that is stung. Provided alwaies, that hee have no fore or ulcer, in gummets, palate, or any part of his finnes.

(i) Some thinke this kinde of *Alpis* which since used, was *Pyrus*, or others *Hypnale*; for that the sting brought drownesse upon her: and *Lucane* called it *Aspida Somniferam*. But commonly it is unto all the sortes to kill by sleepe and stupefaction without paine, some sooner, some later: but all within the space of 6. houres: So that *Hypnale* may seeme to be a generall attribute to them all.

(j) As if hee counted those *Perlimenij* dead, who left no memorable actes behinde them. And *Alexander*, a King still, or worthe alone to be called King, whose memoriall was yet so fresh and lively.

(k) For that one of his parentes was a *Parthine*, that is to say, a stranger to *Illyrium*, and the other a *Romane*.

(l) *WARRERS* take the name of those that bee vanquished. As, *Gallicum bellum*, *Germanicum*, *Dalmaticum*, &c. in which *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Dalmatians* be subdued.

(m) Some take this bridge to be a kinde of *Fabrick* or scaffold reared for the assault of the towne *Metulum*, and not an ordinat bridge built over some river.

(n) THIS temple, as appeareth afterwards, hee had vowed in the *Philippian* warre, which hee undertooke in revenge of his Father *IVLVS CAESAR*'s death, and therefore dedicated it vnto *MARS*, Revenger.

(o) THE Temple of *IANVS QVIRINVS*, or *QVIRINI*, because it was first founded by *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius* his successor ordained to be left open in time of warre, and shutt when there was peace. Wherupon *IANVS* was termed under a two-folde name, *Pativus* and *Clausus*. Once it was shutt in the said *Numa* his reigne; and a second time, after the first *Punicke* warre ended, when *M. Atilius*, and *T. Manlius*, or *Mallius*, were Consuls. At all times before and after it stood open, untill *AVGVSTVS CAESAR*'s daies. During whose Empire it was thrise shut. First, upon the defeature of *ANTONIVS* and *CLISOPATRA* before *ACTIVM*. Secondly, after his victorie in Spaine over the *Cantabri*: Last of all, when all Nations (in manner) of the earth by occasion of his victories, grew to an universall peace. About which time our Saviour *IESVS* Christ, *IMMANVEL*, that True Peacemaker betweene God and us, was borne. Thus *OROSIVS* reputeth, and readeth, *ter, non terrore*. Howbeit *LIVIVS* seemeth to acknowledge, but once, namely, upon the *Actiack* victorie.

(p) Ovation was a kinde of petie triumph: wherein the Captaines victors rode not in a Chariot, nor wore a Coronet of Laurell, but of the Myrtle. It tooke the name *ab ovibus*, i. Sheepe Sacrificed, or rather all the voyce, *Oves*, which the Soldiours in their acclamations refoounded.

(q) THE *Romane* Armie consisted of *Legions*, who were all Romanes, and of *Auxilia*, i. aids and those were of *Allies* and confederate nations.

(r) This day, was *Anto diem quatuor non. Sextil.* i. the second daye of August. Which was also that verie daye of the month, wherein

wherein the Romans in times past suffered the defat-  
terous overthrow at Cannæ.

24 (a) By which the people of Rome wonne their im-  
mortal fame, and conquered the whole world. as Ci-  
cero saith, *Pro Muræna*.

(b) December, Ianuarie, and Februarie.

(c) Thereby disabling them for being serviceable  
souldiers.

(d) These Publicanes, so called for that they fermed  
their Cities & reuenues, as Customes, Tolls, imposts,  
&c. were likewise Knights or Gentlemen of Rome,  
and by being so earnest to buy out one of their owne  
sort, were thought to fauour him, and minded pre-  
sently to dismisse him at liberty: which was contrary  
to his intent.

25 (a) For his Vncle and Predecessor IULIUS  
CÆSAR, had taken up that familiar terme of COM-  
MILITONES, by occasion of so many troubles  
that followed him, and therefore was driven to speake  
his Souldiers tayre.

(b) *Libertines* were those who having beene bond  
were made free or manumitted: and these were not  
capable of *Militia Romana*, but in time of great ex-  
tremities and desperate cases.

(c) It seemeth by this, that these *vallare* and  
*Murell* coronets were made of some other matter  
than Silver and Gold. Yet *Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 6.* wit-  
teth that both these, as also the *Negale*, were of gold.  
Now, the VALLARE of CASTRENSIS coronet,  
(for they were both one) resembled *vallis*, i. the Ram-  
pier a palisade about a Camp, made of *vallis*, i. stakes  
or pales sharpened at the head, wherewith the banke  
or mure was the better fortified, and hee receiued it  
as an honorable reward, who first mounted the said  
palisade, and entered the Camp of his enemies: The  
*Murell*, was fashioned like to the battlements of a  
wall, given likewise unto that souldier, who ap-  
proached the enemies wall first, scaled, and climbed  
over it into the Citie. As for these *Phalere*, albeit they be  
commonly taken for the ornaments or trappings of  
horses, yet it appeareth that they be the ornaments  
of the men themselves: And as well they as *TOR-  
QUES* were, *Tralatitium militum dona*, i. Ordinarie  
and common gifts bestowed upon good souldiers.  
See *Iuvenal. Satyr. ult. Vt lati phaleris omnes, & sor-  
guibus omnes*.

(d) Such as he called before MANIPULARES  
and GREGARIOS: although in other authors, Ca-  
ligatis stand for all manner of souldiers.

(e) In Latin *Festina lentis*: much to this sense in our  
English tongue. No more hast then good speed: For, The  
swift fire makes sweet malt. This proverb the same AV-  
GVSTVS expressed also in his coines, wherein hee  
flampt together with lightning or a thunderbolt, the  
God TERMINVS, representing by the one, Celerite-  
tie; and by the other, Stayednesse. Like as TITVS  
VESPASIANVS the Emperour joynd an Anchor  
and a Dolphin together in his coine, to the same  
purpose.

(f) A verse of EURIPIDES, in the Tragedie  
*Phœnisæ*, i. A warie Captaine is better than a ven-  
terous.

26 (g) It was the Apophthegme of CATO, Some e-  
nough is that done, which is well done.

(h) By the law *Annaria*, that L. IULIUS, or

VILLIUS rather promulged, required it was, that  
a Consul should not be under the age of 43. Yet for  
their worthine and demerits, some attaine to that  
dignitie, under 30.

(i) Like unto this was the speech of that Cen-  
turion, who being sent by IULIUS CÆSAR Dictator,  
for to haue the time of his government and conduct  
of an Armie in the prouince proroged, standing be-  
fore the doore of the Senate house, and taking know-  
ledge that it would not be granted, shooke his sword  
hilt with his hand and said, *Hic prorogabitur*. Thus then  
shall proroge it.

(j) THREE such Halls there were in Rome, 29  
wherein Iudiciall courts were held, and causes plea-  
ded. 1. *Romanum*, which was so much frequented  
with Lawyers and their Clients, that CATO CEN-  
SORIUS delivered his opinion, that it should be  
paved with *Calceopis*, to keepe out that rabble which  
haunted it. 2. *Cæsareum*, This CÆSAR Dictator built,  
and adjoynd thereto the Temple of VENVS *Gem-  
matrix*. 3. *AVGVSTI* whereto was annexed by him  
one Temple of MARS *Reuenger*. For, another he e-  
rected in the Capitoll, after he had regained from  
the Parthians, the Roman Standards and militarie  
deioignes, which they wonne from CRASSVS.

(k) An Aplitheatre, and a Theatre, differs as the  
full Moone from the halfe, or a cleare rōule from  
a semicircle.

(l) PLINY writeth, that Rome was deuid:d in-  
to foureteene Regions, or wards, and into more than  
a thousand streets.

(m) Augurs were certaine Priests employed about  
the obseruation of Birds, and from them out of their  
learning gave directions. In number at first they  
were but three belōging unto the three ancient tribes  
of Rome. In proceesse of time there was a Colledge or  
conuent of them to the number of 24, namely, in the  
daies of SVLLA Dictator: So that I doubt not but  
among these were some appointed for this ministerie  
eyther about the Goddesse SALVS, i. Health or  
safety, unto whom there was likewise a Temple built,  
or else in the name and behalfe of the people, *Cap-  
tare Augurium salutis*, which as DIO maketh re-  
port, was in this manner: *That they should call unto  
God for safesie, if he would permit: as if it were not law-  
full to craue it at the Gods hands, unless they first granted  
it. And one day every yeare was chosen for this buisnesse, in  
which no Armie did set forth to warre: no man warre a-  
gainst them, nor toke weapon in hand to fight. A thing that  
could not be, during the late troubles and ciuill warres. No  
merveille therefore, if this function being forelet, was now  
taken up againe by AVGVSTVS, when by occasion of  
peace, he did shut the Temple of IANVS. And as this func-  
tion was called Augurium, so I see no reason but the very  
Augurship or Sacerdotall dignitie is selfe in this place might  
be named Augurium, in the same forme, that presently af-  
ter, the Flamenhip or Priesthood belonging to IVPITER,  
is named Flaminium: And this I take to be the me-  
aning of our Author.*

(n) Which were solemnized once in an hundred, 31  
or as some say, an hundred and ten yeares.  
(o) By which addition, there were in the yeare 32  
230. Law-daies or pleadeable.  
(p) MORE *maiorum* ordained it was, that a Pa-  
tricide, should first be beaten with rods, and then  
fowed

flowed with a leather male or budge together with a  
bag, a coze, a viper, and an Ape, and so thrown  
into the sea or ioune running water.

(q) Whereof CORNELIUS SVLLA was the  
Author intituled: *de falsis, or Testamentaria*.

34 (r) MANY lawes went vnder the title *Sumptu-  
arie*, to repress the immoderate expence in apparell,  
and beliv: there especially: as namely, *Ræmia*, *Didia*,  
*Oppia*, *Cornelia*, *Italia*, as well *Cæsaria* as *Augusta*. But in  
the time of TIBERIUS CÆSAR, notwithstanding  
the lawe he did what he could to keepe them in force,  
yet they were all abrogated.

(s) *Lex Julia, Cæsaris & Augusti, de Adultæris & Pu-  
dicitia*. For albeit the law *Scætinia*, provided a-  
gainst the latter, to wit *Pæderestie*, yet the penaltie  
thereof by vertue of the said law was but *Pecuniaria*,  
i. a money matter. Whereas by *Italia* it was *Capitalis*,  
i. worthe of death. And, that AVGVSTVS es-  
tablished and enforced this law against Incontinencie,  
it may appeare by this, That *Sextus Aurelius* reproo-  
ved him: because being himselfe giuen to lasciuious-  
nesse, yet he was a most severe and sharpe chastiser  
of that vice: as also by that answer of a young man,  
who being for committing adultery with his daughter *Iulia*  
fowed with his owne hands. Who *tharastion* cried  
out *Nepotianus & Kaiois, I Thou hast shooke the lawe O  
CÆSAR*. Now as touching the foresaid *Lex Scæti-  
nia*, it was so called (as VALERIUS MAXIMVS  
writeth by occasion of one *Scætinus* a Tribune of  
the commons, who against kinde had abused a sonne  
of MARCELLVS, and was therefore condemned  
accordingly.

(t) *De ambitu*. Of which there were diuers, name-  
ly *Acilia Calpurnia*, *Aufidia*, *Belia*, *Aemilia*, *Cornelia*,  
*Fulvia*, *Maria*, *Pompeia*, *Petilia*, *Tullia* and *Julia*, *Cæ-  
saris & Augusti*.

(u) *Lex papia popæa, de maritandis ordinibus*, wher-  
of, there were many branches and chapters, not on-  
ly respecting this conjunction of the Gentrie and  
commons: but also concerning penalties to be laid  
upon those that neglected marriage, and rewards  
due to such as lived in wedlocke and begar chil-  
dren, &c.

35 (v) The badges that distinguished Senarours from  
others, were then Robes purpled or embroidered or  
with broze studs or purple like nail heads, called  
therupon *Laticlavii*, and shoes with peakes resem-  
bling the horned tips or pointed ends of the moone,  
named therefore *Calcei lunati*, in token of their an-  
cient Nobilitie, as some interpret it.

(w) These solemne feastes at which Senators were  
allowed to be present, were *Epulæ* on ovi otherwise cal-  
led *cena* *Dialis* within the capitoll: Likewise *cena* *Tri-  
umphantis* *Pontificalis*, and *Auguralis*, i. the sumptuous  
suppers to the honour of IVPITER, at triumphes,  
given by the Pontifices and Augurs.

(x) The first day of every month. The 13. of  
March, May, Iuly, and October, the 15. of the rest.

37 (y) A Iudiciall court there was at Rome called  
*Centumviri*, *in a Basilica*, for that it consisted of certaine  
Commissioners or Iudges named *centumviri*, i. The  
Hundred men. Betwixt whom were debated ciuill  
matters and causes betwixt one citizen and citizen, of  
no great importance. Chosen these were out of eve-  
ry Tribe three: And those were in all 35. which

number doth arise to 105. but in round reckoning  
they went for an hundred.

(z) What these ornaments and badges were. T.  
LIVIVS reporteth in the 30 booke of his *Romane*  
historie: to wit, *A crowne of Gold, and a faire golden*  
*Bell: A curule, Ivorie chaire, with a staffe likewise or*  
 *scepter of Ivory: A long Robe embroidered of sundrie co-  
lours, and a rich coat of Needle worke representing*  
*the Date tree.*

(b) This solemne shew or Riding of Roman Gen-  
tlemen, was upon the Ides, i. the 15. day of *Quintilis*  
*alias Iuly* yearly: Instituted first by FABIVS RV-  
TILIANVS in the honour of CASTOR and  
POLIVS, who appeared unto the Romans, at the  
battell neere the Lake *Regillus*, what time they at-  
tained a noble victorie. They rode from the Temple  
of Honour, as some write, or as others, of *Mars*  
without the walles, through the *Forum*, and by the  
Temple of *Castor*, up into the Capitall, dight with  
chapiers of Olive braunches, as PLINIE writeth  
*lib. 15. Natur. Hist.*

(c) BY this it appeareth, that ordinarily he might  
not bee a Tribune of the commons, who was not  
a Senator: For albeit this be a Plebian Magistrate,  
yet might a commoner be a Senator.

(d) Whereupon, SVTIVS thinketh, *Annæas* to  
take their name, *quæst annæas* *Natus* *didicisse*, i. be-  
cause come was wont to be dealt among the people,  
upon the Nones of every month, namely, the se-  
venth day of March, May, Iuly and October, and  
the fifth of the rest: Whereas indeed *Annæas* is de-  
rived *ab anno*, i. the yeare, *quæst annalis alimonia*, i. the  
yeares provision of food.

(e) It seemeth that AVGVSTVS held of two  
Tribes: to wit, *Scæptia*, unto which the *Ostiauij* be-  
longed, and wherein he was borne: and *Fabia*, by  
his adoption into the familie of the Iulij.

(f) For, howsoever the Romane habit was the  
Gowne, yet permitted were they, upon needfullie,  
namely to save the said gowne in foule wether, or to  
defend themselves from cold, to cast over it a cloake  
in any frequented place of the Citie, as were the *Be-  
rum*, i. The common pleading court, ward, or Mar-  
ket place, and the *circus*, i. The Shevy place.

(g) For the ordinarie Roman Gownes were  
white and faire kept.

(h) Of these spectacles and games, some were *Me-  
tutini*, some *Meridiani*, and other *Pomeridiani*: ac-  
cording as they were exhibited, In the morning, at  
Noone, and after-noon.

(i) These were called likewise sacred Games, as  
Stage-plays, Gymnicks Exercises, and Masteries in  
Musicke, in NEROES time.

(j) They tooke that name of a spacious Gallerie  
or walking place called *Xystus*, wherein they  
were wont to exercise in winter time.

(k) COLONIES, were Towne-ships in Italy  
and other Provinces planted with Romane Inha-  
bitants. In which, Decurions as one would say  
Aldermen, had the same authoritie as Senators  
in Rome.

(l) HEREUPON, some Provinces were called  
*Cæsariæ*, or *Præsidariæ*: namely which were ruled  
by the Emperours sole appointment, and had  
strong Garrisones placed in them: others, *Populi*,  
and



and they were named *Prætoris*, *Consulares*, or *Proconsulares*, governed by *Prætors*, *Consuls*, or their Vicegerents.

- 50 (a) There is a kinde of Monkey or Marmoset in *Anthiopia*, going under the name of *Sphinx*, in *PLINIE*. The Poets also faine, that a certaine monstrous beast fo called, sometimes did haunt the Citie of *Thebes* and the Territories about it: Which from a rocke propoled ridales unto the passengers. This monster by their report, caried the resemblance of three creatures, to wit, a Fowle, a Lion, and a mayden, according to these verses of *Ansonius*.

*Terræ, animam volucris, Leo, virgo, triforinis*  
*Sphinx: volucris penna, pedibus fera, fronte puella.*  
A three-shap'd *Sphinx*, Bird-Lion-Maid,  
Anion land did fright,

In wing a fowle, in feete a \* beaft,  
In face a virgin [bright].

*PLINIE* writeth in the last booke of his *Naturall Historie*. That *AVGVSTVS* used at the beginning to signewith this *Sphinx* engraven upon his Signet. And verily quoth he, in the casket of his mothers Jewels two of these he found, so like, that one could not be discerned from the other. And as hee was wont to wear the one wherefoever he went, so in his absence during the civill warres with *Antonie*, his friends that managed his affaires at *Rome*, sealed with the other, those missives and edicts which passed in his name. And from hence it came, that those who received any such letters or edicts conteyning matter of difficultie, were wont merily to say, that the said *Sphinx* came ever with some hard riddle or other, which could not be assailed. Whereupon *AVGVSTVS* to avoid the obloquie that arose by his *Sphinx* gave over sealing therewith, and signed alwaies after with the image of King *ALEXANDER* the Great, &c.

- 51 (a) This humanitie and affable courtesie termed by *SVETON*. *CIVILITAS*, was reproved in *ALEXANDER* the Emperour by his mother and wife both, as not becoming the Majestie of a Prince. For they told him many times, that thereby he caused his Imperiall power and dignitie to be the more contemptible: Yea, but it is by that means quoth he both surer, and like also to last the longer *Lampridius* in *Alexandro*.

- 53 (a) This name *Dominus* among the Romans, like as *Sir* with us, was diversly used. In the sense of imperious and Lordly command, as wee sometime take [Lord] it was odious: as having a relation to *SECVS* a slave or villaine. To mollifie therefore the harshness of the word, they used to terme householders or masters of families, *paterfamilias*, in steed of *Dominus*, as also household servants *familias*, and not *servus*. Otherwise they used it by way of flatterie or faire speech, as appeareth in the chap. 21. of *CLAVDIVS* following. Hence it is, that lovers call their sweet hearts, *Dominas* i. Mistresses. Also if a man speaketh unto one, whom he eyther knoweth not, or hath forgotten he saith, *Dominus* i. Heere you Sir, according to that Epigram in *Marshall*,  
*Cum te non nossem, Dominum Regemque vocabam,*  
Al while that I you kenned not, I cald you L. & King

Or fr.

Last of all, by way of scorne and derision. And so, the same *Marshall* testifieth in this Distichon.

*Cum voco te dominum possit tibi, Cinna, placere,*  
*Sape etiam servum sic refutato m'um.*

When I O *Cinna* call you fr. joy not, I you addresse,  
For even my servant I salute oft times so otherwise.

In which manner we speake unto our servant, or any other in contempt, by this terme *fratira*: to say nothing of *fr. knave*. No merwaile therefore, if *AVGVSTVS* could not abide this word *Dominus* so doubtfully taken, and seldome in good sense.

(b) If you read, [adperta] i. close and shut, it may have reference to this, That heooke net faste upon him, nor sought the peoples applause. which accordeth to his other behaviour reported before. If [adperta] i. open, it sheweth likewise his courteous carriage and affabilitie: as who was readie to accept of petitions and requests: a thing right commendable in a Prince, as it is written of King *ARTAXERXES* surnamed *MNEMON*, how riding in a Carroch with his Queene, he commaunded her to draw open the curtaines thereof, That he might the better attend upon his subjects. And this agreeth as well with that which followeth of *AVGVSTVS*. And hertoe I rather incline.

(c) He looked not for their attendance at home in his owne house, neyther would he be thought to have conferred with any one privately, as touching the publicke affaires.

(d) It is generally a received opinion, that within seven naturall daies such voluntarie abstinence from food is not mortall, as *PLINIE* writeth in his eleventh booke, who reporteth also, that many have continued fasting more than eleven daies. Which I easily beleeve. For, in mine owne knowledge I may be bold to report, that a Bitch lived so long, and yet died not, nor miscried the whelps within her. Some melancholicke persons therefore, may within the Latitude of Health endure so long, yea and those likewise who are fraught top-full with a ballance of cold and cold humours, which may engender a quartaine ague as well as melancholicke doth. For, I doubt not, but in such chronick diseases occasioned and maintained by grosse matters, one may abide above eleven daies without all manner of food. Yet *AVLVVS GELLIVS* saith, that beyond seven daies willfull abstinence, a man is not able to live.

(e) For, as *Plinian* testifieth. 1. 18. de *Testamentis*. A law there was, that whosoever to the infamie of any person published a Libell rather in his owne or another mans name, yea without name at all. If he be convicted thereof, shall be *Interfabilis*. i. disabled both for making a will himselfe, and also for to be a witness unto another mans.

(a) By these candidates, he meant eyther such as himselfe recommended unto the people for any office, as *CAESAR* his predecessor did before him, and those were called *Cæsaris Candidati*, or else his especiall friends whom he laboured for.

(b) *PLINIE* lib. 35. cap. 12. writeth, that *Cassius* his accuser charged him to have killed 130. guests, with one platter of poisoned meat.

(c) Certaine fouldiers there were going under the name of *Scutarii*, as *PAVLVS DIACONVS* witnesseth

nesseth in his supplement upon *Entropius* writing that *Valentinian* of a Tribune or Colonnell over these *Scutarii*, became Emperour.

- 54 (a) *GERMANICVS* was the sonne of *Drusus*, and *Antonia* the younger. Now, had *Drusus* for his mother, *Livia* the wife of *Augustus* and *Antonia* for hers, *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*.

(b) In all bargaines of sale, and alienations, the solemn and ceremoniall forme at *Rome* was this, that five witnesses at the least, *Romane Citizens* and of lawfull age, with one other beside, of the same condition called *Libripens*, (because he held a payre of balances, &c.) the chapman or buyer should come with a peece of *Brasse* coyne in his hand, and say, (for example sake, if it were a bondslave to bee bought and sold) these words, *This man or woman, I vouch by the law of the Romans to be mine, and bought I have him or her, for this peece of brasse, and with this brasse balance, and therewith, striking the laid balance give the brasse peece unto the other partie that is the seller, By which imaginarie kind of chaffering, things were alienated, & their property changed.*

(c) So ordinarie it was to traine up youth in swimming, and in \* *Grammer*, of which the one had relation to the exercise of the bodie, the other of the minde, that of such as had no bringing up at all, arose this proverbe, *puer natus, puer prope natum*.

(a) *CAIVS* was sent by *AVGVSTVS* with an armie to suppress the troubles and insurrections in the East-parts: where he was stabbed treacherously, with a knife or short skene, by one who presented unto him a supplication, of which wound he died afterwards. *ALVCIVS* likewise he sent into *Armenia*, recommending him unto the Gods in these words, that they would vouchsafe him as well beloved as *Pompeius*, as *valorous* as King *Alexander*, and as fortunate as him selfe.

(a) That he adopted, because they were out of the tuition of their fathers deceased in the common Hall or *Forum*, before the high priestes, and with consent of the people, by vertue of the law *Curiata*. And this was properly called *Adoption*. Whereas, sufficient it was to adopt others above named with the assent of their fathers, by the formal bargain of sale called *Mancipatio*.

(c) Certaine questioners there were named also *Candidati Principis*: whose Office it was to read such missives or letters in the Senate.

(d) Happily, this he did to know thereby, whether the had bene naught of her bodie with them or no: considering wee learne out of naturall Philosophy, that commonly children resemble their parents in complexion, favour, and markes. Howbeit, this *Tulla* is reported to have brought forth children, all like unto *M. Aegyptia*, her husband so long as he lived, notwithstanding she was known to be a common strumpet. But beside her answer to that point, unto those who made a wonder at it, which ye may see in *Ma. rob. Saturnal. lib. 2. cap. 5.* read the pleasant and witty Epigram of *Sir Thomas Moore*, upon the like example.

(e) Alluding to a place of *Homers Iliad. 3.* wherein *Hector* curseth his brother *caris*, and after some approbrious termes saith thus,

*αὐτὸς ἴσους τ' ἀγνὸς τ' ἴσους ἀγαπᾷ τ' ἀνδρόδωρ.*  
Would God thou hadst of women no're bene borne:

Or else had died thy wedding day before.

Which verse, by inversion of words and using one of them in a contrarie sense, *AVGVSTVS* transferred unto his owne person. For it is to be noted, that *αὐτὸς* heere in *Homers* hath a passive signification, & soundeth, as much, as *αὐτὸς* i. not borne, whereas *AVGVSTVS* taketh it in the active, for one that is childlesse, or hath begotten no children.

(f) These Cancers be certain tumors or swellings, or is unable hard & unequal of their nature which he called *Scirrhus*, and of an ugly aspect, as arising from unnatural melancholy breeding, as *CORNELIVS CÆLIVS* writeth, for the most part in the superiour region of the bodie, about the face, nose, eares, lips, and womens breasts. Which our Author heere and the Greeke writers name *Carcinomata*, for the resemblance of the Crab-fish crooked cleics, which the blacke or swart veines all about them doe represent, or because they be hardly or uneth removed, if they once take to a place, no more than the said fish when it saileth to a thing and ca'steth it, Untoward to be healed, and commonly the worse for all the cure done unto them. These Cancers, if they become ulcers once are termed *Wolves*. In regard of which properties, aptly compared *AVGVSTVS* those ungracious Impes of his breed, unto them, as being foule *Eye-ores*, deftining his honour, and by no discipline of his corrigible.

(a) According to that sage precept of *Solon*, *τὸς φίλους μὴ τοιοῦτο λέγε. ἱ. Be not hasty making any thy friends* and the saying of *Heecuba* in *Euripides*,  
*οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσθ' ἂν ἀνὴρ καὶ φίλος,*  
No friend, I say,

Who loves not eye.

Which two rules *Propertius* elegantly comprehendeth in one verse,

*Nec cito desposito temere incipio*

Late ere I love, as long ere I leave.

(b) *ASOPH* gaue this lesson, *τὴ γυναικα μὴ δόξαι ἀποκρύπτειν. i. Committ no secrets to a woman.* And as for this *Aleceus*, he was noted to be *Procrus*, more than he should, and one, who (albeit his wife was a shrew and readie to goe from him every day soone admitted atonements and reconciliations. Whereupon *Seneca* in his morall Epistles said, That having but one wife, yet he married a thousand times.

(a) EVERY word almost in this verse carrieth a double construction without the understanding whereof, all the grace is lost. For, *Cynadus* in one sense, betokeneth one of the Galli, Priestes of the Gods *Cybele* named also, *Ops Mater deum*, and *Tellus*, even the very Earth. Which priests were gelded or disabled for generation, and tooke that name of the river *Gallus*, the water whereof drunken, caused men to be evirate and effeminate. Now, the manner of these priestes in the divine service of the said goddess, was to beate the Taber or tamper upon the *Timbril*, which is expressed here in these words, *Orbem digito temperat*. For that the *Timbril* is round & circular, to signifie the Globe of the earth symbolize by *Cybele*. And in this sense, may the verse literally be interpreted; But, beside this significatio, *Cynadus* betokeneth a wanto *Pathick* or *Caramie*, who suffereth himselfe against nature to be abused. *Orbis* also is *puk*, for the habitable world, and *digito temperat*, is as much to say, as He hath the world

at a becke, or at his commaund, as if the same were ruled by AVGVSTVS CAESAR, who was noted for that abominable filthinesse. And in this latter sense did the people of Rome compound the said verses, and apply it unto him.

70

(a) OF twelve Gods and Goddesses together: Alluding to those fixe select Gods, & as many Goddesses whom antiquitie in heathenesse honoured above the rest: whose names ENNIVS the Poet comprised in these two verses;

*Inno, vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,*

*Mercurius & Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

\* Jupiter.

Answerable to which number hee intertained fixe young women attired like Goddesses, & six boyes (latamies) in habit of Gods, as his guests at this Supper.

(b) I doubt, the first verse of this *Hexastichon* is not perfect, for, I doe not please my selfe in the translation of it.

(c) Neyther is it certaine what this *Mallia* should bee: Some read *Manlia*, as if it were the name of a chamber within the Lastell or Citadell of the Capitall, which this banqueting place of his did counterfeite, and then we must admit the figure *Protopia*. Others take *Mallia* to be the name of some woman, imployed in the furnishing & letting out of such a supper.

(d) For AVGVSTVS not only fate here among the rest in the person of *Apollo*, but also would sometimes be thought *Phaebus*, otherwhiles *Phoebus* his sonne.

(e) For, it is not knowne what adulteries the Poets talke of, betweene *Jupiter* and *Armania* &c. betweene *Mars* also and *Venus*.

(f) No marvelle, if *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with other Gods and Goddesses, being before possessed of the Capitall, abandoned their thrones and chappels, when they saw such in place.

(g) Wherein Tormentors whips and scourges were to be sold: and there-upon hee took that name of Tortour (like as before he is surnamed *Sandalarius*, and *Tragedar*) which, AVGVSTVS seemed now to versifie in himselfe, whipping and plauging the people with hunger, as hee did.

71

(a) IN which moneth the feast *Saturnalia* was kept, and much libertie tolerated of gaming, feasting and reveling.

(b) In this game called in Latine *Lusus talorum*, or *Talarum*, there is some resemblance of our dies, but that the *Tali* have but foure faces or sides, and therefore yeeld foure chaunces and no more. Of which the first is named *Canis* or *canicula*, answering as some thinke to our Ace, and is the worst of all. The opposite onto it, they termed *Pecus* or *cow*, and is accounted the best, as which may stand for our sixe. The third bare the name of *Chius*, proportioned to Trey with us: and the last *Senio*, and is as much as *Quatre*. For in these *Tali* or cockall bones there is no chance of Deux or Cirque.

(c) *Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria*, were certaine festivall holidays held for five daies together in the moneth *March* to the honour of *Minerva*. See *Ovid de Fast. Par. Macro. Aul. Gell.*

72

(d) FOR pleasure therein hee called it *Syracusa*, comparing it to that beautifull Citie in Sicily, and because it served his turne for meditations and inventions, hee gave it the name *πυρρίου*.

(a) Employed, as it should seeme in his civill warres. Certaine soldiers there were uttering upon the Prince under the name of *spiculatores*, whose service hee used, in spying and listening; In Greeke such were named, *ὀψιτῆς, ἐκρυπτοὶ ἀνὰ πύργους*. Also in doing execution upon crident offenders, and in lending of letters into the Senate, as *Livius Tormentum* hath observed verie well in his Annotations upon *CAIVS CALIGVIA*.

(a) *Sabbatis Ieiunium servat*. If Sabbath be but for weeks, as the manner of the Jewes was to speake, according as the Publicane saith in the Gospell after *Saint Luke*, *ἡμεῖς οὕτως ἐκλύομεν*, and as it appeareth in other places of the Evangelists, true it is, that SVETONIVS or AVGVSTVS reporteth of the Jewes, as also if by Sabbath be meant other of their festivall and solemne daies. But if you take it for the seventh or last day of the week, it is altogether untrue, and to be imputed unto the error and ignorance of SVETONIVS and the Romanes, in the Jewish rites and ceremonies. For seeing them religiously to keepe the said seventh day or Sabbath holy, whereupon they were commonly called *Sabbatarii*, and observing withall their fasting, generally it was thought of straungers that they fasted upon the Sabbath. Also for their devout fasting against the feast of the Passover, called by themselves sometime the great Sabbath, as also by forainers, as it appeareth by *Heratius lib. 1. ferm. sat. 9.* in this peece of verse *Hodie tricesima Sabbata*, &c. they imagined that the Jewes fasted everie Sabbath. And in truth, reckoning from September (at which moneth the Jewes in one computation begin their year) 30 weeks forward, you come unto their *Passcha*: According to which time wee Christians also doe celebrate our feast of Easter. This onely is the difference betweene us and them, for that they observe the *Regemina* or new moone at the spring *Aequinox*, and solemnize their passover in the next full moone, and wee, the Lords day or Sunday after the said full.

(a) It seemeth, hee took but a light repast: not putting off his shoes, as the manner was, at full meals. (b) Some copies have, *retectis fedibus*, making (re) to be *invenimus*, as if he meant, verie well covered (contrarie to the use of that word *reterege*, which otherwise signifieth, to uncover) like as *recondere*, i. to lay up verie safe and sure. Others, *retractis* i. with his feete somewhat drawn or pulled up to him: in the same sense as CORNELIVS CELSVS useth *paulum retractis, qui fere jacitibus habitus est*, as hee saith, which is the ordinarie forme of lying, when as men be in health. Lastly, some read, *retractis* i. Let downe or stretched out to the full length.

(c) CASARONVS interpreteth, [ *Leticulum lucubratorium* ] a pallet or low bedde made for the nones, to rest and studie upon.

(d) BY whose report, he wanted not much of the full height of men, to wit, fixe foot, according to *Pygmaeus*. Above which stature the growth is somewhat giantlike.

(a) AD *Impetiginis formam*. The second kinde wherof, as CORNELIVS CELSVS writeth, (for willingly doe I often cite him as the Roman *Galene*, in explication of a Roman writer *Parus figuras habet* i. resembleth many and sundre formes, *lib. 5. cap. 28.*)

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(d) BY whose report, he wanted not much of the full height of men, to wit, fixe foot, according to *Pygmaeus*. Above which stature the growth is somewhat giantlike.

(b) This infirmities of his was a kinde of gout, which the Greeke writers call *Ischias*, and is commonly named *Sciatica*. As for the remedie or palliative cure rather (for easement of paine) with stand: it may be meant either of some fomentations with linnen bagges wherein was sand. For, *Cornelius Caesar* writeth, *That Mullus sed, sale, and sand, or any of them put within a linnen cloth*, and to applied to the affected place, cure the said disease: or of walking in sand by the sea side, or else of tumbling and wallowing therein: Which remedie *Q. Sertius Samonicus* in this verse: *Ne non ex tepidis convolvatur corpus arenis*, &c. hath prescribed and experience verified.

(c) CATO in his *Husbandrie*, and PLINIE *lib. 17. cap. ultimo*, maketh mention of curing the *Sciatica* with a clift of a green cane or reed, but there must be forsooth, a charme go with all, and so, it repoleth dislocations or bones out of ioynt. Indeed, both *Diocorides*, and also *Galene*, attribute unto the rinde or bark of Cane-roots, and to their ashes a desiccative vertue: Whereby, they are found good for such dislocations, and so may cure the Articular disease likewise, called *Sciatica*, which differeth not much from a dislocation, of the huckle-bone.

(d) PLINIE reporteth *3. cap. lib. 25.* That the disease of the bladder, and especially the Strangurie, i. pissing drop-meale, occasioned by grauell, (which I take heere to be meant) is of all others most dolorous.

82

(a) THIS accordeth to an observation of *Cornelius Celsus*. *Quis secundis aliquando frustra curatus est yomeritis aliquando restituitur*. i. The patient whose cure devised by art, and according to the rule of Physicke, sometime speedeth not well, recovereth otherwhile by a course of meanes quite contrarie.

(b) Which the Greekes call *Periodicall*: As the Quartane Ague and other intermitent fevers be so termed, because their fits returne upon certaine daies. The falling sicknesse likewise, keeping time with the moone, whereupon some name it *Lunaticus*. And gout, which are most busie in the spring and the fall, &c.

(c) Toward the end of September. An unequal season of the year, wherein commonly the mornings and evenings be cold, and the Noone tides hotte, whereby many diseases are occasioned. But as touching the Birth-day heere mentioned, *Valerius Max.* and *Plinie* report, that *Antipater Sidonius* the Poet every year upon the day of his Nativitie onely felt the access of an Ague. Whereof hee died in the end, after hee had lived to a great age.

(d) No marvelle if in cacochymicall bodies, such as his was, the humors which lay still and quiet all Winter, began to spread and swell in the spring, causing *Distentions* and *Pneumias*: especially in that place where they were gathered and laid up as it were in store, to doe a mischief when the time came.

83

(a) FEMINATILVS & *sibillibus*. In steede of our Breeces and Stockings, the Greeks and Romanes, used in those daies certaine loose cloathes in manner of Swathing bands to cover and lap their nakednesse. And long it was, ere they took to anie such, unless it were upon occasion of some disease. Witness heereof *PHILIP* King of Macedonia

who as *PLVTARCH*, when hee late in Port-fale of certaine slaves or captives, was admonished by one of them to let downe his upmost garment for to hide his shame: *IVLVVS CAESAR* also himselfe, being deadly wounded, was careful to let fall the lap of his gowne for to cover his privie parts when hee should fall. In proceesse of time they took to wearing the cloathes afore said in lieu of Breeces. i. Breeces, which the French and other barbarous Nations used: but they did so in Winter onely. For, otherwhile they went ordinarily in those parts without trusses: covering all as mannerly as they could with their loose upper garment, which upon a small occasion were readie to flie open.

(b) Partly, to make a noise, and so to procure sleepe, and in part to refresh and coole the Ayre.

(c) As well to coole him as to drive away gnats; for want of curtaines or a canopie, which thereof tooke the name in Greeke *κατακλις* or *κατακλις*. Now the manner of this winowing or making wind was for the better and daintier sort, with plumes of peacocks tails, much like to the fannes of feathers used in these daies as well as in old time, but for the meaner, with beasts tails.

(d) From Rome to *Præneste* or *Tibur*, is about one hundred *Stadia* if then, you reckon 125. paces to a *Stadium*, it cometh to 12. miles and an halfe. CATO CENSORIVS was of another minde, who said hee Repented whensoever he went to any place by water if he might, by land.

(e) The abstinence wherof in some measure is good for those that have feeble joynts, and be remembered otherwhiles with any gout, as AVGVSTVS was yet, a thing that Physicians in old time could hardly bring their patients unto, so ordinarie it was in those daies to both.

(f) Which, the wannon and delicate Ladies of Rome, as PLINIE writeth, used of silver.

(a) AD *pilam*. Whereas there were divers kinds of balls to play with, it seemes, that hee meant in this place that, which of all other was least and hardest, as being stuffed with haire, whereupon it tooke the name: the same no doubt that our Tennis Ball is lent to and fro with the Racket. Named likewise it was *Trigenalis*, of a Tennis court within the baines, three square walled: from which walk the ball did rebound. Of this ball, and the exercise thereof, *GALLEN* wrote a Treatise.

(b) *Folliculum*. By *Follculus* is meant a kinde of wind hand-ball covered with leather: having within it a bladder puffed up with wind, the softest & lightest of all others, smitten, not with a racket as the other, nor with the palme of the hand, as that which they called *Paganica*, filled with woole, flocks or yarne, but driven with the clutched fist, whereupon it tooke the name *PVGILLATORIA*.

(c) So TURNEBVS expoundeth it. But *ISAACVS CASABONVS* understandeth thereby, *Segessrie* or *Segessrium*, in Greeke *σεγαστή*, a light blanquet or quilt.

(d) By this, is meant a play, that children used, and not that game of hazard resembling dice, at which, hee saide before, they played *παιδι*.

B 3

(c) For

(e) For ought that I can gather out of the sundry conjectures of expositors, these *Ocellati* made of silver or Iron, resemble the game of young Gentlewomen called of some *Trot-Madame*: or else that pastime of boyes named nine holes.

(a) BESIDE the pretie allusion unto the fabulous historie of *AIAX*, *TORRENTIVS* hath observed in the word *Spongia*, a double signification: to wit, a sponge called *Delectilis*, which wintres had at hand, cyther to wipe and wash out what misliked them, or to blurre and blot the same, according to the use of the Poet *AVSONIVS*.

*Aus cunctis pariter versibus oblinat  
Fulvum laetivola spongia sepium.*

Whereupon *Martialis* saith of it,

*Fulvius quoties scripta novare volat.*

and also a sword. Which addeth the better grace unto the conceit, considering that *AIAX* fell upon his owne sword. But in this latter sense, I have not yet found *Spongia* taken, in any approved author.

(a) *AVGVSTVS* taxed *MAECENAS* for being *Cacozelus*, and found as much fault with *TIREXIVS*, because he was *Antiquarius*:

(b) By these words *μυεργαίς*, *Cincinnos* *AVGVSTVS* noteth the affectate forced phrases, and curious ynkehorne termes as it were, of *MAECENAS*, *Cuius oratio*, as *SENECA* reporteth of him *Epist. 94. aequa soluta est, ac ipse discinctus*. His manner of stile might be compared to those hairens of his, curled with crisping pins & beset with odoriferous oiles, which *CYCERO* calleth *capillus calamistratus* & *d. liberos*. Neither do I thinke that *AVGVSTVS* reprehendeth *MAECENAS* for using these words, *μυεργαίς* *cincinnos*, because it is his owne manner in writing to entangle Greeke with Latyn, & besides, *ca. ozeum* is therein to be found. But his over curious termes and new devised phrases he so calleth, for that *MAECENAS* was wont in trimming and tricking up himselfe to be somewhat womanish.

(c) *AVGVSTVS* in a certaine Epistle unto *MAECENAS* by expressing his owne nice and delicate pleasures, after a sort derided them, and dehortheth him thereto, in these words. *Vale mel gemmeum Medullae ebur ex Mauritania, laet Arctium, adamus supernas, Tiberinum Marcaritum, Cilnorum Smaragde, Iassi figuratum, Berylle Porcenae, carbunculum Italiae, yssim curatissimum malizius Mecharum*. In which words, as in a mirror he might see himselfe.

(d) As if he should say, *Never a barrell better hering*. There was neyther of them better than other, as offending both waies. The Asianick Orators were *Cacozeli*, *Cimber* *Atticus* and *Petrinus*, *Antiquarii*. So that, it was mere folly & vanitie to make any doubt, whether of them to imitate, being all starke naught.

(a) This *SPHAERVS* was a deep Scholler & great Humanitian as we speake, and whom the Greekes call *Philologus*. Under him *AVGVSTVS* became *maximus* skilfull in historie, Antiquities &c. like as, under *AENEAS* he learned Philosophy.

(b) The principall Authors whereof *HORATIUS* comprised in this verse,

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poeta.*

In this manner of Comedie the vices of men and women were represented and taxed upon the stage over-boldly, and bravely to their discredit. For which

it grew to be offensive, & was laid away a long time.

(c) Who was *Censor* in his time, and yett waded in his orations at all men of what degree he ever should be compelled to marrie for procreation of children.

(a) *PLINIE lib. 2. cap. 55. Non si situmidi, quod it never lightneth above five foot within the ground. Fearfull peirons thereto shunke such deepe caves most safe.*

(a) BY this custome and gesture, as the Argument and circumstance of the place naturally importeth, he thought to intreat the goddess *Neptis* to spare him: *Neptis* I say, whom the Heavens imagined to attend with an envious eye, upon all excessive prosperitie. To avoid therefore adverse after-claps, which this spitefull goddess might bring upon him, unless they were pacified, *AVGVSTVS* thus debased himselfe superstitiously, and in some sort, seemed to abridge his owne felicitie. Much after the manner of *POLYCRATES* that rich tyrant who to be excused from this *Neptis*, flung into the sea a Jewell, with a precious stone of inestimable price.

(a) *NYNDINAE* among the Romans were those daies in every month. Whereon they kept feyres and markets. It should seeme therefore, that he held the day after them ominous and of unlucky presage, as we say in our proverb, *A day after the faire*, or else because he had sometime not sped very well, when as he did set out in his journey upon such a day.

(b) *Nonis, quae, nonis*, which literally offeth as much as, *you go not*. Much like to that in *Plinie 15. lib. cap. 19. When M. Crassus* was readie to embarke in that infortunate expedition into *Parthia* where he was slaine, a fellow cried certaine figs to be sold with this note *Caveas, Caveas* (for of that kinde were those figs) which offeth thus much unto him, as if in short speech he had cried *cave ne eis, cave ne eis*, i. Take heede you go not this voyage.

(a) AN Idoll resembling an Oxe, which the Aegyptians worshipped as a God for *Serapis*.

(b) He did this, as it should seeme in policy, because he would not be thought addicted to the Jewish sect. For otherwise it appeareth as well by his gracious Indulgences granted unto them, as his own testimonie in Edicts & commissiōs, wherein he giveth unto their God [the true & onely God] the attribute of *deus*, and instituted for ever certaine *Holocausts*, or whole burnt offerings, to wit, two lambs and one bul, to be offered unto that soveraigne most high Deity.

(a) SOME have expounded this of our Saviour Christ, King, not of Rome onely, but also of all the world, who took our nature upon him, and was borne in the daies of *Augustus Caesar*.

(b) The like conception by a serpent is reported of *Olympus* the mother of King *ALEXANDER* the great, of *POMONIA* likewise the mother of *SCIPIO AFRICANVS*.

(c) This broad scale wherewith were signed letters Patents and other publicke Instruments, caried a stamp representing the Citie of Rome, and being thus put into his bosom, prefigured that he one day should have the government of the state & commonweale.

(d) Symbolizing thereby, that the Citizens of *Rome*, who before time might not lawfully be scourged were in danger to loose their liberty in that behalf.

(a) Or

(a) Or, when he stood the first time for to be Consul. For, the manner was of the *Candidati* or Competitors of the Consulship, the night before the Election day to lie without the Citie abroad in the open ayre: and afterwards early in the morning to sit in a chaire made of one entire peece with in the precinct of a certaine place therefore appointed (which thereupon was called *Templum*) and there, to waite and expect untill some God presented unto them a good and fortunate signe.

(a) *CVM augeri hostias imperasset.* The manner was of the *Painims* if they could not speed of their Gods favour at the first sacrifice, to kill more beasts still, untill they saw some tokens thereof: which in the doubtfull learning was called *Litae*. Thus did *PAVLVS AEMILIUS* for 20 together, and obtained no warrant of happie successe before he had slaine the one and twentieth. Yet some write, that *Sacrifices* are then said *Augeri*, when together with the beasts, there is use of *salsa mola*, i. meat & salt. Which kind of Offer be called *Macte, quasi, magis acta*.

(b) Significant names both, and omes of victorie. *EVICTIVS*, importeth Luckie or Fortunate: *Victor* Victour or Conquerour.

(a) This solemnitie of purging the Armie everie five yeares was instituted by King *SERVEVS TULLIVS*, and celebrated with the Sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheepe and a Bull, named thereupon *Suovetaurilia*. Hereupon, the revolution of five yeares, they called *Lustrum*. This function or office belonged afterwards to Generals of the field: like as the Expiation and purging of the people unto the Censours. And this manner of *Lustrum* is here meant, *carol. Sign. Aton*.

(b) Writings or Instruments signed, containing the said vowes: whereby they bound themselves, as it were, by obligation to pay and performe the same. Oftentimes also they fastened them with waxe unto the knees of those Gods or Idols unto whom they nuncupated those vowes, according to that verse of *Jerem. Satyr. 2*

*Propter quod fas est genua incutere Deorum.*

(c) *Præter consuetudinem.* *SVETONIVS* seemeth heere to forget himselfe, writing that *Augustus* contrarie to his owne wont embarked by night, having reported before, that it was his manner so to doe. *Torrentius* would save all, expounding it thus, that his hastie and long journey (for it was a good stretch from *Astura* to *Beneventum*) was contrarie to his wonted manner. But to speake, what I thinke, his journey now by night, was occasioned by a gale of winde that served well for *Beneventum*, and hath no reference at all to his accustomed travaile. Some would read, *(pro consuetudine)* i. after his usual manner, but they respect not the scope of our Author, whose purpose in this place is to put downe certaine particulars that were ominous and presaging his death. Among which, this may be reckoned for one, that he did a thing now, repugnant to his ordinary gaue. A point, I wis, observed too much even now a daies by those that are superstitiously given. Although, I am not ignorant, that of this observation, in sicke folke, there may be a naturall reason tendered out of Physicke.

(a) *DE navi Alexandrina*. By *Navis* he meaneth as I suppose, *Classis* (by the trope *Synecdoche*) i. the

whole fleet, like as by the same figure, *classis* signifieth a ship. For one vessel alone arrived not unto that haven of *Patris*, fraught with marchandise, considering that the same is by other writers named *negotium* *classis*, and *cometas*. Yea, and by the figure *Catachresis*, *Martial* calleth it *Niliacus cataphra*, which properly betokeneth the fleet when it is arrived. Neyther is it like that Mariners and Passengers out of one ship onely saluted *AVGVSTVS* in this wise.

(b) *Quadragesimos aureas*. Every such peece was worth fiftene shillings sterling and better, aunswearable to our Spurre Rials.

(c) These commodities were thought to be Drugs and Spices of all sorts, webs or clothes in Say, Books, Paper, Glasses of sundrie fashions, teere of flaxe, birds, or Tow, findall or fine linnen, twisted yarne and threed of divers colours, Babylonian and Aegyptian cloath, well favoured bondslaves, and of good education, &c.

(d) *Picinam capreis insulam.* Yet some read otherwise, *Picinam capreas insulam*. The land *Caprea* neere adjoining, as if *AVGVSTVS* had abode all this while in the skirt and coast of *campania*, or in some other of the neighbour Ilands. But I incline rather to the former exposition.

(e) The Citie of Eafe and Idleness.

(f) This *MASGABAS*, seemeth by his name to have beene an African, whom *AVGVSTVS* had made Constable as it were of that place, and ruler over a Compaignie, that he sent thither to dwell, after he had purchased it of the Neapolitanes. And for that *AVGVSTVS* had in mirth given him the name of *Founder*, he was so reputed, and his yeares minde after his death solemnized accordingly.

(g) *Morbo variato*. I take it, he meaneth that which *Celsus* calleth *Alvum variatum*, and other Physicians *Egagiones varias*, namely, when in a fluxe the excrements & humors be of divers colours, an argument that nature is not able to concoct them being so irregular, and therefore, sometime a deadly figure. Or, it may be expounded thus, that *Augustus* seemed to be better and on the mending hand, and whereupon more venereous, Then *ad Morbo variato* comes, &c.

(b) Celebrated everie five yeares after the Grecian manner; and called *Gymnicks*, because the masteries therein, were performed by Champions for their better agilitie well neere naked.

(a) This was a speciall honour and indulgence granted by a singular privilege, for otherwise it was against the custome & lawes of the Romans to bring a dead bodie into a sacred place, or into the Citie, for feare of polluting and profaning it.

(b) The Senators and Gentlemen of Rome wore rings of Gold, the Commoners of Iron.

(c) The chiefe Colledges & Societies, at this time were compred foure, that is to say. The Pontifics or chiefe Priests, the Augures, the Septem-virs, or seven wardens called *Epulones*, for that to the belonged the charge of providing the sacred feasts, the sumptuous suppers of the Pontifics, named *Cæne adjectales*, as also the stately Tables, in the honour of *Jupiter* and other Gods, and fourthly, of the *Quindecimvirs sacris faciundis*, i. Fiftene overseers of the Sacrifices. Afterwards adjoyined there was to these a fifth, *Augustalium Sodalium*, erected by order from *AVGVSTVS*, and others in process of time by his precedent.

(d) This

(d) This *Rostra* was the publicke pulpit for Orations, standing in the common Market place, called *Forum Romanum*: so called for that it was beautified with the beake-heads of ships (named in Latine, *Rostra*) which in a memorable fight at Sea, the Romans wonne from their enemies. Neere unto which were certaine shops called *Pæciæ Tabernæ*: and absolutely *retiores*, for distinction of others, known by the name of *Novæ* i. the new shops. Yet some are of opinion, that in this place our Author meaneth *Rostra vetera* i. the olde pulpit: to put a difference betwene it and another named *Novæ* i. the New.

(e) You must thinke, That the dead bodie to be burnt in a funerall fire, was set therein so, as the ashes and bones thereof remained a part by themselves from the rest. Otherwise, the ashes of wood, the bones likewise of horses and other beasts sometimes burnt therewith, should have the honour due unto the said dead corps. Some are of opinion that it was lapped in a linnen sheete of the flaxe called *Asbestum*, which would not bee consumed with fire.

(f) The sumptuous Tombe that *Queenè Artamisia* built for her husband *MANSOLVS* King of *Ceris*, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, was called *Mausoleum*, after his name. Whereupon, at such costly and stately monuments are so named; and more particularly, that of *AVGVSTVS*. Of which you may read more. 5. *Geographi Serebini*, for the better explanation of this place.

(a) *DEPOSITVM apud se*.] Some read, *apud se, sex virgines vestites*, as if six of these Vestall virgins had the custodie thereof, or at leastwise brought the same forth, being committed to them all: and the seventh, named *Maxima*, the Priestesse as it were, and governess of the rest, were left behinde.

(b) This hath a reference unto the *As*, or pound weight Romaine consisteth of 12. ounces. which standeth for the base and rule of many other things: and namely heere for the entire inheritance that *AVGVSTVS* disposed of by his last will and Testament. For, two third parts of 12. he gave unto *TIBERIVS*: and another third part unto *LIVIA*, which made up the whole.

(c) That against the law *Pœconia*, which expressly provided, That no man should endow a woman in more the fourth part of his goods. So that if a man died seized of one hundred thousand pounds, his wife might not enjoy the thirds, but only 25000 pounds and no more. Howbeit *AVGVSTVS* had a speciall Indulgence and dispensation for this Lawe.

(d) Albeit *TIBERIVS* had beene long before adopted his sonne, and thereby may be thought to have assumed the names of his civil father, in this stile: yet this surname onely of *AVGVSTVS*, would not be communicate with him, but left it as hereditarie after his decease; as appeareth in *Tiberius*. As for *Livia*, after *Augustus* his death she was commonly called *Iulia Augustæ*: how ever some writers retain her olde name *Livia*; and others againe in *Augustus* his life name her *Lulia*: by the figure Prolepsis because she carried that name after he was dead.

(e) In most copies of *SVETONIVS* you find this reading, *Legavit populo Romanum quadringentis, tribubusque quinquies*. In which words there may be thought a Tautologic. For that the people of Rome and the Tribes (which were in number 35) be all one. Therefore, some learned men have thought good to leave out the later clause wholly, or at leastwise, the word *Tribulus*. Others againe would have heere two legacies to be implied, the one of foure millions given generally in common to the whole bodie and people of Rome, the other of three millions and one halfe, to be distributed among the Tribes in particular, or to the poorest persons in every Tribe according to the discretion of their *Precimegisti*. And these, put a distinction betwene *populus* and *plebs*, which *plebs* is heere understood vnder the name of *Tribulus*. But I leave it indifferent, although I am not ignorant, that sometimes *Populus* and *tribus* be confounded and put the one for the other, as also that *tribus* stand of the vulgar and meaner sort of the people onely, expressly distinct from *populus*, *Equites* and *Senatores*, which the Poet termeth *Sine nomine urbem*: and *T. LIVIVS* not unsapely, *ignota capta*.

(f) Which amounteth by the computaion of *BYDAYS* to three thousand and five hundred *Myrides*.

Anno-



# ANNOTATIONS VPON Tiberius Nero Cæsar:



It seemeth that in his owne Native countrey, where the Inhabitantes, before time were descended from the Greeks, he had to name *Atta Clausus*: and being once incorporate among the Romans, changed it, into *APPIVS CLAVDIVS*. Now, *Atta* lautech of the Greeke word *ἀττα*, which is in going, not to set the sole of the foote firmly upon the ground, but rather lightly to tread as it were, on tiptoe. Heereupon, as *FESTVS* noteth, they that have that imperfection in their fete, whereby they can go no better, be called *Atta*. Which was the occasion, that one of the said house tooke that name first, and so his posteritie after him. Like as among the Romans, of another accident, arose the name *Agrippa* first. For that one was borne into the world with his fete forward. And these additions, whether they were forenames or surnames in the beginning, it skilth not. For surnames in continuance of time came to be forenames, and contrariwise.

(b) If you have recourse unto the Originall, *NERO* is as much as *Νέρων*, or *Νερόν* i. *Nervatus* or *Nervus*: that is to say, well compact of nerves and sinewes: and such are strong.

(a) *SENECA* reporteth in his booke *De brevitate vite*, cap. 12. That this *CLAVDIVS* perswaded the Romans first, to go to Ica, and enibaie: Whereupon he was styled *Caudex*, which in our Latine is as much to say, as the framing, and joyning together of many plants or ribs of timber, which is the very Periphrasis of a Baie.

(b) One of his predecessours who had a Jurisdiction there, gave it that name, as having built likewise a Forum or Hall of Justice there. whereupon the Inhabitants of it and the terrour thereof, owing service to that court, as Clients & dependants to that Family afforded this *CLAVDIVS* a meete place for him of Innovation and usurping unlawfull dominion.

(c) Observing signes from Birds, by their feeding, flying or other wise, that might give him warrant to go forward with the favour of the Gods, in his Enterprize.

(d) Adoptions by order of Law, should follow the course of Nature, whereby the sonne, cannot be elder than the Father. The cause why he sought thus extraordinarily to bee adopted a commoner, was that he might be chosen Tribune of the law.

(e) The usual manner in Rome was, that those

persons who were arrested for criminall causes, during all the time of their trouble and triall, should change their apparel, and in stead of gownes which were faire and white, put on others sullied and roule, thereby to moove mercie and compassion of the people. Whereupon such, *Rei* were called *Sordidati*.

(f) These Tribunes of the commons as may appear in *T. LIVIVS* were *sacrosancti*, i. Unviolable, and such as no violent hands might bee laid upon.

(a) So called, of *Salina*, the salt pits or salt houses. For being Censor he set an impost upon salt, and thereby augmented the revenewes of the State, little to the benefit or contentment of the people.

(a) For the manner was, that Governours of provinces, who (as they were) to would be counted also, more courteous than others, should unrequited allow some of their lectors unto all Roman Senators that repayed unto them, for to doe them honour: *Cic. ep. ad carnificium*.

(a) In token of his nativitie there, which as they gave out, was borne to the good *vires & orbis*, i. Of Rome and the whole world besides, for so, by way of flatterie they magnified their Princes.

(a) Some read, *Lullusiam* i. sorrowfull, in regard of many hurts and dangers.

(b) When a chariot is drawne by a teeme of foure steeds all in one ranke or affront, as we may see them portrayed upon divers coines, it must needs bee that the two middle are joyned or yoked as it were to the spire pole running betwene them: and these be called *capreæ*. The other two then are without, the one on the left, and the other on the right side, called *vaporæ* in Greeke, and in this place by our Authour *Funales*, because they are guided and ruled by a cord, or some reines or chaine in lieu thereof. And say, that these *capreæ* or foure steeds drawe two by two in files, one payre before the other: those which be next unto the chariot be aptly called *Jugales*, and those before them beyond the spire, *Funales*, of which, *TIBERIVS* rode upon one and *MARCELLVS* upon the other.

(a) ACCORDING to the vulgar speech, *Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum*.

(a) These daies were called *Talis*, because at first they used with such cockall bones named *Talis* to play: but afterwards they were made of Ivory, gold, &c. Among many sorts of forceries and divinations, one there was by the bones or daies, and the wisards that professed their cunning in it, were termed *Aspidochelones*.

(b) For the greater light to this place, and better proofe of *Thrafilus* skill, *Dion* reporteth, that when *TABERIVS* intended verily to throw him downe headlong,

headlong, he perceived him by his countenance to be much troubled and disquieted in minde, whereupon he demanded the cause thereof, and then *Thrasylus* answered, that by speculation of the Stars he foresaw some present danger to himselfe, and so *Tiberius* durst not proceede to execute this intent of his.

(a) *SEPTA*, was a place in *Mars Field* tailed about as first like a sheepe Pen: whereupon it was called *Ovisia*. But afterwards mounted with Marble stone, beautified also with stately galleries and walks, within which cloyture and precinct, the people oftentimes assembled about Election of Magistrates and other publicke assayres: yea and with wares which were there set out to be sold. As *Alex. ab Alexandro* witnesseth.

(a) Some read *Bruttus*, of which name there is a nation, as well as of the *Rhutine* in *Gaulle*. Others, *Rutero*, as if he meant one of those horsemen or riders in Germanie, which at this day be called *Rutters*.

(a) A long robe embrodred and garded with purple, a caske branched with Date tree worke, a rich mantell of sundry colours. A chaplet of Laurel, a stiffe & chaire, both of Ivory. *Liv. lib. 30.*

(a) By this enigmaticall speech, *AVGVSTVS* compareth the State of the people of *Rome*, unto the miserable case of one, whom some savage and cruell beast hath gotten betwix his teeth, not devouring and dispatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him along while in exceeding paine: alluding to the secret malice, and dreaming nature withall of *TIBERIUS*.

(b) It should seeme that in adopting him, he used these very words, *Hoc accepit, causa facit*. i. This doe I for the common-wealthes sake.

(c) Alluding to this verse of *Emilius* in the commendation of *Qu. Fabius Max.*

*Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,  
One man alone by sage delay  
Restor'd our state fall'n to decay.*

(d) In the tenth booke of his *Iliads*, where *Dionides* in making choise of *Phis*, to exploit a peccet of service with him, giveth him this praise.

(a) The Tribunes of the commons had power to call a Senate, but not whensoever they would, without a speciall Decree graunted by the Nobles.

(a) THE cohort or band of Souldiers which were of the Princes Guard, were called *Prætoriani*, taking that name of *Prætorium* which significth the Lord Generals Pavilion in the campe, his Royall Pallace in *Rome* and else where. As also the Lord Deputies house of Estate in any Province. Now those Souldiers that gave attendance and served in this place about the Prince or Governour, were intainted in better condition than the rest, because their wages was greater, and the time of their service shorter. For *AVGVSTVS* had set downe their terme twelve years, whereas the rest, before they could be discharged, were to serve sixteen.

(b) It may be thought, that *Germanici* as well by the Grammaticall Analogie of the letter, as also by some circumstance of this verie place, import a reference unto *Germanicus* the son of *Drausidius* called.

Like as *Pitellius, Flavianus*, &c. But the learned obliue, that as an Armie byn g encamped or in Garrison, in Germanie, is properly in Latin called *Germanicus*, so the Souldiours of the said Armie be fitly named *Germanici*.

(a) These solemnities were exhibited about the midst of November, whereas the other, named *Remani*, were held in the beginning of September.

(b) It is to be noted, that the name of *Imperator* in the Roman Historie is taken three waies. First, for him, who by commission or warrant from the State, hath the conducting of an Armie, And in this sense, it hath relation to Souldiers. And is all one, with Lord General of the field, or a commander, &c. and the same that *Imperator* was in olde time. Secondly, for a Victor or Conqueror, namely when such a Generall or chieftaine hath by naturall procelle achieved many valiant exploits, & put to sword such a number of enemies, as the law letteth downe. For then the souldiers were wont to salute him by the name of *Imperator*. i. Conquerour. Lastly for a So veraigne Prince, King and Monarch. In the first acceptation, it is a meere Relative. In the second a surname. In the third and last, the forename of all the Romane Emperours, to wit, from *V L I V S*, *CAESAR* forward. Who although they were not the Crowne and Diademe, were nevertheless, absolute Princes, Sovereignes, Kings and Monarches. The want of this distinction may breed some trouble in the readers of the Romane Historie.

(c) Made of Oke branches, or in default thereof, of some other tree bearing mast which gailand by the first institution, was given to that souldier, who in battell had rescued a Citizen of *Rome* and saved his life. And afterwards, it, together with the Laurel, beautified the gates of the *CAESARS* Palaces, although some of them were bloodie Tyrants, & made no spare of their citizens and subiects lives.

(a) THE manner was, if Prince or Senator were caried in his Litter, usually supported by eight bond-servants, and thereupon called *Octogitor*, to have a companie of Citizens in their gownes going before, and accompanying him by his side, as also certaine servitors to carie his curule chaire of Ivory behinde.

(a) THIS free embassage, called *Libera legatio*, was granted many times to such, as being delirious cyther to travell and see forthaine countries, or to fly, for avoiding of dangerous troubles at home, thereby to be better entertained abroad, and with the more honest colour, to conceal the occasion of their departure, & absence as if they were sent from the state, about the assayres enely of *Com. Ron. weale*.

(a) IT was not ordinarie with the Emperours to accompanie the corpses to the funerall Fire: but onely to vouchsafe their presence at the Funerall Oration in the *Forum* or common place. This therefore may be attributed unto *TIBERIUS* his civill humanity.

(b) It appeareth by *Dion*, that they had omitted to subscribe the claufe which went in this forme, *Vota facimus pro te, Imperator*. i. We make our vows (and pray) for thee O Emperour.

(c) *CAVES* were heard judicially, and Justice ministrd, cyther from a superiour place as the Tribunal

banall, or beneath upon the even and plaine ground, de plano, as the Lawyers speake, so that there were a Chaire or seat for the judge to sit upon. And the said place of Iustice wheresoever, cyther *pro tribunali*, or *de plano posita*, is properly called *Ius*: as *Carolus Sigonius* hath observed. *lib. 1. cap. 7. de Iudiciis*. Whereupon cometh the usual phrase, *In ius vocare*. It seemeth therefore, that *Tiberius* would come into the Comitium or Hall of Iustice, and take his place, sometime within the Tribunal (for it was a spacious rowme) or else sit in his Curule chaire of Ivory beneath, as a moderator, which is expressed heere by the terme *de plano*.

(a) As *Marchpanes*, *Tarts*, *Gingerbread*, *Custards*, *Sugred Bisket*, and generally all manner of patricie conceits, wrought with hony or sugar. The workman is called *Dulciarius*, and the things, *Bellaria Mellita*, or *Pemmata*. Toyes not onely needlesse, but hurtfull also to the bodie, according to that in *Aulus Gellius*, *lib. 13. cap. 11. Regl. Attic. ex varone*. *Bellaria ea maxime sunt mellita quæ mellita non sunt*. *Origestian*. *Tibullus* *cap. 14. societas infida*. i. such junkets sort not well with a Concoction.

(a) Diverse Statutes there were sharply punishing the adulterie of Matrones or married wives. An Act likewise passed in the Senate; that no Person of Knights degree or above, should play upon the stage, performe sword-fight, or combat with wild beastes for hire. Providing all to preserve the honour of wedlocke entire, and to maintain the reputation of Knighthood and Nobilitie. Those shamelesse dames therefore, of whom *Suetonius* writeth in this place, cyther because they would be thought unworthie to be reckoned within the censure of Law, or as *TACITVS* writeth, deemed to have abidden punishment enough in making profession of so bale a trade and life. These lewde persons likewise, and unreblesmeable unthriffs (suffering themselves thus to appear noted with infamie, and that upon record, made account both the one and the other not to be obnoxious or liable unto the statutes & acts aforesaid.

(b) The manner was at *Rome*, for Tenants to remove and stir out of one house into another, upon the first day of July, like as with us, at the feastes of Saint Michael and the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mari*: which are the or dinarie rent daies.

(a) *LOSS PRA*, *lib. 18. Antiquis. Iudaic*. writeth that *Tiberius* sent 2000. of them into *Sardinia*, as I-land in Summer time especially, verie intemperate and unwholsome, as may appear by that pretie Epigram of *Martialus*, wherein he opposeth the healthie Citie *Tibur*, to the pestilent Ile *Sardinia*.

*Nullo fatis loco potius excludere, cum mors  
Feneret, in Medio tiburæ Sardinia est.*

No place exempt from fatall death, for when our time is come,

Mid *Tibur*, will *Sardinia* be found of all and some.

(a) *TIBS callipides*, who gave occasion of this By-word, was a famous Stage-player, or one of these *Mimi*, counterfeiting other mens gestures, as *Beraldis* suppoeth. See *Plutarch* in *Apophtheg. Læconic*.

(a) *BIBERIUS*, a bibendo i. of drinking. *Calvus*, a *Calda*, or *calida*. i. hote. *Mero* of *Merum*. i. strong wine. An elegant Agnomination: where-by is shewed, that he loved to drinke wine hote, which is right delicate, & goeth downe more merily

(b) The Italicke Amphor conteyneth 48. *Sextarii*, every *Sextarius* 20 ounces *Mansuralis*, which is a wine pinte and halfe of our measure with the better. By which reckoning he dranke at one meale a rundlet of ten wine gallons well neere.

(c) A Bird that feedeth upon grapes and figges especially, whereupon it tooke the name. In *Autumne* or the latter end of Summer it is so called: at other times *Melamcorphos*, or *Arctapilla*, of the blacke cop, or hair-like fethers that it carrieth upon the head.

(d) Of this Bird the daintie Besh of it *Martiall* made this Epigram,

*Inter aves, turdus, si quis me iudice carret,  
Inter quadrupedes, grævia prima Lepus.*

OF feathered foules, if I may Iudge, the blackbride is the best,

Among four-footed beasts the Haire surpasseth all the rest.

(c) To invent and devise new pleasures.

(a) *ALLVDING* partly to the Ile *Caprea*, and in part cyther to *Capra* in Latin, a goat, or to *Kapros* in Greek, a wild bore, and that member *Quæ vari sumus*.

(a) *Seneca* reporteth thus, *lib. 2. de benefici. cap. 27. Quæter millies sestertium suum vidit*. i. He saw of his owne, 400 millions of *Sesterces*.

(b) Provided it was by an ancient Law, and the same revived by *IVL. CAESAR DICTATOR*, that no person should in silver or gold possesse above 60 *sestertia*, that is, Three score thousand *sestertia*. This also may have a relation to that order set downe by him a little before. That named men and vñers should lay out two third parts of their flocke in lands and houses, &c.

(a) As we say, to make him Iustice of *Quærum*, &c. For the decuries of Iudges were they *Quorum nomina*, were written in the Commission Roll.

(a) The Greeke verbe is red thus, *ἵππῳ τρυγῶντι, δὲ ἄλγος, ἀδυνάτῳ δούλῳ, ἢ ἑμὶν ὑπερῷον ἔσται, &c.*

(b) *Scalæ Græmiæ*. A place at *Rome* upon the *Aventine* hill, into which the dead bodies of malefactors were dragged and thrown with shame.

(a) THEY speake the Greeke language generally throughout all Greece, yet not after one manner. For in divers parts were different kindes of Greeke called *Dialects*, to wit, *Attick*, *Ionick*, *Aeolick*, &c. Likewise with vs in Great Britaine a common English tongue goeth well neere throughout the whole Iland, albeit there is a diversity perceived between the Scottish or Northren English, and the Southerne, betwix the Cornish and the Kentish, &c.

(a) In so doing the bodie must needs be bared & some shame discovered which being an Impietie before the sacred Images of the Gods, was made *Træfari* also before the Emperours Statue, unto whom diuine honours were exhibited.

(a) The last Hexastichon or 6 verses, seemeth to make one entier Epigram by it selfe. Every *Diffichen* before, carrieth a severall sense. And as for the first two, they seeme to have a reference to the time, whiles he abode in Rhodes, before he was *Sui Iuris*.

(a) At which times, both among the Greekes and Romans also, the manner was to forbear Execution yea and to ease prisoners of their yrons.

(b) As if under his person he had offered abuse unto the Emperour *Tiberius*.

(c) He would say, The courage and generosity of the Romans died with them, seeing that none arose



to recover their libertie oppressed and trode under  
foote by this Tyrant *Tiberius*.

(d) Rather, two hundred and twentie. For *Tacitus* lib. 6. *Annal.* reporteth; that all the suspected  
complices of *Sejanus* were killed, *Iacuit immensa strages*,  
*omnis sexus, omnis aetas* &c.

(e) The like hypocritical Religion was practised  
during the bloudie prescription in the *Trimvirate*.  
A young Gentleman nobly borne, because he might  
not be killed lawfully, *praetextatus* i. under age, and  
wearing still his embroidered garment *praetexta*, hee  
commaunded to put on his virile gowne, and so he  
was murdered. *Appian. Dio.*

(a) For wonderfully addicted he was to the stu-  
die of Astrologie, and such curious Arts.

(a) I H E full stature of men in *Italy*, was six foot  
wanting two ynches, if men grew higher than fixe  
they were accounted exceeding tall, if to se-  
ven, (and to that height men may grow, as *Para-  
ra, Gellius* and *Salinus* doe write) they went for Gi-  
ants. So that in Mustres yong men were chosen sol-  
diours, five foote high and ten ynches, which was  
called *Iusta statura*.

(b) Some read *subitis*, and not *subtiles*, to signifie  
that such pimples continued not, but arose and fell  
at times, much like to thole that the Physicians call  
*Hidra, Sudamina*, or *populus sud-rum* according to  
*PLINIE*, proceeding of heat or sweat, if the hu-  
mours be sharpe.

(c) Such be termed in Greeke *Προσφυγναι*. And  
if we may beleve the Physiognomie delivered by *A-  
RISTOTLE*: they be by nature deceitful and wile,  
given to circumvent, entrap and supplant others.

(d) *CORNELIVS CELIVS*, among other  
good rules and precepts of Health, writeth thus,  
*Sanus homo qui & bene valet & sua praecepta obli-  
vigere se legibus debet, ac ne mecum neque alius egere*,  
&c. But give he what directions he will, and let us  
say what wee can to this point, that men and women  
may be Physicians to themselves, such is there mis-  
government in diet: and otherwise, that Physicians  
shall never want employment. And as touching thirty  
yeares, of age *TACITVS* addeth moreover & saith,  
That he was wont to mock thole and hold them to  
be fooles, who after the said yeares had neede of o-  
ther mens instructions, to know what was good or  
hurtfull for their bodies. Whereupon might arise  
our English proverbe, *A foole or a Physician*.

\* *Tiberius*.  
(a) *SVCH* as were hung to the Harpe. In which  
kinde *Pindarus* excelled among the Greekes, and

*Horace* among the Romans.

(b) One of *AVGVSTVS* [adopted] sonnes. Yet  
some read *IVLIVS CAESAR*.

(a) A word usuall with us in these daies, for who  
knoweth not that Monopoly is, when one man en-  
grosseth some commoditie into his owne handes,  
that none may sell the same but himselfe, or from  
him?

(b) It signifieth in this place a peece of workman-  
ship set upon a cup or other vessell of Gold or Silver  
to garnish the same, so fitted, as it may be put to,  
or taken away at our pleasure. The auncient Poets in La-  
tin called such devises *Inserras*.

(c) Contrarie to *AVGVSTVS CAESAR*, whose  
manner was ever and anone in his speeches and writ-  
tings to interlace Greeke words and sentences.

(a) A place neere the river *Tiberis*, so called of a  
Navell fight exhibited sometime there, by *Iulius Ce-  
sar Dictator*, within a spaciuous pit receivng water for  
that purpose.

(b) In the port high waies from *Rome*, the manner  
of the Romans, was at everie miles ende to pitch  
downe a great stone, and according thereto were the  
miles reckoned, like as with us in some places there  
stand crosses of wood or stone to that end.

(c) 1. A creeping Dragon. Which in plecth, that  
there be others winged, or at least wile supposed to  
flie, in the common opinion of men. For the at-  
tribute, Serpens, signifieth Creeping. Now, be-  
cause all of them use most so to do, the general name  
of Dragons, goeth under Serpents. And as for the  
word Dragon, it is given to the whole kinde of their  
quicke fight, coming of *draco*, in Latine, and *δρακων*,  
in Greeke, *δρακων* signifieth of seeing.

(d) *Recidiva* *peior radice*, say the Physicians. The  
relapic unto a former disease is more dangerous, than  
it was before.

(e) It tooke the name of *L. LVCVIVS*, the  
Lord thereof.

(a) A towne in *Campania* where he rooke so great  
delight, and a place infamous for the licentious life  
of the inhabitants, wherupon grew the name of  
thole lascivious and filthy Comedies, *Atellane*. A  
plague I say smiting well to his beastly behaviour. As  
if he had beene unworthie to be conveyed to *Rome*,  
the Citie which so long before he had abandoned.

(b) As poore begger bodies were wont to be fer-  
ried in hast, by the common bearers, and not fully  
buried with leaseure.

(c) Where malefactors ordinarily were burnt.



Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON *Caius Caesar Caligula.*



ALLED by some, *An-  
nales* or *Annaria*: of o-  
thers, *Comitales*. By  
which provided it was,  
In what yeares of a mans  
age, he was capable of  
Questure, Preture, Con-  
sulate, or any other like  
Office of State: as also

it was limited, within what time betweene, one might  
exceede the same Office againe. *Item*, what  
the terme of everie Magistracie should be? &c. And  
albeit the auncient Romanes had no such lawes, but  
(as *CORNELIVS SCIPIO* at his petition of  
Aedileship made answer, when exception was ta-  
ken against him for his young age) whomsoever the  
Quintus would charge to be a Magistrate, hee had  
yeares enough on his backe, yet afterwards, sundrie  
Statutes were enacted in that behalfe: although by  
verue of speciall privileges, the same were not duly  
observed. By the Chronologie it appeareth, that he  
was but nineteene yeares old when he became Que-  
stor, like as *TIBERIUS* before him.

(b) Which *TIBERIUS* envying his greatnesse,  
wrought, thereby to expose him unto greater dangers.

3 (a) WELL might this unseasonable exercise puff  
up and fill his skin with crudities and foggie humors,  
but hurtfull unto his health it was, and brought upon  
him diseases, and namely, that, called *Cardiacus*, of  
which, some say, he died. Let them looke to it ther-  
fore, who, because they would be fat, not only fall to  
bodily exercise out of time, even upon full stomacks,  
but also every morning cate in their beds and sleepe  
upon it, yea and ordinarily take a nap at noone, so  
soone as their meat is out of their mouthes.

(a) By this Attribute, *Civill*, in our Author, ye  
must understand, Courtly, Affabilitie, and a part  
not exceeding that of private Citizens, without ta-  
king any state.

5 (a) As if the Gods, whose Images were shrined  
within, were not to be honoured any longer as Gods,  
suffering so good a man as *Germanicus* was, to die.  
For, as in token of honour, the people used to adorne  
the Statues and Images of famous persons with  
flowers and greene leaves, so, whom they did vilipend  
and despise, they were wont to cast stones at their  
Images and Statues.

(b) The Tutelarie Gods of the house which ordi-  
narily stood within a closet, called thereupon *Lar-  
varium*.

(c) For, to what end should they reare children  
any more? since *Germanicus*, grown to so good  
prooff, sped no better, but was taken away by un-  
sightly death.

(d) In this place, the circumstance sheweth, that  
the King of Parthians is meant, how ever the Per-  
sian King and such mightie Monarches, having un-  
der their Dominion other pettie Kings as Tribu-  
taries or Homagers, be so called: like as *AGA-  
MEMNON* also in *Homere*.

(c) Which, at *Rome* betokened a generall moun-  
ring, occasioned upon some extraordinary calamitie,  
or feare of publicke daunger, even as with vs, the  
shutting in of Shop-windowes, &c.

(a) ABOUT the mids of this moneth, began the  
feast *Saturnalia*, celebrated with good chere, with  
revels, dances, gaming and all kinde of libertie.

(a) For, common souldiers wore a certaine stue-  
ded shoe, named *Caliga*.

(a) WHICH was later than the ordinarie time,  
by reason of *Tiberius* his lingering. For, usually these  
complements were performed at 17 yeares of age.

(a) IN this habite and manner of attie, coun-  
terfeiting a woman, thereby to decline suspition  
when he entered into other mens houses for to dis-  
honour them and abuse their wives, whom our au-  
thor termeth heere *Adulteria*, *pro adulteris*, as else  
where, *conjugia*, *pro conjugibus*.

(b) The fabulous Historie of *Phaethon* is well  
known, namely, how by misgovernment of the steeds  
which drew the Chariot of the Sunne his Father,  
he set the whole world on fire: By *Phaethon* therefore  
is meant, a combustion (as it were) and generall  
confusion of the Provinces, like as by the watersnake,  
the verie bane and poyson of the Roman State.

(a) To doe him the greater honour, they inter-  
taine him upon the way (as the manner was), with  
Sacrifices, Torches, Tapers, and wax lights.

(a) An opinion there was deeply settled in mens  
heads, that the death of one man might be excused  
and redeemed, with the death of another.

(a) The two hundred penie.

(b) His halfe image downward from the head  
to the wast, portrayed with a Shield or Scutchion: &  
the same was commonly set out with the largest Here-  
upon, *M. TVLLIVS CICERO*, when he saw such  
a demie personage representing his brother *QVINTVS*  
in the province that he governed (& a very little  
man he was of stature) My brother, quoth he, in  
his halfe part, is greater than in the whole.

(b) A festivall holiday solemnized by heardsmen,  
in the honour of *Pales* their Goddesses and Patro-  
nesse. Vpon which day, the foundation of *Rome*  
Citie was laid. This feast they kept, the 12. day be-  
fore the Kalends of May, to wit, the 30. of April.

(a) *Menius*, a riotous unthrif, when he had wa-  
sted his Patrimoine and sold his Capitall house in  
*Rome*, excepted in the sale, and reserved to himselfe  
and

and his heires, one Columne or Pillar, from which he projected and put forth into the street a jettie, and upon it build a gallerie: out of which he might behold the sword-fencers in the market place, whereunto he had a fayre prospect from the said Pillar. Whereupon all such galleries or building jetting out in the street, be called *Meniana*.

(a) The end of one verse, and beginning of another, cited out of Homer in the second of his *Iliad*. The Poet ascribeth them unto sage *Phyffes*, in this sense.

One [Sovereigne] Lord,  
One King let there be.

(b) By exchanging the ensignes and Ornaments of the Roman Sovereigne or Emperor, with the Regall Diadem, purple Robe and Scepter.

(c) *Phenicopterus* is a water foule haunting lakes and fennes, and the river Nilus, as *Hesiodus* writeth. The feathers be of colour red, or purple. Whereof it taketh the name; and the tongue is a most daintie and pleasant morsell. So said *Apuianus*, *neptum omnium altissimum gurgis*. Of this Bird *Martiall* made an Epigram.

*Das mihi penna rubens nomen: sed lingua gulosu*  
*Quis trahebat. Quid si garrula lingua foret.*

My name I take of wings so red, but unto glutious taste,

My tongue right pleasing is: oh, what, if it could prate as fast.

(d) Some take them for Bistards: Birds decked, no doubt, with most beautifull feathers: as may appear by *Tertullian* against *Marcion*, in these words: *Vna Tetra: nis pennula, (creato de pavo) sordidum artificem pronuntiabit tibi Creatorem?*

(e) They are thought to be Hens of Guinny.

(f) By the description of *Claus*, they be our Turkes.

(g) The Phasian called in old time *Itis*, (which was the sonne of *Tereus* and *Progne*, transformed, as Poets feigne, into this Bird) and afterwards *Phasianus* or *Phasiana* [Arus], tooke his name of *Phasis* a river and Citie in *Colchis*, according to this Epigram of *Martiall*,

*Argyra primum sum transportata Carina:*

*Ante mihi notum nil nisi Phasis erat.*

In *Argive* ship transported first, I was to forraine land:

Fore time, nought else but *Phasis* towne, I knew, or *Phasis* strand.

(a) *PHILO* reporteth this faire otherwise, and telleth a pitifull Narration: How, by commission from *Cæsar*, certaine Colonels and Centurians came to young *Tiberius*, commanding him to kill himselfe: because, forsooth, unlawfull it was for any other to murder a Prince of the Imperiall blood. The youth, who had never seene any man killed, and by reason of his tender yeares was nothing at all experienced in the world, requested first of them, who were come thus to him, for to strike off his head, which he held out unto the murtherers: but seeing his request would not be heard, he desired them yet, to instruct him, in what part of his bodie he should stab himselfe for the speediest death? And to by instructions from them he was his owne executioner.

(a) *ROMULVS* ravished the Sabine virgins:

and *AVGVSTVS*, by force tooke from *Tiberius* his wife *LIVIA*.

(a) *Selena*, in Greeke, signifie the Moone. And well known it is, that as *M. ANTONIVS* the *Triumvir* called himselfe *BACCHVS* and *OSIRIS*, so, *CLEOPATRA* his wife, tooke pleasure to be named *Luna*, i. the Moone, and *Ipsi*. Whereupon they gave to their sonne *ALEXANDER* begotten between them, the name of the sunne, and to their daughter *CLEOPATRA* the name of the Moone, or *Selena*, which is all one.

The Consuls were reputed still (in outward shew) Sovereigne Magistrates, although indeed, that *Cæsars* carried all before them, and were absolute Monarches.

(c) Some read, *Tesseræ decima citius*. i. Before the tenth houre, or foure of the clocke after noone, for so long continued the Stage-places ordinarily. At which time, the Emperours were wont to bestow their Tickets or Talies among the people, by vertue whereof they received such and such gits.

(d) There be learned Criticks that expound this place faire otherwise, reading *Pegmatis*, in steede of *Pegmatis*, and understanding thereby such sword-fencers, whose good hap it had beene to sleepe with life, the fall from those Frames or Pageants called *Pegmata* or *Pegma*, which with certaine vices or Skrewes were set up, and let downe, Upon which as on scaffolds, malefactors were brought forth, cyther to exhibit a shew unto the people, fighting one with another at sharpe, to the outrage, or to make them sport, by falling downe into a pit underneath, where cyther wild beasts were readie to devour, or fire to consume them. A devile wrought by dissolving the joynts of the said *Pegma* under them. And in this sense they interpret the rest that followeth, concerning *paterfamilias*, i. good honest Citizens house-holders.

(a) He had espied in the multitude of those prisoners and malefactors, two with bald heads, distant faire a funder, and happily, as much as from the one end of the place unto the other: all those betwene, without respect of their cause, he commanded to be put to death indifferently.

(b) An ordinarie thing it was at Rome, to sweare by the *Genius*, as also by the Fortune, the health &c. of their Emperours. And what a devout oath this was, per *Genium*. i. the *Dæmon*, the spirit, or superintendent Angell of the Prince, which I take to be as much, as by his owne good selfe, appeareth by *Tertullian* *Apolog.* cap. 28. *Citius apud vos per omnes deos, quam per Genium principis peioratur.*

(c) *Seneca* lib. 2. de *Ira*. cap. 33. reporteth the like example of *Cæsar* a right worshipfull Gentleman of Rome, whose sonne, the same *CALIGVLA*, upon verie envie that the young man was a proper and beautifull person, put to death in his fathers sight, and then invited the old man to supper, provoked him to carouse and be merie, which the good father was faine to endure and make semblance of contentment, for feare, least the Tyrant would have done as much by another sonne, whom he had living.

(d) *Catenis verberatum*. Among other chalicements of the bodie, there is reckoned *Vinculorum verberatio*, as *Callistratus* witnesseth, lib. 7. de *pænis*. The

The ignorance whereof, hath made some to read, in *Catenis verberatum*. i. bound in chaines and then beaten, others, *habenis*, for *catenis*: as if he had bene well linged with leather thongs or halter ends, as slaves were wont to be served by the *Levanti*.

(a) *ALBERT*, the proper use of these *Graphia* was to cut or engrave letters only, in tables of barked or soft wood: yet, because it was unlawfull to weare weapons in the Senate house, some, of a mischievous munde, made the writing stiles or Streeles so, as they might kill therewith, Enacted therefore it was, that no man should carie about him such writing instruments of yron or Steele, but of bone onely. And yet even these, as others also of reeds and quills, were made so keene and sharpe, that they were able to give a mortall wound.

(a) For the manner of the Roman Emperours was, upon displeasure, to send men and women away into some desert Isles, and there to confine them.

(b) *Ellebor*, that groweth in the Isles Antycire, is of most effectually operation. The roote is that, whereof is made our sneeing powder. It purgeth extremely by vomit. Thereupon ariseth the Proverb, *Naviget Anticyram*. i. Let him sayle to *Anticyra*, applied to one that is melancholicke in the highest degree, and little better than mad. See *Plinie*. *Natural. Hist.* lib. 35. cap. 5.

(a) Some conjecture verie well, that this *Tetrinus* was not furnished *LATRO*, being the addition appropriate to the noble Family of Rome, of the *Portus*, but a notorious theefe or robber, such as in Latia is called *Latro*. And of that sort commonly were they that performed before the people this bloudie fight with unrebated swords, without foiles. And no marvelle, if he termed all the Citizens there assembled *Tetrinus*. i. Theeves, considering he wished before, that he could cut off all their heads at one blow.

(a) He suspected, that she had given him some love-drinks.

(a) *PRAETER aquum*.] How this can stand with his pride or malice, which our author hath propounded to exemplifie, I cannot see. In some copies we read, *præter eum*. i. beside him, that is to say, otherwise than he would have them, or approve. And one Critick or Iudicious Lawier, *Franc. Hotoman*, as also *Coracius*, read, *præter eum*, as if he should say, All Lawyers shall give none other answer but this. Behold him, meaning the Emperor *CÆSAR*, thereby referring the decision of all matters to his will and pleasure. Lastly, *Torrentius* concludeth the Period thus, *Ne quid responderet possum*. i. That they should give no answer at all. And for *præter aquum*, &c. he putteth *præterea*. i. Moreover, for a beginning of the next chapter.

(a) *COLOSSEROS*, seemeth to be a word compounded of *Colossus* and *Eros*. The one importeth his tallnesse, resembling the stately and Giantlike personages called *Colossi*, and the other, his lovely visage, representing *Eros*, even Love, or *Cupid* it selfe.

(b) These fencers, called *Thraeces* or *Thracæ*, thought to be the same that *Resitarii*, were lightly appointed for amour, and put to desperate fight, as having all parts of their bodies exposed to danger, whereupon they were called also *Tunicati*, & were matched in oppositiō with the *Mirmillones*, as this verse of *Aufonius* implieth,

*Quis mirmillonum componitur? equimanus Thracæ.*  
Whereas the other named *Hoplomachi*, had for their defence, head peeces and targuets. *Senec. lib. 1. Epist. 7.*

(c) The priest, called *Rex Nemorensis*, of a place where *Diana Aricina* was worshipped, within a temple beautified with a grove about it, by a barbarous custome of the Scythians, so long onely held his place, untill after one yeares revolution, some one stronger than himselfe, stepped unto him and overcame him in single fight, and so deposed him, likewise, by the first institution, himselfe, sayling another in combat attained thereto.

(a) *Seneca* writeth, *Consolat. ad Helv.* That it was ordinarie with him, to consume at one supper ten millions of sesterces, and who studied himselfe, and laid his head to others, how he might at one supper make an even band with the revenewes and tributes of all the provinces belonging to the state of Rome.

(b) Someread for [de *Cedris*] *Deceres*, after the forme of *Maneris*, meaning by *Deceres* a mighty valie furnished with ten ranks of Oares, for such the Greeks call *Atarpne*.

(a) *Dum inculta comissa ferent*.] Which may be expounded otherwise thus, when as many things were forfeited and confiscated.

(a) Taking the name from *Exploratores*, a militarie terme, signifying the Avant-couriers and fore-riders, to discover the enemy, & to cleete the coasts.

(a) Yet *Dion* reporteth of him, that otherwhiles, when it thundered aloft, he would seeme to doe the like beneath with a thunder barreil, or such a kinde of device: when it lightened, to make flashes with fireworks: and if a thunderbolt fell, to discharge likewise some stone out of an engine.

(a) Which ornaments belonged to *Iupiter* and *Aesculapius*.

(b) Resembling thereby Neptune, Sea for it Symbolizeth his power over River. Lakes.

(c) The Ensigne of *Mercury*, betokening his Eloquence.

(a) So called, because they were exhibited in the *Palatium*.

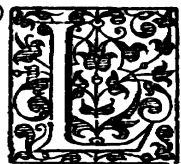
(a) *Capitulum*, although *καπίτιον*, it was the stately mount or Castle of Rome, yet it became a general name of all Citadels and strong Castles built for the defence of any Citie.

(b) Meaning the murder of *Caius Iulius Cæsar* Dictator.

(c) Bearing the name of a notorious theefe, or Captayne rather of thieves, crucified for his delictes.

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Caesar.



LIKE as in Rome, the gate called *Porta Sclerata*, and the *Streete Vicus Scleratus* upon semblable unfortunate accidents.

(a) Whereas, by usual custome such were brought into the *Forum* or common hall.

(a) By virtue of this Act, himselfe, his landes and goods were proscribed and expoled to open sale, in a Table hung up by an Edict from the masters of the Exchequer or Citie-Chamber. And if within the time appointed, he came not in, to satisfie the debt, nor any chappman or suretie to undertake it, he and his whole state, fell by echeate as for-fait and confiscate into the Princes hands.

(a) THESE islands are situate in the mouth of the River \* *Rhodanus*: and they be so called of the order in which they lie.

(a) THE name of this Fencet *Palamans*, signifieth also in the Latin tongue a Stock-dove: which gave occasion unto him, to come out with this od yeast.

(a) PROVIDED it was by the law *Papia*. That no woman under fiftie yeares of age should be married to a man three-score yeares old or upward: *Item*, That no man under three score yeares, or upward mightwed a woman, fiftie yers old or above. Where, note: That these words [*à Tiberio*] as if he added the said Branch, seeme to have bene soysed in: considering that as it appeareth by *TACITVS* the Emperour *TIBERIUS* went about to moderate the foresaid law, and not to make it more strict by annexing such a clause.

(a) For feare of breaking up the pavements, if they rode in coach, wagon, chariot, or on horseback.

(b) In divers Greeke and Latine writers, the names of Jewes and Christians were confounded: so as by Jewes they understood Christians.

(c) *Orchestra* was that place in the fore-front of the Theater or Scaffolds, and neereft unto the Stage, wherein the Senators ordinarily sate, and sometime the Emperour himselfe.

(d) *Popularia*, were seats within the scaffolds and Theater, most remote from the Stage, wherein the common people were allowed to stand or sit. Betweene the said *Orchestra* and these *Popularia* were ranged the Knights or Gentlemen of Rome, and thoe ranks bare the name of *Equestria*.

(e) So called, of the mountaine *Eryx* in *Sicilie*, where the was highly worshipped, and where the had a Temple.

(a) As for *Drusilla* his wife, a Jew borne, she had bene married indeed before to king *Archus*, as *Io-*

*sephus* writeth: but as touching the other two Queens, whoeever they were, he was acquainted with them otherwife, and not in way of marriage, so farre as I can finde.

(b) For everie man might not so doe, unless he had a Knights estate, which was foure hundred thousand *Sextarii*, or were free borne: Neyther Libertines nor Mechanicall persons living by base trades and occupations were allowed.

(c) Other writers, as *Philopetrus* and *Julianus*, say moreover, That without his wife and freed men, he was *scelus apiorum*, and *depravatus & Ravidus*, much like to a player in a dumbe shew, and the bare Image of a Kings Majestie, as *Plutarch* reporteth of *Arvidaus*.

(a) This disease, some Physicians name *Kapnia*, i. the heart-ach, or *Cardiacum passivum*, seated in the orifice of the stomach, which is called *Kapnia*. The paine whereof, *PLINVS* affirmeth to be most intollerable, next unto the passion of the strangury.

(c) *Flatum crepitansque ventris*.] By *Flatum*, understand that riddance of wind downward, *qui moris ferit, non aures*. Which in English commeth neere unto the Latin word, *Vise*, for that the verbe *Visere* is the same, *in Biology*. As *CICERO* in his Epistles hath well, but covertly observed, out of the word *Disse*, Wherein he noteth *Quiddam Cacemphorum*. Which place some interpreters, for ignorance of the said verbe *Vise*, have expounded very absurdly.

(a) So sumptuous were these feastes, that *Pontificum Cena*, and *Salarie Epula*, grew into a proverb, to expresse exceeding great bellie cheere, and most delicate fare.

(a) *Seneca. lib. 1. De Elementis* writeth, That *Claudius* caused more Paricides to be sowd within a leather male, &c. in five yeares space, than had bene ever before his daies.

(b) Whether they were hired thereto, or presuming of their owne strength, voluntarily entered upon such a combat, or forced to undergo that dangerous fight, or else exposed unto their greedie jaws for to be worried and devoured by them.

(c) This devise called heere *Automatum*, *Horace* by a Periphrasis, pretily expresseth thus, *Nervis alienis mobile lignum*.

(a) For with their *Graphia*, as hath bene noted before, they might do a mischief.

(a) *Ira aque Iracundie*. *Ira* signifieth the hote and momentanie passion of anger, soone enflamed and as soone quenched, and *Iracundia* seemeth to be taken heere, for the continuance of the said anger, and an inveterate feeded wrath. Howsoever our Dictionaries would teach us the contrary. The one may be called Gall or Choler, the other spleene or Melancholy.

(b) *Stultitia*

(b) *Stultitiam neminem fingere*, for rather, *Stultitiam stultum neminem fingere*. i. That no toole counterfeiteth folly.

(a) It was an inconsiderate speech of an Emperour, and foolishly let fall, in the Senate especially, tending much to his discredit and dishonour: as if he sent to the Taverne for his wine, by the por or bottle, and had not his owne cellarage stored therewith.

(b) These words without all rime or reason were rife in his mouth, which unadvisedly he had taken up, and by use could not leave them.

(c) Some thinke, that he devised not new letters

in the Alphabet, but new formes, rather of the former: as namely to write for the *Asolick digamma*. F. the inverted character g, and for a diphthong, ai.

(a) For, by report of *Dion* and *Xiphilinus* his stature farre exceeded the proportion of his years.

(a) And yet by circumstances it may be collected, that he caught his bane and died in the *Palatium* at Rome.

(a) These were, as it plainly appeareth, Questors, Aediles, Tribunes, Prætors, Censors and Consuls. Of all these, some one or other died, excepting Censors, as *TACITVS* writeth. 12. *Annal.*

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Nero Claudius Caesar.



THESE foure factions or crewes that ran with Chariots for the prize, were distinguished by foure colors of cloth, or liveries, & thereupon called by these names *Alba*. i. White, *Veneta*, watcher or light blew, *Præsina*.

i. greene, and *Rufa*. i. Rose coloured or read. Vnto which were added by *Domitian Aurata* and *Purpurea*. i. Gold coloured or yellow, and purple. The former foure *Sidonius Apollinaris* hath comprised in his *Hendecasyllabes*, thus,

*micant colores, albus cum veneto, viridis rubensque.*

Then thine these crewes and make a gallant shew In white, in blew, in greene and roset hew.

Proportionate they are unto the foure seasons of the year: white, to the Autumne or end of Sommer, Watchet to the winter, Greene to the spring, and Red to sommer, or as some would have it, to the foure Elements.

(b) Physicians have observed three kinds of dropsie. The first is *Ascites*, wherein the belly doth swell with much water gathered betwene the inner skin or rime of the belly, and the cawle which lappeth the guts, and some wind withal, so named of *ascis* in Greeke. i. A bottle, because in turning of the bodie to a side, the water is perceived to shog in the womb, like as liquor in a bottle halfe full, when it is shaken. The second, *Tympanites*, wherein the belly is hoven vp with wind especially, and some water among. Whereby it will sound like a taber or drum, if one tamper upon it, and thereof it was so called. The third *Leucophlegmatias*, and *sarca*, *Hyposarca*. In Latin

*Inter os et Intest. ut, or Aqua inter cutem*, in the proper signification this caron, when the bodie all over is puffed up with water and wind running betwene the fell and the flesh. And thereof as should seeme, died this *Domitianus*.

(a) To win, the ninth day after he was borne, on which, they used to name their sonnes. And as this

day was called *Neminalia*, so there was a goddesse forsooth, president of this complement and ceremonies, whom they named *Nemina*.

(a) The manner was, during these solemnities in the Albane month, (where the chiefe magistrates were present) to leave for Provost of the Citie, some principall young Gentleman of the Nobilitie, before whom sitting judicially, causes of no great importance should be brought.

(a) These youthfull sports *Iuvenalia*, or *Iuvenales ludi*, were first instituted by this *NERO*, privately in hopes or gardens, and orchards. Wherein, of all degrees, ages and sexes they daunced and revelled.

(a) The fabulous reports of *Ladie Pasiphae* wife to King *Minos*, how she was enamoured of a Bull, as also of *Icarus* the sonne of *Dedalus*, who would needs attempt to flie in the ayre, be well enough knowne to them that ate but meanelie feene in Poetrie.

(b) *Intra cubiculum eius decidit*. By *Cubiculum*, he meaneth heere, a toyall seat raised on high within that quarter of the Theater called *orchestra*, under a rich Tent or Canopie, where Emperours were wont to sit when they beheld such solemnities. These Pavillions were called in Greeke *σκινακίον*, and in some sort resembling bedchambers.

(c) So named because they that wrestled, ran, or otherwise exercised, were naked, like as the place it selfe of such exercises thereupon tooke the name *Gymnasium*.

(a) Full and formall suppers, whereto men were invited, and at which the guesstes sate orderly marshalled according to their worth place, & were called *cane vesse*, and after this manner in other Princes daies were their favorites feasted. In steed hereof came in *Sportula*. i. allowances given unto them, eyther in money, or cates, in recompence of their ordinarie salutations and attendance.

(b) As there were sundrie factions or crewes favourizing this or that colour of the Chariotters, so were

were there likewise of Actors and players, whereupon many riots, outrages Fraies and murders were committed.

- 17 (a) It should seeme, that for the pleading and trial of causes, such Tricorrell seats, pews, benches & bars, were erected at first, for the present occasion, and taken downe againe by certaine persons, who gathered therfore a rent of those that went to law.

18 (c) Divers Kings of Pontus were named *Polemones* as of Aegypt *Ptolemies*, whereupon the realme Pontus, is by *Papiscus* called *Polemonius*, like as the *Alpes Cottia* of *Cottius*.

- 19 (d) Many had attempted this beside him: but all their cost and labour came to nought: *ut etiam in hisce rebus nonnulli perierunt*.

(b) The *haruspex* one *propheta* *ut dicitur*.

- 20 (a) In respect of a former fleet, that was wont to come before, and bring newes of the second laden with marchandise and vnder saile. Therefore those ships were called *naves Tabellariae*, *Semeca*.

(b) *Bombos*, resembling either the buzzing and humming noise of Bees, or the sound of trumpets.

- (c) *Imbrices*, much after the manner of that rattling, which a sodaine shewre makes vpon the tiles of an house, or the sound that croft tiles or gutter tiles may make.

(d) *Tessas*, to expresse the crashing of potheards or earthen pots, clattering one against another.

- (f) *Insignes pinguisima coma*. In which sense we read of *pinguis toga* and *Lacerna*. Yet some understand thereby *pinguis* *comae*, i. whose lockes and haire were so slick and glub with sweet oyles, that they shone againe.

21 (a) For, so would he haue it to be called. And *Tiresias* *Pater* was iudicially conuened, and deeply charged, because he had neuer offered sacrifice for that heavenly voice of his. *Tacit*.

- (b) who was with child by her owne brother *Macareus*, whereupon her father *Aeolus* caused the childe new borne to be cast before hungrie dogs: and sent a sword to his daughter to kill her selfe with.

(c) In reuenge of his father *Agamemnon*s death, by her murdered, whereupon he fell into a furious kind of *decepe melancholie*.

- (d) who unwitting killed his owne father *Laius*, as ignorantly wedded his owne mother *Iocasta*.

(e) By putting on a garment next his skinne, enuened with the poison of *Nessus* the Centaure, and so sent unto him as a token, from his wife *Deianira*.

- 24 [a] It may be thought, that he then acted *Oedipus* or *Creon*, or some other King, and therefore carried in his hand a regall staffe or *Sceptre*. Yet some interpret this of a Lawrell rod or branch, such as Actors held in their hands whiles they sung.

(b) For, at *Olympie*, were Games also of Criers, striding who could cry loudest, for the prize.

- (c) These were called *Microica*, as one would say, *farred victories*, to wit at the solenne games in Greece, *Nemea*, *Pythia*, *Isthia*, and *Olympia*.

25 (a) Five thousand were there of these Gallants, as *Xiphilinus* writeth, ready to applaud him when he chaunted.

- (a) He meaneth eyther a peruke & cap of counter-fait haire, *Regie maiestatis*, *Dionis* thereby disguising himselfe: the same that in *Calpurnia* he termeth *caputamentum*, or else some hood covering his head all ouer the eyes. *Iulius Caputellus* calenit it *caputellum*, wherewith the Emperour *Verus* played such parts by night, in imitation of *Calpurnia* and *Nero*.

(b) *Quintana*, was a Gate or Street rather in the Roman Campe, wherein was usually kept, *Forum verum uenerabilem*, in remembrance wherof, he termed a certaine place in his house *Quintana*, in which he made sale of such wares and commodities, as he had gotten together by riling and robbing.

- (c) It appeareth by *Tacitus*, that this was *Iulius Montanus*, who, albeit he had not sitten in counsell as Senator, yet was *Latitarius*, and wore the Senators Robe. Such Gentlemen were called *Inueneres secundis ordinis*, in distinction of those of the Imperiall bloud, or otherwise neere allied unto the Emperour.

(a) The manner was in old time to employ the day in busineses, and therein to take no liberall meales, putting off the full refection, and cherishing of the bodie untill night. *Conuersa de die*, argued Intemperance, much more then, teasing from noone to midnight.

- (b) *Ambubaiarum*. These tooke their name (as most expositors have conjectured), *Quod circa Patas vastarentur*. Yet some learned men of later time fetch the same from this Syriacke word *Ambubai*, as if such were Syrian women, who being otherwise naughtie packes and callots, gat their lining also by playing vpon certaine instruments of musike, which they brought with them out of their native country.

(c) *Copae imitantium*. Although *Cope*, properly be such women as keepe vitiating houses, ready not onely to entertaine, but also to invite and call in guests, yet because these commonly are verie bold and unshamed, this terme goeth indifferently for strumpets and curtesans. For seldome shall a man see an impudent woman that is not withall incontinent, so inseparably is modestie joynd with Chastitie.

- (d) The corrupt text in this place, hath given occasion of much obscuritie, and misist matter enough for Criticks to worke vpon, while some read *Mellisa*, others *Myrtidula*. By which are meant certaine sweat junkets, as daintie wafers, &c.

(e) This may be thought incredible, That banqueting conceits at one sitting should cost so much, and the asperion of rose or other odoriferous liquors arise to more. Where is to be noted the observation of some, who for, *ab Syria rosaria*, read *asperio rosaria*, that is to say, the artificiall besprinkling audetomatizing, (as I may so say) of banquetting rowmes, out of spoons and pipes, conveying odoriferous waters and oyles, going under the name of *Rosaria*. Which spoons, if they were made of silver or gold, (as we read they were at the feast of others, when he gave *Nero* entertainment) might soone amount to that somme. To say nothing of the costly compound distilled waters, or extracts and oyles, themselves, drawn out of most precious simples and spices.

(d) Him

- 18 (d) Him he called, as other Authors write, *Sallina* and *Poppaea*, after the name of his wife deceased.

92 (a) In other writers he is named *Pythagoras*, so that it should seeme he carried two names.

- 30 (a) A great Magician, whom he intertained thus royally, because he would have learned magicke of him. See *Plinius*.

(b) Whereas *AVGVSTVS* when he played at this game, ventured no more, than for euerie *Talus*, which were foure in all, a single denier. For it should seeme that the game of *Tali* heere mentioned, was *Pleistolectus*, i. who could throw most with foure *Tali*: whether the same were cockall bones in deed, or made of gold, silver or iuorie, with foure sides, euerie one representing a chaunce, to wit, an Ace or unitie and fife, a trey and quatre, opposite, one unto the other. For they wanted *deux* and cinque, which the *Tessera Cubus*, or Die carying six faces, hath.

- (c) It is evident hereby, as also out of that verse of *Inuenal*.

*Plauti phaleris omnis & torquibus omnes.*

That these *Phalerae*, were not Trappings, and furniture belonging to herles, but some other ornaments, wherewith footmen and horsemen both were trimly decked.

- 33 (a) In this verbe *Morari*, there is couched a double sense, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoffe. For, being a meere Latin word, and having the first syllable by nature short, it signifieth, to stay or to make long abroad, and taking it thus, *NERO* might be thought to imply, thus much, that *CLAVDVS* was now departed out of the companie of mortall men, and ranged among the heavenly wights, but take the same word, as *Nero* spake it, derived of *morosus* in Greeke, which signifieth, A foole, and hath the first syllable long it importeth, that *Claudius* played the foole no longer here in the world among men. Read the little pamphlet of *Seneca* entituled *ad Marcum aurem*, if ye would see *Claudius* depainted in his colours, and in a fooles coat: which he, as it may appeare, composed of purpose to gratifie *Nero* in that humour of his.

(b) The Greekes call this *Kavvax* or *cuva*. And the Romans in honour of their Princes, were wont to compass the same all about with a wall of flint, or other durable stone, as marble.

- 34 (a) It may be it was in the same forme, that *Insi-*

*mus Martyr* cieth out of *Orpheus*.  
*Sed non d'vbi d'vbi d'vbi d'vbi*  
*Fortes opponite profanis*

Which *Virgil* in some sort hath exprest thus.

*Procul este profani.*  
And *Claudius* after him.  
*Gressus remove te profani.*

- 37 (a) This like example is reported by *Papiscus* in *Aurelianus*, who tooke wonderful delight in a mighty Eater, that in one day before his owne table,

devoured a wild bore full and whole, an hundred loaves of bread, a wether mutton, and a pig.

- 38 (a) This *Iambicus* verbe as *Dion* writeth, was tife also in *Tiberius Caesars* mouth.

(b) Albeit this word, *Insula*, beside the common signification of an Iland, is taken for an house standing entire by it selfe, a part from other, yet in this Author I observe that it is put els where for other houses also and tenements let out to tenements by the owners and Landlords, who are called *Domini Insularum*. And euen in this acception, it may well goe in this place.

- (c) This course *Horace* describeth. *carm. lib. 3. Od. 19.* in these words.

*Malem propinquam nubibus arduis, &c.*

(a) WHICH number ariseth to ten thousand a moneth. A mortallie nothing comparable to that which as *Ensebius* reporteth, reigned at Rome in the daies of *Vespasian*, in which there died of the pallience ten thousand a day, nor to that in Constantinople, when many daies, there were likewise ten thousand dead bodies caried forth. *Procop. lib. 2. d. bello persico.*

- (b) Such a rumor in deed ran rife, but untruly. *Tacitus*.

(c) *Orestes* to reuenge his father *Agamemnon*s death wrought by *Clytemnestra* his mother and *Aegylus* the adulterer, murdered her.

- (d) *Alcinon* sonne of *Amphiarus* and *Eriphyle*, killed her, by cause shee had contempned his fathers death.

(e) *Aeneas* caried his old father *Anchises* upon his shoulders out of the fyre of *Troy* when it burned. Here is to be noted the duple sense of the verbe [*Sustulit*] in one and the same Latin verbe. For in the former place, it signifieth to *kill*, or make away, as *Nero* did his mother, in the later, to take vp and cary as *Nero* did his father. This yeldeth an elegat grace in Latin, and cannot so well be exprest in English.

- (f) *Apelle*, was surnamed, *Pater of pinto* in Greeke, which signifieth an *imitator of pinto*, to ease and *Alley* *pinto*, as being a God, that both sendeth diseases, & also cureth them. But commonly the Romaynes terme him so, in this latter and better sense. He is styled likewise *Eleutherios* in Greeke, which is, as much, as shooting or wounding from afarre, such these abstruse significations and obscure termes therefore this Epigram implieth thus much: That whiles now in the habit of *Apelle* plaith vpon the harpe, and would seeme to be a milde and gracious Prince: the parthian King with bow and arrowes representing *Apollo* likewise, endangered the Empire of Rome: and all, through the supine negligence of *Nero* given to his Musick and other vanities excellently.

(g) This is ment by that huge house of *Neros* building, and hath a reference to that desolate estate of Rome, when it was sacked and fyred by the French, after the unfortunate battaile of *Alia*, what time the Romaynes were in consultation to abandon the Citie and departe to *Veij*, there to inhabite.

C 4

(b) It

(b) It seemeth that *Nero* in his Poeme entitled *Troica*, had ufed to chaunt of *Nauplius* the father of *Polixenus*, who abid many calamities himfelfe, and in revenge of his fonnés death, wrought much mischief to others. The *Cynicke* therefore, noteth *Nero* for his finging, as alfo for abufing his owne good parts in perpetrating all wickedneffe, or elfe for mifpending his treafure to difolutely.

(i) Ἐγὼ μὲν δὲ καὶ ὁρίσσομαι, ὅτι ἐθέλει οὕτω ἀκούειν, ἀγαθόν, ὡς γὰρ πρόσθεντες ἄλλους, ὅτι μακάριον τι παρ' ἐτίθειν, αὐτοὺς λέγειν αὐθροῦναι, ἀλλὰ ἀπυλατίζοντες ἀλλήλους, ὡς εἰς ἀσπὸν ταπεινίζου. *Artemidor. lib. I. cap. vii:*

(k) By *Orkus*, or *Pluto*, taken for the God of Hell or the Grave, is understood death, in this place, ready to seize upon the Senators, whose overthrow *Nero* had intended. Now, well knowing it is, that the manner was then, among the Romans, as at this day with us, to carry forth their dead with the feet forward.

It should seem, this answer was delivered in these words.

Ἐξακὸν ἔτι τετρακιδεκάτῃς ἡμέραις.  
Of sixty years (I do thee need)  
And thirteenth more, for thou take heed.

Whereby *Apoll* (for his oblique answers rightly of the Greeks termed *Lexia*) or the Divell himselfe, whether you will, playing with him in a two-fold and ambiguous construction, (as his manner was) deluded him. For while he rested secure, dreaming still of the 73 year, which he supposed was meane of his owne age, and which he was farre short of, he fell into the hands of *Galba*, a man indeede of those yeares.

45 *Rome* was wont to be served of corne from *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, in the time of dearth especially, when *Sisile*, otherwise reckoned *Horreum populi Romani*, i. the people of *Rome's* *Garners*, 'was not able to furnish them. Now, when in fledge of corne long expected, there arrived certaine faile from thence fraught with dust and sand for the sports of his gallants: no merrvaile if all the discontentment and heart-burning of the people conceived against *Commons* and such as made gaine by the scarcity of graine, redounded upon *NERO* and his Courtiers.

(b) Nūryāp ic' a'yōn. The end of some Trinitaire or Senario Lombardo verse in a Tragedie.

(c) *Nāu' dei dīaurest, ā dīaurest*. i. Now 'tis high time to drive or draw. In both which Empires, by a most tart and bitter *Sarāmau*, is taxed his excessive love of Charioting.

(d) The speech of the people, or of his mother, who could not reclayme him.

(e) As a Parricide or Killer of Parents, &c. whose judgement was to be sowd quicke within a lether budge, &c.

(f) There is not onely an *Hemorrhoy* in the word [*Gallies*] signifying the French Nation, and the crowing cocks, but an *Amphibole* also in the feate: whereby it may be understood, eyther that Næro with his chaunting, had awaked the French, who began now to revolt, as not able any longer to endure his songs: or that the French awakened him, to bestirre himselfe and looke better about him: as if they were the Cocks indeed, to raise him out of his drowlie securitie.

(g) The ambiguity of this word [*Vindex*], implyeth both a private chastiser of servants for their faults, and also C I V I L I V S *Vindex* or a revenger of publicke injuries, and maintained of the common libertie. Who now had taken Armes against Nero.

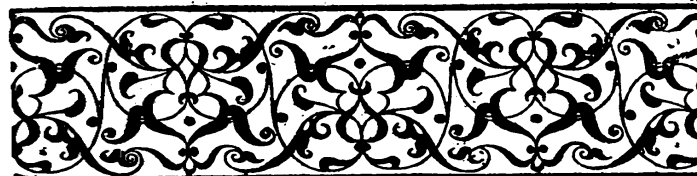
(a) *ANSERIXIA*, albeit they properly do signifie prefaging tokens delivered by birds: yet the sequence and circumstance of this passage, lead us rather to some other uncouth prodigies and straunge feates.

(b) Nero was sensibly distressed, in another  
kind: as having murdered his Father \* CLAUDI-  
us, his mother Agrippina, and his two wives Octavia who adopted  
him.

(a) *A calatracarminum Homeri*. Which if we  
straine a little, may be englished thus, for the work-  
manship and engraving upon them, out of *Homers*  
verses. Alluding to that standing mastic cup of *Ne-*  
*fers*, described by *Homer* in the eleventh of his *Iliads*.

(b) An halfe versic out of *Virgil*, 12. *Aeneid*. The words of *Turnus*, unto his sister *Latina*.

(c) Although there were divers *Fragilure* in *Aegyptus*, called *Nemi*, as one would say, *Shures* or *Divisions*, as appeareth in *Plinius*, 1. *lib*, cap. 9. Yet by this place is to be understood the Prefeindence over all *Aegyptus*, which by the institution of *Agesilaus*, was ordinarily contered upon some Gentlemen of Rome. By which, it appeareth, he would play at small game rather than sit out.



ANNOTATIONS VPON  
*Servius Sulpitius Galba.*



HE like narration  
is reported of *Hip-  
parche* and *Crates* the  
Thebanc, a Cynick  
Philosopher.

**T**he word *Tessera* is taken from the  
 of a watchword, a Signall, a Tally, or Ticket, &c.  
 Yet here verily, it seemeth to be put for a Precept or  
 Commendement, whether it were delivered by  
 word of mouth unto those that stood next, or in writ-  
 ing, and so passed through the campe, it mat-  
 tereth not.

(b) It may appear, that *Gatulicus* their former Generall, had allowed his Souldiers more liber-  
tie and pastime.

(a) THESE were also called *Taisi*, by *Tacitus*,  
of *Tatin* King of the *Sabines*.

(b) They took their name of AUGUSTVS: like as other orders afterwards, as *Flavian*, &c. of the Emperours following.

(a) I N habit of a woman, and with wings, holding forth a garland in the right hand, and bearing in her left one. Olive branch: as is to be seene in many Antique coynes.

(b) A truncke of a tree, or post erected: upon which hung the Armour and apparell of enemies slaine and despoiled.

(x) During which time, were held the festivall  
14 daies of the Saturnalia, Newe yeares tide and  
others.

(a) THEY used in olde time such curaces (in  
19 Reed of breft plates) made of linnen webbs, folded

eighteen times and more. For, so *Nictetacomina-*  
*ris lib. 1. vers. Isaac Angelus*, writeth: *ἡσπέρτις*  
*ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὅς ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὅς ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς*: which  
 should be throughly steeped and soaked in viniger  
 or Austere wine, with salt put thereto, and after-  
 wards well driven and wrought together in man-  
 ner of Felt, became so stiffe, an and Armour of  
 to good proof, *ἡ καὶ ἡσπέρτις ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς*,  
 i. as that it would checke the dint of any dart or  
 ther whatsoever.

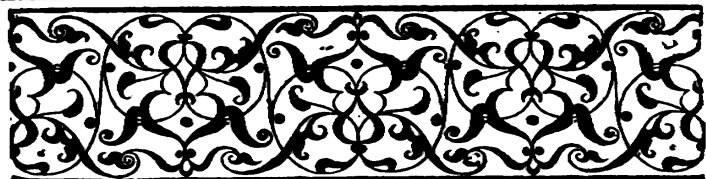
As touching the Souldier thus reprooved by GALBA, it was IULIVS ATTICVS, as TACITVS writeth, one of those who went under the name of *Spiculatores*. i. Bill-men : or *Speculatores* rather, as some would have it, employed in Espiall, executions, &c. as hath before beene noted. Heere also in the clause, *Dimota paganoorum turba*, is to be understood the multitude of the people and common sort, who were not Souldiers. Forso *Pagani* are taken, as in opposition to *Militiæ*.

THESE Aurei among the Romans, were valued at one hundred *Sesteris* a peece, so as in reckoning, they may goe for our olde EDWARD Star-Reals, or fiftene shilling peece. For, by exact computation, one of them ariseth to fiftene shillings, seven pence halfe penie. The fourth part iust, of the Roman pound, (consistynge one hundred Deniers or Atticke Drachmes) which maketh three pound, two shillings sixe pence Sterling:

(b) This place where PATRICIUS was executed, and into which they flung their heads, who by commandement of the CAESARS were put to death, was called *Sessorius. Planch.*

Anno-





# ANNOTATIONS VPON

Marcus Salvius Otho.



NOT without the Rampter and precinct of the Campe, where was the ordinarie place of execution: not by the ministerie of a Centurion, who by order was deputed, to see Iustice done: but in the verie face and

most frequented quarter of the Campe called *Principia*, not farre from the Lord Generals Pavilion, and where the Principall Captaines quartered and lodged: Wherein also, the maine Standard named the *Aegle* and other militarie ensignes of the bandes and cohorts were kept: even in his owne sight being Generall, whose manner was not to be secret.

(a) THIS rude and grosse kinde of sport was thereupon called *Sagatio*, not unlike to that pastime with us in some place called the canvassing, and else where, the vanning of dogs.

(a) FOR, after that by commandement of NERO, he and POMPANA, were in some sort put atunder, he solicited her as being his owne wedded wife to keepe him companie, which in regard of her marriage with NERO, was held Adulterie.

(a) A Colonne erected in the upper end or head of the *Fornum Romanum*: at which, all the principall high waies in Italy began, with directions therein engraven, to everie gate of the Citie, leading unto the said highwaies.

(a) SOME read, for *ad hunc deum*, to no good sense at all. But the former, accordeth well with IUVENAL. Satyr. II. Who to the same effect saith:

Bucca  
*Nescenda est mensura tua.*

and proverbially implieth thus much, that he was not able to menage the Empire.

(a) *Germanicani exercitus*. Which served in Campe, or as Garison Souldiers in Germanie, whether they were Romanes, Germanes or any other *Auxiliarius* from associate Nations, it skilled not.

(b) The manner, that who soever enterprised a warre-voyage should enter into the Chappell of *Mars*, where hung his sacred Scutcheons or Shield called *Ancilia*, and first strike them, after that; shake the speare also of *Mars*, and say with all *Mars, Vigila*, i. Awake *Mars*. This had OTHO done, but according to the religious ceremonie, not bestowed them quietly againe in their places.

(a) This bread was made of Beane and Rice flower, of the finest wheat, also, a verie *Psilothrum* as the Physicians terme it, or a Depilatorie, to keepe haire from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate thereto, as the bloud of bats, frogs, or the Turkie fish, &c. To this effeminacie of OTHO, alludeth the Satyricall Poet IUVENAL in this verse.

*Es pressum in faciem digitis extendere panem,* Satyra.

Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

Aulus Vitellius.



HIS QUINTVS EVLOCIVS, was the freed man of the said QVINTVS VITELLIVS

(a) SOME read *Sellianus & Sutu-*

ler, but a shoemaker indeed, occupied in cutting of new shoes and sewing them together.

(b) These kinde people, so double diligent about the feminine sexe, be hily called good womens-men: and doting overmuch upon their wives, *Proxi* in Latin, as one would say Bridegroomes still. Such an one SENECA makes report he knew, who could not endure to be without his wives company, one minute of an houre: and if upon necessitie he went abroad into the towne, yet would he take with him a stomacher of hers, and weare it ever next his heart, &c.

(c) No doubt the same was garnished with Gold, rich stones and pretious pearles. See *Plin. lib. 9. cap. 35.*

(d) It may be gathered it was *Nemiplegia*, which we call the dead Palsy, taking the one side of the bodie, and most commonly ensuing upon an Apoplexie, if it were not the verie Apoplexie it selfe, (which is none other but an universall palsy) considering the quick dispatch it made.

(a) He meant the crew, or faction of chariottiers holding of the blew or watchet colour: which *Phellinus* and *Galba* both affected.

(a) So called, of an unfortunate battaile fought that day neere the river *Allia*: in which, the Romans were overthrowne by the French: who following the train of their victory, advanced their ensignes to Rome, torced the Citie, and put it to the sacke.

(b) Some read *De Dominico*, i. out of *Dominicus*, for so it may seeme, was the booke of NEROES Canticles entituled, alinding to himselfe, who would be called *Rexum Dominus*, i. Lord of the world.

(a) CORNELIVS CELSVS findeth no fault with *Asclepiades*, who condemned vomiting, *Offensus eorum consuevit: ut, qui quotidie citiendo vorandi facili-* *terem moliantur.* i. as utterly disliking their manner, who by daily casting up their gorge, seeke to enable themselves for beaustly gourd-middie. And to the same purpose he saith: *Idem luxuria causa fieri non oportere.* i. That this ought not to be put in use, for to maintaine riotous excellie. He admonisheth also, *Ne quis qui valere & senescere vult, hoc quodiduanum faciat.* Tharno man who desireth to live long and in health would make it a daily practise. But *Seneca* repro- ueth such verie aptly in these words,

*Edunt ut vomant, vomunt ut edant.*

They eat, to vomit, and they vomit, to eat.

(b) If *Scarus* were not the guilt head, a delicate fish no doubt it was in these daies, and better esteemed than the *Acipenser*. i. the Sturgeon. It cheweth cud, and hath plaine teeth to grind withall, not indented like acombe or saw.

(a) *Veraculis* or *vericulis*, or *divinaculis*: all to one sense, Such as will take upon them to tell fortunes, &c. Women of this profession *Apuleius* termeth *veracitices*.

(b) *Bonum factum*. The usuall preface or preamble premised before Edicts and Proclamations, *Boni omni- bus causa.*

(a) By this ceremonie, he seemed to resigne up his Empyre.

(a) Making semblance thereby, that he was fled and gone, for, the manner was, at the Porters lodge doore, if no bodie were within, to tie up a massive dog, for to give warning abroad if any man came. And not farre from the said lodge, such a dog, with a chaine, was usually painted upon the wall, with these wordes, in great letters,

CAVE, CAVE CANEM, i. BEWARE, BEWARE THE DOG.

(a) He meant that *Gallus Gallinaceus*, or dunghill cocke, that before had perched upon his head and shoulders, alluding to the French, who are likewise named *Galli*.

Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.

(a) **T**H E fortieth part. Happily the fortieth penie of all bargaines of sales that were unlawfull.

(a) Which had a border or broad edge about it, embroidered with purple studdes like naile heads, and therefore was called *Latus clavus*: and thereupon, Senators themselves, *Laticlavij*.

(a) In lieu of *φουλαδία*: For, in token of love and affection they should have heaped upon him gay flowers, Greene leaves and pleasant fruits.

(b) This no doubt, had relation to the prophesie of the True Messiah, and Saviour, Iesus Christ. The very words imply no lesse, according with these out of Holy Scripture. *Εκ εν' ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐξήρθη, &c.* read *Ioseph. 6. book ch. 31.* of the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

(a) There is an hill of that name in *Iudea*. And because answers had beene given from thence, and nothing there was to be seene, neyther Image of a God, nor Temple, but a bare Altar, & the reverence onely of the place, both *TACITVS* and *SVENTONIVS* by the name of *CARMELVS*, call that unknown God unto them, who reigneth for ever.

(b) This sight, and the other following, berokened overtaught unto *Vespasian*, who warred then in the East countries, *Iudea* and *Syria*.

(a) This *Basilides* seemeth rather to have beene some Priest, or principall man of note, and not *Libertus*, i. his freed man, as some copies have. But who ever he was, to the setting forward of this disengagement of *VESPASIAN*, *Nomen et omen erat*.

(a) Out of the 35 Tribes of *Rome*, were chosen certaine Iudges or Commissioners, named *Centumviri*, to wit, out of every Tribe three, and albeit their number arose to an hundred & five, yet roundly they went for an hundred, and so were called. These I say, being ordained *delictibus iudicandis*, determined private and civill matters betweene man and man, *de Testamentis, Stillacidij*, and such like of no great moment. They sat forth or erected a speare in the place where they sat in Iurisdiction: whereupon their court was named *Hasta Consumvralis*.

(a) Alluding to the name *Cynicus*. For these Philosophers tocke this denomination *Cynicks*, eyther of their dogged and curriish demand, or of a place wherethey saule and digged, called *Cynosarges*.

(a) Which in *AVGVSTVS CAESARS* time

amounted to twelve hundred thousand *Sesterij* triple to the worth of a Roman Knight.

(a) This *Colossus*, *Zenedorus* a famous workman, made before time for *Nero*.

(a) As namely, *Pueros Symphoniacos &c.* Choristes with most sweet breasts and pleasant voyces, &c.

(b) For, then, had women their *Saturalia*, like as the men in December. Those festivall holidays were called *Matronalia*, in memoriall of *Ladie Herfisa* and other noble Dames, who in old time upon that day, interposed themselves as *Mediatrices*, betweene the Romans and Sabines, readie to strike a most bloodie battell.

(a) This is reprehended by *cornelius Celsus. lib. 2. cap. 14.* in these words. *Necque aut irudi sunt, qui numero finiant, quos aliquis perfri candus est: Illud enim ex viribus hominis colligendum est.*

(a) To be caried betweene men in a chayre or seat called thereupon *Sella gestatoria*, or *lectica*. *Celsus* reckoneth sundrie sorts of this Gestation, to wit, *Nervi, lectica, Sanno, Peticulo*.

(a) For, it was an ordinarie matter, in supper time, betweene the services and severall dishes, to cast the Dice or cockall bones, by fits.

(b) *Præstata verba*, by the figure *Antiphrasis*, are put for such words as be seemed not either the mouth or the cares of *Præstata*, i. youths well borne, and of gentle blood descended: who, in truth, should be modest and maidenlike: and in like manner, *præstati mores*, signifie such behaviour.

(c) Noting him for his ridiculous vanitie: which *excipit* in Greeke doth signifie.

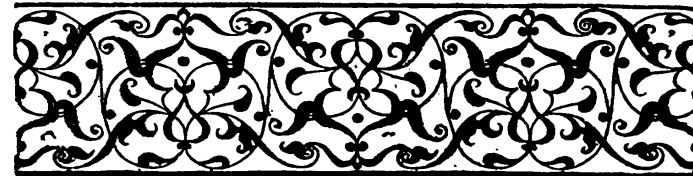
(d) Or, if ye read before, [ *perducta* ] it must so stand in the Page of expenses, to this sense, laid out, for, or to *Vespasian*, beloved as if he had given her a reward for loving him, whereas she should have given unto him.

(a) Some read, in steed of *Improbis irato*, *improbi nato*, that is to say, of no good making, but ill shaped to his height.

(b) A peece of a verse in *Homers Iliad. 7.* spoken there of *Ajax*, advancing forward to fight with *Hector*, unto whom, or to whose long pike rather, he likeneth this gangrell.

(c) Eyther of Fullers, Walkers, and Diers, who gathered and occupied much thereof about their clothes, or else, for the tubs that commonly stood in od corners and nookes of the streets, to receive every mans water, that he made as he went.

(a) At the foresaid *Ursilie*, which was a naturall bath in the Sabines country, of medicinale waters, howbeit exceeding cold. *Plin. lib. 31. cap. 3.*



# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.

(a) **A** Place in *Rome* so called of a building there, which stood upon seven courses of Columnes or Pillars, arising all round and higher every one than other, in manner of so many circles or girdles.

(b) He meaneth not a Physiognomer, who hath taken upon him by inspection of eyes, forehead, face, &c. to tell ones nature and disposition: such an one as *ZOPYRVS* was, who noted *SOCRATES* for to be by naturall inclination a wanton lover of women: but a fortune teller, by looking on the forehead onely. Such as in these daies, by the art of Palmestrie, for sooth, can assure folke, how long they shall live, and what not? If they do but see lines in the palmes of their hands, or by feaxe in the forehead, will say, how many wives a man shall have? &c. As vaine as those, who by counting the letters of the husband and the wives name, will confidently pronounce, whether of them shall burie the other?

(a) By titles in this place, and many others of *SVETONIVS*, are to be understood inscriptions, testifying for what considerations such Statues were erected. Such also were usually set up at publicke executions, to shew the offences and causes why any suffered. A thing usuall among the Romanes, and in their government, in what Province so ever, as may appear by that which stood upon the Crosse of our Saviour Christ.

(a) THAT is to say a white band or ribbon: Such as the Royall Diademe at first was.

(a) OF these Baines, with what speede and celerity they were finished, *MARTIALIS* writeth thus:

*hic ubi miramur velocia munera, Thermae.*

(a) DOOING them thus much credit in the eyes of the world, as to give the allowance and approbation, or otherwise, of the weapons wherewith they should fight. For, in this sense many Ornaments be taken: the rather, because some copies have *Ferramenta*. Or this place may be understood of other furniture, as well as armes, wherewith they should come appointed into the likes.

(a) THIS hath beene observed in all ages, to fore-runne the death of some Prince. Thus, before the end of *Iulius Caesar*, as *Virgil* writeth,

*Non alias lato occiderunt pila sereno Fulgura, &c.*

*Horace* likewise.

*Per purum tonantes Egis equos vulnerumque currum.*


Our owne \* *Chronicles* also exemplifie no lesse, fore the To say nothing of the fresh resemblance of death of that, which happened with us three yeares since, King *Henry* the second.

(a) SOME write, and *TERTIUS* by name, that hee was poisoned with eating of Sea-hares.

Anno-

Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON Flavius Domitianus.

(a)  HIS was some Satyrical Poeme, of which IUVENALIS writeth thus: — *Improbior satyrâ scribens Cinada, i. Nerone* (b) A vestment of white linnen, after the manner of a Surplice: for such priests

therupon were named *Lingeri*.

(a) *Toga Cracamica*. Which is spoken *ἡ τὸν καὶ προχλημυδε*. i. a cloake or loose casocke. For *Toga* was *Romanorum*.

(a) *PHILOSTRATVS* alledgeth another reason of this Edict, namely for that many seditious broyles and commotions were occasioned by drunkenness.

(b) Or rather, as *Cassiodorus* expoundeth [*geminari castra*] that two legions should not encampe in one leaguer. For, the pollicie of warre found the same alwaies dangerous, in regard of mutinies, that by occasion thereof might arise. Souldiers, as *Dion* writeth, *ἀπὸς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἀπὸς τῶν ἀκροῶν*. i. Seeing their owne numbers great, grow to be stout and malapert.

(c) For, before time, it was thought good Policy, that souldiers should lay up a portion of their donative, about the Ensignes within the campe, and not spend all their stocke, (which commonly they are given unto,) whereby they might be put in munde to fight more valiantly, and not to forsake their colours, so long as they had somewhat to save or loose.

(a) *NAMELY*, to be buried quicke under the ground, that is to say, to be let downe into some grot or vault, and there to be starved to death.

(a) *PATREM-FAMILIAS*. i. A good honest Citizen of *Rome*, such as came to behold the Games.

(b) Under these Tyrannical Emperours of *Rome*, that favored, some this faction of Fencers and Chariot-riders, others that, it was high Treason and Impietie, for men to speake a word, nor in open place onely and in the Theatre, but also at home in their houses, even in table talk, in commendation of the adverse faction, by way of comparison. *Martial* inviting a friend to his board, and promising that no mirth and free speech at meat should turne him to any danger and displeasure, writeth thus unto him,

*De Praefino convivâ meus quisque loquatur:  
Nec facient quinquam pocula nostra verum.*

Now, it is to be understood, that *Domitian* affected

the fencers called *Mirmillones*, against the others named *Thraeces* or *Threces*, whom his brother *TITVS* favoured.

(c) By *Parumularius* understand, him that speaks favourably in the behalfe of those fencers, named *Parumularii*, of the little bucklers, wherwith they were armed: otherwise called *Threces*, (as one would say *Thracians*, whose armature they had) in opposition of others which were the *Mirmillones*, who were otherwise appointed after the French fashion, and therefore tooke the name otherwhiles of *Galli*, and so is that verse of *Horace* to be expounded. *Thrac an Gallina Syra par?* As touching blasphemy, no mervaille, if these Tyrants taking upon them to be Gods heere upon earth, held everie word derogatorie any waies unto their Majestic, high Treason and Impietie.

(d) *Domitian* and other such monstrous Tyrants, as namely *CALIGVLA*, envied all persons and things that were excellent. It behooved therefore *Lamia* to be silent, and to dissimile what he thought, as well as he might: although, for griefe of heart, happily, hee could not chuse but fetch a secret sigh to himselfe with a *Heu* i. *Helas*.

(a) I observe a double acception of this word *CAESAR*, in this Historie penned by *SYRONIVS*. First for a noble house in *Rome*: wherof *IULIVS CAESAR DICTATOR* was descended. Whose line, eyther in blood or by adoption, were called *Cesares*. And in this sense it is truly said, that *Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit*. i. that the race of the *Cesars* was extinct in *Nero*. And in this sense the heires apparent of the Emperours in that line were named *Cesars*. Secondly for all the Sovereigne Emperours of *Rome* after *Julius Cesar*. So *Galba* and the rest, his successors were stiled *Cesares*.

(b) This exaction levied of the Jewes, which he calleth *Judaicum fiscum*, was for the profession and exercise of the religion within *Rome*: who, as *Xiphilinus* witnesseth, were permitted before, by *Vespasian* his father to observe the rites and ceremonies of their owne religion, paying an yearly Tribute, to wit, a Didrachme. i. two Roman deniers, or sixteene pence with us. And so the Christians afterwarde for a time had the same Indulgence.

(a) IN some copies are inserted these words, *Aream & Calvitium*, to no sense, unless yewould have him thereby roted, for his baldnesse and fall of hayre, which some Physicians call *Ara*.

(b) This

(b) THIS *FLAVIVS CLEMENS*, is thought to have bene a Protecke, and convert to the Jewish Religion, by reason wherof, being somewhat mortified, and making conscience to do evill, he was reputed bair minded, and as *SVETONIVS* saith, *contemptu sine inerte*. Imputations charged by Paganes upon Christians, and the true servants of God, for their quiet carriage and modest behaviour.

(c) Whole sonne, I would not else, he would be thought, as who put one to death, because in his public prayers he had not made mention of him, as the sonne of *Minerva*, *Philostratus*, lib. 7.

(a) Little Images, which *Paininus* devoutly kept and worshipped, (as the Tutelar Gods of their beachamber) within a certaine Closet called *Lararium*.

(a) IT may be thought by the circumstance of this place, that this *Rubor vultus in Domitian*, was a tincture of vertue and modestie. But there was nothing lesse in him, so that it was rather an hypocriticall visard and maske, under which was couched a moit tell and cruell nature, as being by the iudgement of *Tacitus* more sanguinarie than *Nero*. For

whereas *Nero*, *subtraxit oculos, insitque scelera, non spectavit, sub Domitiano precipua miserarum pars erat videri & aspicere, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus, sufficeret sevis ille Domitiani vultus & rubor, quo se contra pudorem munibat*. A blushing red therefore is not alwaies a signe of grace.

(a) AT *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, was that famous Librarie of King *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* and the other *Ptolemæes* his progenitors and successors, conteinng to the number well neere of 700000 bookes. *Aul. Gel. Nott. Attic. lib. 7. cap. 17.*

(a) *ACCLAMATIONS* must be restrained heere to the worlde sense, for all manner of Curses and Detestations, such as before were taken up by the people in this time, *Tiberium in Tiberim*, and afterwards by the Senate, against *Commodus*, that wicked Emperour, in these termes, *Hosti patrie honores detrahantur, patricia trahatur, hostis decorum, carmen senatus unco trahatur, in spoliario ponatur, &c.*

(b) *Nerva, Traianus, Hadrianus, &c.* Of whom, *Sextus Aurelius* writeth thus. *Quid Nerva prudentius aut moderatius? Quid Traiano divinius? Quid praestantius Hadrianus?*



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		<b>Vindex.</b>	32. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Virilerobe,</b>	10. <sup>a</sup>
		<b>Visire</b> what it is.	28. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Voconia</b> Law.	20. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Vomiting</b> much.	35. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Vowes,</b> 19. <sup>a</sup> . The forme thereof:	22. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Vxorij.</b>	35. <sup>a</sup>
		<b>W</b>	
		<b>VV</b>	
		<b>ars,</b> wherof they taken name.	11. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Water</b> snake.	28. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>X</b>	
		<b>Xyffici</b> what spectacles.	13. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Z</b>	
		<b>Zenodorus</b> an Architect	36. <sup>b</sup>
		<b>Zopyrus</b> a Physiognomer,	37. <sup>a</sup>

FINIS.

*Faults escaped in the Historie and Marginall Glosses.*

Page 31, Line 33. Fault, for Miferices, read Myfteries, 133 vs. leave out, That is, p. 10, 147, for, who wel, read who had deferred well.  
p. 150, 9, in the mar. for Venus, Venice, p. 17, 133 in the Mar. Calendis Iannarij novis, p. 181, 9, for trial, raine, 134 in the mar.  
tor with r. both p. 33, 17 of Legions of r. 10 to Legions of p. 27, 133, gate, regard for port, for 134 before, Masilia, before Ma-  
filia, p. 30, 13 in the Marg. forme, r. Forump, 13, 133, joyed n. joyed, 133 Decius r. Decimus Calpurnia, Calpurnia 19 Decius r.  
Decimus 14. that his p. 33 they and the 130 Beautiful r. boumtfull 139 Alverus r. Averus 131 bare r. bearing, for Aegypt where, r.  
Aegypt, Where 22 in r into 140 in the Marg. mungrel r. Liberune r. 48 129 with a r with as p. 30 141 Palatius r. Palatium, 19 139  
the Marg. Præfaria r. Prætorial 17 139 r. ipoules p. 38 133 devour d. over p. 35 141. L. T. T. V. S. p. 60 133 pleasure  
for pleasure for contentment, r. contentment where in, p. 31 13 hands r. hands and p. 61 4 opened, r. opined 17 leafe of r. leafe, and of  
p. 61 13 withes of p. 60 139 in the Marg. Lotaspas r. Lotaspas p. 68 144 then to be any than any 33 in the Marg. Terentia r. Ter-  
rentia, p. 70 14 adulterium r. adulteria, p. 70 1 Senio n. Senio, 141 not with r. not to much than 13 in the mar. Bellur. r. Belluarum.  
Whales within pooles, r. Whales, whirpoules p. 72 16 in the marg. or r in 17 in the marg. Buffors, Buffas, p. 74 16 in the marg.  
Calafunv r. Calafunbo 31 in the marg. charlifer r. lifer 140 in the marg. veneres r. delicias p. 76 13 or lessfe more or lesfe 149 in the  
mar. sweat r. sweet balme p. 86 14 by the r. about the 140 in the marg. or r. 46 in the marg. figured, r. praised p. 82 129 like  
enured r. like end enure p. 89 126 Senatores r. Senones 14 opened r. opined 122 and also r. all p. 86 13 in the mar. oafs: cyeres for  
two cyeres, p. 101 13 what, in what f. and in p. 103 9 both when thro, When p. 109 16 laufe, rather 110 145 in the marg. r.  
Latunium p. 115 14 Lemozia r. Gemozia 16 118 cariger Carnage p. 121 91 or had r. or fencel 48 there you frowning r. chie you  
frowning p. 127 129 diguifement r. defignment p. 131 23 pitchers with r. pitchers. And with p. 130 147 fargnet r. target p. 131  
13 in the marg. owner his owne selfe p. 137 31 in the marg. deftrudion r. diffudion p. 139 45 impunity r. impurity p. 140 19  
barnes r. baines, p. 148 133 hambors r. haubits p. 149 18 in the marg. Incitate, cuius non pick p. 150 15 and children r. freed-  
men p. 174 13 father, quoth he, had r. father had p. 183 15 or melt r. a molt p. 187 13 rippled r. rippled 33 in the mar. wings r. ring-  
les p. 190 145 tabels r. labels p. 199 13 grannings r. grannels 18 alwaies all was 132 Foife r. foyle p. 199 13 That all that when all p.  
200 10 in the mar. left out Camelodunf r. Londinium coloniz r. Tacitus, Maldon & London if Colonies, & together with all p.  
Verulamium a Burrough free town, (in the .uiues where) S. Albans now standeth in which places 7000 (by report) were flain of Co-  
tizens & Allies, p. 201 147 in the mar. Citharadum a finger to the Harp p. 202 16 plainly r. plainly p. 204 15 were brave p. 209  
137 in the marg. Alpernas r. Alpernas 14 from the r. by the 16 the had he had p. 229 13 now flart r. now flart p. 230 14 games  
the mar. omittentes r. amittentes, 10 loofel 45 in the mar. or this one or thus, out p. 232 13 now flart r. now flart p. 230 14 games  
r. gaines p. 235 17 divided repaid r. gived his repaid p. 236 11 As Vfurars r. OFVfurars 13 in the mar. image burge p. 261 13  
words r. words r. reced 143 Gods r. gods p. 350 14 played r. played p. 251 32 in the mar. to grow r. fo, grow 143 in the mar. order r. or-  
der p. 257 16 in the marg. Eufeb r. Eufeb, p. 268 127 in the marg. Lacinthus r. Latine thus p. 270 124 his owne r. thus owne p. 271 19  
mirable r. notable line 28 for Matium read Matiam.